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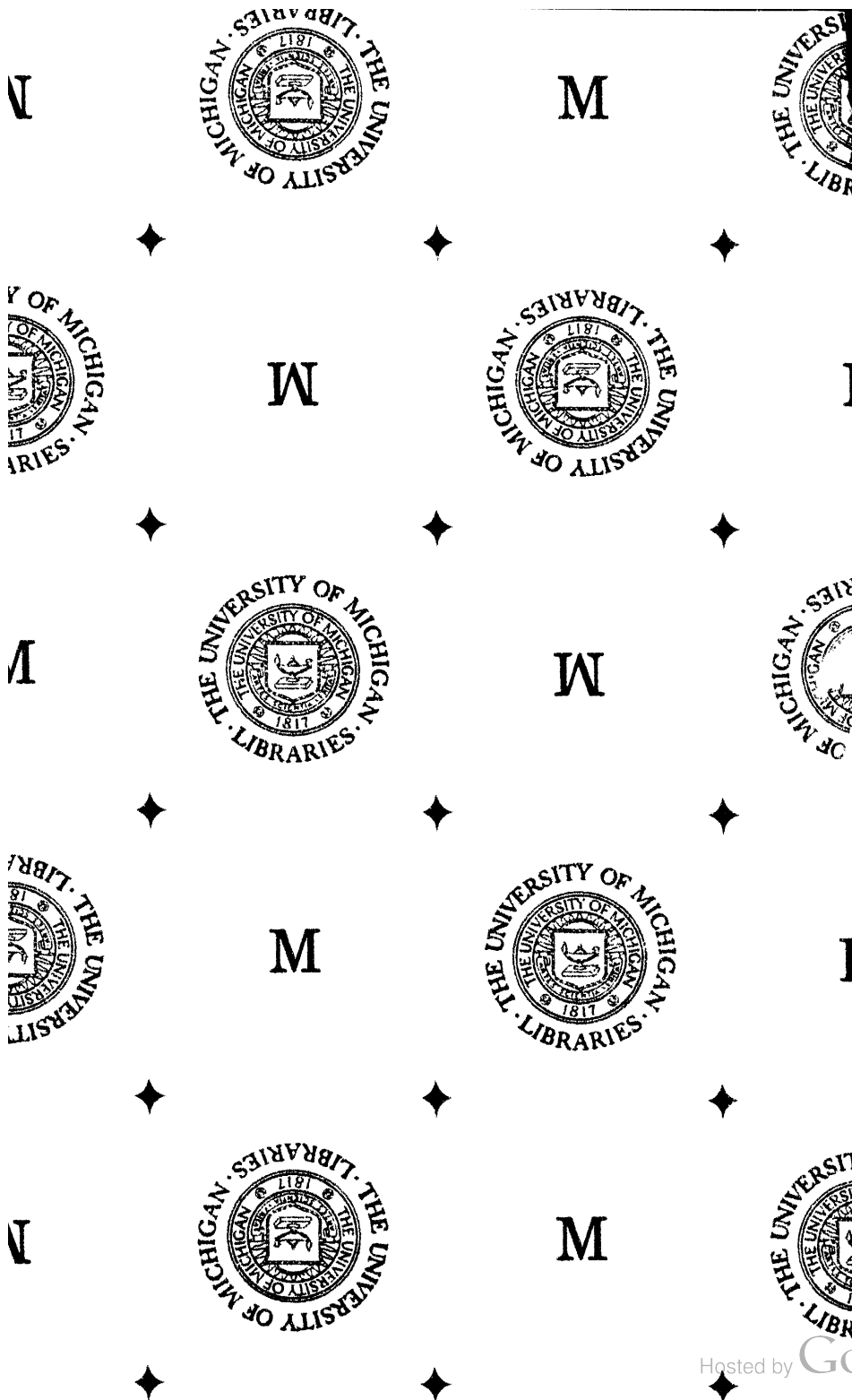
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OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. III.

OF THE THIRD SERIES.

CAMBRIDGE:

E. W. METCALF AND COMPANY.

1833.

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COLLECTIONS.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR THE UNEXPERIENCED PLANTERS OF NEW-ENGLAND, OR ANY WHERE. OR, THE PATHWAY TO EXPERIENCE TO ERECT A PLANTATION. WITH THE YEARELY PROCEEDINGS OF THIS COUNTRY IN FISHING AND PLANTING, SINCE THE YEARE 1614. TO THE YEARE 1630. AND THEIR PRESENT ESTATE. ALSO HOW TO PREVENT THE GREATEST INCONVENIENCES, BY THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN VIRGINIA, AND OTHER PLANTATIONS, BY APPROVED EXAMPLES. WITH THE COUNTRIES ARMES, A DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, HARBOURS, HABITATIONS, LAND-MARKES, LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE: WITH THE MAP, ALLOWED BY OUR ROYALL KING CHARLES.

BY CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

SOMETIMES GOVERNOUR OF VIRGINIA, AND ADMIRALL OF NEW-ENGLAND.

LONDON, Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are to be sold by Robert Milbovrne, at the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard. 1631.

[On the back of the title-leaf is a coat of arms with the following motto:—"GENS. INCOGNITA. MIHI. SERVIET."]

To the Most Reverend Father in God, George Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterberie his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all England: and the Right Reverend Father in God, Samvel Lord Arch-Bishop of Yorke his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of England.

My most Gracious Good Lords, I desire to leave testimony to the world, how highly I honour as well

VOL. III. THIRD SERIES.

1

the Miter as the Lance : therefore where my last Booke presented three most honourable Earles with a subject of Warre, and received from them favourable acceptance : the worke I now prosecute, concerning the Plantation of *New-England*, for the increase of Gods Church, converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to your Graces ; who as you are in the name of Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee in goodnesse both Fathers and Protectors unexpectedly. God long preserve your Gracious lives, and continue favour

Vnto both your Graces most

devoted servant,

JOHN SMITH.

To the Reader.

HONEST READER,

Apelles by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those, have lived 10. or 12. yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the Exchange, Pauls and Westminster: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre any thing, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but Milford haven, as what Apelles was by the picture of his great toe. Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdom, and honesty, and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with that they neither know nor can amend. So I rest

Your friend

Iohn Smith.

The Sea Marke.

Aloofe, aloofe, and come no neare,
the dangers doe appeare ;
Which if my ruine had not beene
you had not seene :
I onely lie upon this shelve
to be a marke to all
which on the same might fall,
That none may perish but my selfe.

If in or outward you be bound,
doe not forget to sound ;
Neglect of that was cause of this
to steare amisse.
The Seas were calme, the wind was faire,
that made me so secure,
that now I must indure
All weathers be they foule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat,
alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
because too true
That no releefe can ever come.
But why should I despaire
being promised so faire
That there shall be a day of Dome.

The Contents.

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- I. What people they are that begin this plantation, the bane of *Virginia* : strange misprisions of wise men.
- II. Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.
- III. A great comfort to new *England*, it is no Iland, a strange plague.
- IV. Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.
- V. My first voyage to new *England*, my returne and profit.
- VI. A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.
- VII. New *Englands* yearely trials, the planting new *Plimoth*, surprisals prevented, their wonderfull industry and fishing.
- VIII. Extremitie next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate, they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.
- IX. Notes worth observation, miserableness no good husbandry.
- X. The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.
- XI. The planting *Bastable* or *Salem* and *Charlton*, a description of the *Massachusetts*.
- XII. Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods, for any thing, their healths.

- XIII. Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.
- XIV. Ecclesiasticall government in *Virginia*, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at *Bastable* now called *Salem*.
- XV. The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene *Elizabeths* Sea Captaines.
-

[Here is a seal with the inscription "SIGISMVNDVS. BATHORI. D. G. DVX. TRANSILVANIE.
WAL. + " On the right of the seal is a coat of arms.]

ADVERTISEMENTS :

OR,

THE PATH-WAY TO EXPERIENCE TO ERECT A PLANTATION.

CHAPTER I.

*What people they are that beginne this plantation : the bane
of Virginia : strange misprisions of wise men.*

THE Warres in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in *Virginia* and *New-England*, in *America* ; which now after many a stormy blast of ignorant contradictors, projectors, and undertakers, both they and I have beene so tossed and tortured into so many extremities, as despaire was the next wee both expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes, although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have been for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate you.

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have cherished truly, by the losse of my prime fortunes, meanes, and youth :
If it over-glad me to see Industry her

No Brownist nor
Separatist admitted.

selfe adventure now to make use of my aged endeavours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists, for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them have assured mee, and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to write thus much in their behalfe.

I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth*, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, have indured with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their

What they are
that beginne this
Plantation.
powers increase their numbers: But of those which are gone within this eighteene moneths for Cape *Anne*, and the

Bay of the *Massachusetts*: those which are their chiefe Vndertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advancing this harmlesse and pious worke; men of good credit and well-beloved in their country, not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home, and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of *England*, if not, it is well they are gone: the rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessities if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of *England*: I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be, for Christ had but twelue Apostles, and one was a traitor; and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder: therefore doe not condemne all for some; but how-ever they have as good authority from his Majesty

as they could desire, if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced.

Now they take not that course the *Vir-*^{The bane of Vir-}*ginia* company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits, every yeere trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives.

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were about seven or eight thousand English indifferently well furnished with most necessities, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth any thing, made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there, and all this proceeded by surviving those that died, nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things: and the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men, whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco, and other businesse.

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings scorned, or to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wainscot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-ashes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypressse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for

The differences betwixt my beginning in Virginia and the proceedings of my successors.

Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore, but so poore it was not regarded ; better there may be, for I was no Mineralist, [p. 4.] some Sturgion, but it was too tart of the Vinegar, which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good ; and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre, yet better than they sent us any : in two or three yeeres but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution, and to send any offended my idle humour to *Iames* towne to punish at mine owne discretion ; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission ; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Eggeshell (as they writ) had beene sufficient against such enemies ; neglecting to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Country would afford in time by industry, as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Rasons, Prunes, Flax, Hempe, and Iron, as for Tabacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities, they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure, with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities, making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most

A strange mistake
in wise men.

plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Jewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkenmen, with all their appurtenances, but materialls, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke: and so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all striving [p. 5.] to suppress and advance they knew not what; at last got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where we were free for one and twenty, appointing the Lord *De-la-ware* for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities, Charters, for Corporations, Universities, Free-schools, and Glebe-land, putting all those in practice before there were either people, students, or scholars to build or use them, or provision and victuall to feed them were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in *London* that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such jugling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies their associats, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent us to *Virginia*, they being well payed for that was good. Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse, nor did they all convert any of those we sent them to *England* for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea, that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits; by this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once, neither such change of Governours, nor such a mul-

titude of Officers, neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will find very troublesome, and the effects dangerous, and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that could doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries, and all things so cleane contrary to the report in *England*, yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe.

[p. 6.]

CHAP. II.

Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.

This the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale, who had alwayes both good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses, never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces, when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons; yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us: for all this our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleaved, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in *England*: but they found it other-

wayes ; the charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer, whose clamors to appease, we had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke ; yet had it not beene for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended ^{Take heed of factions bred in England.} so farre as death : but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing, or preferment ; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured ; which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions, the most part striving [p. 7.] by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in *England*, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdome and other nations can too well testifie : Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight thousand *English*, as hath beene said, so well trained, secure, and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning, and upon the 22d. of March, so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their ^{The massacre in Virginia.} houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining : the which losse to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke as is said ; then they broke,

not making 'any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any, whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not by it; so that his Majesty recalled their Commission, and by more just cause: then they perswaded King *James* to call in ours, which were the first beginners without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indevours at their pleasures.

How the company dissolved.

CHAP. III.

A great comfort to new England, it is no Island: a strange plague.

Notwithstanding since they have beene left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased their numbers to foure or five thousand, and neere as many cattell, with plenty of Goats, abundance of Swine, Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision. Now having glutted the world with their too [p. 8.] much over-abounding Tabacco: Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and make better use of the trials of their grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over: and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied. And to those of *New-England* may it not be a great comfort to have so neare a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other

The abundance of victuals now in Virginia.

A great comfort for *New England* by *Virginia*.

roots and fruits, much better than from *England*. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance *Virginia* to the ruine of *New-England*; and others the losse of *Virginia* to sustaine *New-England*, which God of his mercy forbid: for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir *Iohn Popham*, then Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, and the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councel, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shal ever be in my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

By this you may perceive somewhat, The differences betwixt the beginning of *Virginia*, and them of *Salem*. what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributors, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England*; for they will neither beleieve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*, where as few as I say was sent me to *Virginia*, but these were naught here and worse there.

“Now when these shall have laid the
 “foundations, and provided meanes be- A necessary consideration.
 “forehand, they may entertain all the
 “poore artificers and laborers in *England*, and their
 “families which are burthensome to their Parishes and
 “Countries where they live, upon almes and benevo-
 “lence for want of worke, which if they would but pay
 “for their transportation, they [p. 9.] should never
 “be troubled with them more; for there is vast land
 “enough for all the people in *England*, *Scotland*, and

New-England is no Iland but the maine continent. “ *Ireland* : and it seems God hath provided this Country for our Nation, “ destroying the natives by the plague, “ it not touching one Englishman, though “ many traded and were conversant amongst them ; “ for they had three plagues in three years successively neere two hundred miles along the Sea “ coast, that in some places there scarce remained “ five of a hundred, and as they report thus it began :

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the men escaped on shore ; one of them died, the other lived among the natives till he had learned their language : then he perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Testament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could, but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared his God would destroy them : whereat the King assembled all his people about a hill, himselfe with the Christian standing on the top, demanded if his God had so many people and able to kill all those ? He answered yes, and surely would, and bring in strangers to possesse their land ; but so long they mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sicknesse came, that of five or six hundred about the *Massachusetts* there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell and slew twenty eight : the two remaining fled the Country till the *English* came, then they returned and surrendred their Countrey and title to the *English* : if this be not true in every particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author : but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them ; for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three yeares after remained scarce thirty, but what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them, never having seene, nor heard of the like before.

A strange plague among the Salvages.

[p. 10.]

CHAP. IV.

*Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations,
rare examples.*

Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages. Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in *Florida, Virginia, New-England, and Cannada*, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents, and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good, or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly. If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper kettle and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the *Massachusetts* have resigned theirs freely.

By what right
wee may possesse
those Countries
lawfully.

Now the reasons for plantations are many; *Adam* and *Eve* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry: *Noah* and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased,

True reasons for
those plantations.

hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers; had the seed of *Abraham*, our [p. 11.] Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe, than we, even we our selves had at this present been as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. The *Hebrewes*, *Lacedemonians*, the *Goths*, *Grecians*, *Romans*, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, inrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharises, but industrious honest hearted Publicans, they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incoun-
 - tered not with all manner of incumbrances, and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity, whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* that first began
 Rare examples of
 the *Spaniards*,
Portugals, and
 the Ancients.
 plantations in this unknowne world of
America till within this 140. yeares,
 whose everlasting actions before our eyes,
 will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude
 to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion

wee owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse, except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe, having as much power and meanes as others : why should English men despaire and not doe so much as any ? Was it vertue in those Heros to provide that doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come ? Surely no ; then seeing wee are not borne for our selves but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the [p. 12.] howre of our birth and minute of our death : seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell : seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life : and seeing by no means wee would be abated of the dignitie and glorie of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors, or at least not hinder, if not further them that would and doe their utmost and best endeavour.

CHAP. V.

My first voyage to new England, my returne and profit.

To begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history ; for *New-England* by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desert : Notwithstanding at the sole charge of foure Merchants of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at *Mona-higan* an Ile in *America* in 43. degrees 39. minutes of

My first voyage
to *Norumbega*
now called *New-England*. 1614.

Northerly latitude. Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had stayed in the Country ; but we found the plots wee had, so false, and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulnesse of our Pylot so much mistaken, I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines with fifteene or eighteene men at most, more than 60000. Cod in lesse than a moneth : whilst my selfe with eight others of them might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trifles eleven hundred Bever skins beside

We got 1500.
pound in six
moneths.

Otters and Martins ; all amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pound, and arrived in *England* with all my men in health in six or seven moneths : But Northward the

25000 bevers sent
to *France*.

French returned this yeare to *France* five and twenty thousand bevers and good fures, whilst we were contending about

Patents and Commissions, with such carefull incredulity that more dazeled our eyes than opened them. In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called [p. 13.] it *New-England* : but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the echo of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday* and *Penaquid* ; till at my humble sute, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change the barbarous names of their principall Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather ; and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave.

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that bore neare all my Masts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, was forced to

My second and
third voyage.
1615.
1616.

returne to *Plimoth* with a Jury-Mast. The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them, who ran away with my Ship and all that I had, such enemies the Sailers were to a Plantation, and the greatest losse being mine, did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in *England*, that still provided to follow the fishing: much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships, but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare. At my returne from *France* I did my best to have united them, but that had beene more than a worke for *Hercules*, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse.

CHAP. VI.

A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.

This Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44½ the very meane ^{A description of the Country.} for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many [p. 14.] whereof is Ancorage for five hundred good ships of any burthen, in some of them for a thousand, and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations. The principall habitations I saw at North-

ward, was *Pennobscot*, who are in warres with the *Terentines*, their next Northerly neighbours. South-erly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Sagadahock*, *Satquin*, *Aumughcawgen*, and *Kenabeca*: to those belong the Countries and people of *Segotago*, *Pauhantanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Wabbiganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigwick*, *Moshoquen*, *Waccogo*, *Pasharanack*, &c. To those are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquak*, *Augawoam* and *Naemkeck*, all these for any thing I could perceive differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be *Sagamos*, and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot* the chiefe and greatest amongst them. The next is *Mattahunt*, *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Paconekick*, then *Cape Cod*, by which is *Pawmet*, the Iles *Nawset* and *Capawuck*, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond *Cape Cod*, the land extendeth it selfe Southward to *Virginia*, *Florida*, the *West-Indies*, the *Amazons*, and *Brasele*, to the straits of *Magelanus*, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great Countries, differing as they are in

distance North or South from the Equi-
noctiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods,
Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase
and decrease of the night and day, to six
moneths day and six moneths night. Some say,

Under the Equi-
noctiall, twelve
hours day, and
twelve night.

many of those Nations are so brute they have no Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived, for my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the world which had not Religion, Deare, [p. 15.] Bowes, and Arrowes. Those in *New-England*, I take it, beleeeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many divine Powers, yet of one above all the rest; as the

Southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit, *Okee*, but all their Kings *Werowances*. The *Massa-*^{Their Religion.} *chusetts* call their great God *Kichtan*, and their Kings *Sachemes*; and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habamouk*. The *Pennobscots*, their God, *Tantum*, their Kings, *Sagamos*. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their simple curiosities, living and workemanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

Of whose particular miserable magnificence, yet most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with such variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Preservatives, and nicities as we; yet live as long, and much more healthful and hardy: also the deities of their chieftest Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie, their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, Weres, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returns; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence, with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience to their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields,

Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, barbarous, [p. 16.] and salvage dispositions: of all these particulars you may reade at large in the generall History of *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Summer Isles*, with many more such strange actions and accidents, that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected, which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

CHAP. VII.

New Englands yearly trials, the planting new Plimoth, surprisals prevented, their wonderful industry and fishing.

For all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arrived in *England*, from
1617.
Eight ships to fish. *France*, so that I spent that yeare in the West Country, to perswade the Cities, Townes, and Gentry for a Plantation, which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts; oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands, and the Colonels Seale for *New-England*; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines, yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected for all this aire.

In those yeares many ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six weeks, with eight and thirty

men and boyes had her fraught, which
 shee sold at the first penny for one
 and twenty hundred pounds, besides
 her Furres. Six or seven more went
 out of the West, and some Sailers that
 had but a single share, had twenty
 pounds, and at home againe in seven
 moneths, which was more than such a one should
 have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for
 wages any where: yet for all this, in all this time,
 though I had divulged to my great [p. 17.] labour,
 cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes
 and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in
London, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Mer-
 chants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to
 hew Rocks with Oister-shels, so fresh were the
 living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in
 their memories.

1618.
 1619.
 1620.
 Eight and thirty
 men in six weeks
 tooke two thou-
 sand one hundred
 pounds worth of
 fish.

At last, upon those inducements, some well dis-
 posed Brownists, as they are tearmed, with some
 Gentlemen and Merchants of *Layden* and *Amsterdam*,
 to save charges, would try their owne conclusions,
 though with great losse and much miserie, till time
 had taught them to see their owne error; for such
 humorists will never beleieve well, till they bee
 beaten with their owne rod.

They were supplied with a small Ship
 with seven and thirty passengers, who
 found all them were left after they were seated, well,
 all but six that died, for all their poverties: in this
 ship they returned the value of five hundred pounds,
 which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of
England.

1621.

There is gone from the West to fish
 five and thirty saile, two from *London*
 with sixty passengers for them at *New-*
Plimoth, and all made good voyages.

1622.
 Seven and thirty
 saile to fish.

Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty

passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of *England*, came so ill provided, they onely relyed upon that poore company they found, that had lived two yeares by their naked industry, and what the Country naturally afforded; it is true, at first there hath beene taken a thousand Bayes at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night, of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

In Iuly, a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose wants they releevd, though wanted themselves; the which to requite, destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had; the salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage [p. 18.] Captaines, and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.

CHAP. VIII.

*Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate,
they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.*

At *New Plimoth*, having planted their Fields and
 1623. Gardens, such an extraordinary drought
 insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies all overcast with blacke clouds, and the next morning, such a

pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived; not long after came two Ships to supply them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered; for themselves, for all their wants, there was not one sicke person amongst them: the greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. This yeare went from *England*, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a better voyage than ever. ^{Five and forty saile to fish.}

In this Plantation there is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne contains two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-Tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in [p. 19.] wandering up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. These disasters, losses, and uncertainties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who beganne to repent, and rather lose all, than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds, accounting my bookes and

1624.

their relations as old Almanacks. But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers pay them for nine yeares two hundred pounds yearely without any other account; where more than six hundred Adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence. Since

They make store of good salt. they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take, and

have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and fourescore tun, living so well they desire nothing but more company, and what ever they take, retorne commodities to the value.

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene, and some the same yeare returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisions, some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it. Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences, for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods name bee there praised by my Country-men, I have my desire; and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building [p. 20.] Ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed, as my generall history will shew you; it

An incredible rich mine. might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of *Spaine* hath in his West Indies.

CHAP. IX.

Notes worth observation : miserableness no good husbandry.

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen ^{Notes worthy observation.} those plantations and my selfe, how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me. Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions, that the wiser sort often gave mee for lost, always in mutinies, wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift, all such a stormy winter night when their ships were split, more than an hundred thousand pound lost, wee had taken at sea, and most of them drownd upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat, &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths lived in the fields, yet to have lived neere 37. yeares in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine; by which, many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them went first with me to *Virginia*, and see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: Though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God

thanks, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me [p. 21.] to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner.

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have
Goods ill gotten
ill spent. done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new invention to passe to the South sea, or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques, or letters of mart, to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men; what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first employed. But in those noble indevours now how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods, as the 217. the 218. and the 219. pages in the generall history will shew. But only those noble Gentlemen and their associates, for whose better encouragements I have recollected those experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detractors, as well for my selfe as them.

Now since them called Brownists went, some few before them also having my bookes
Miserablenesse
no good hus-
bandry. and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired, many other directers they had as wise as themselves, but that was best that liked their owne conceits; for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiours: in this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husban-

dry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies, who undertaking in small handfuls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing, to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example.

[p. 22.]

CHAP. X.

The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.

Who would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Country have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes, for by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their opportunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King *Iames*, drawing in many Noblemen and others to the number of twenty, for Patentees, dividing my map and that tract of land from the North Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed by most Cosmographers at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560. miles; the bounds *Virginia* to the South, the South Sea to the West, *Canada* to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided in twenty parts, for which they cast lots, but no lot for me but *Smiths* Iles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood, but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars. Those Patentees

1625.
1626.
1627.
1628.

The effect of the last great Patent.

A Proclamation
for New-England. procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping, neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast overboord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Mannor; some of which for some of them I beleeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe, especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first yeare, as they have oft told me, and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would [p. 23.] goe at all. So for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose, nor would they doe any thing but left it to it selfe.

Memorandums
for masters. Thus it lay againe in a manner vast, till those noble Gentlemen thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to take this as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines, which commonly eat out all poore mens labours, nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, be it by the halfes or otherwayes: And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an

hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good: In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five ^{Incouragements for servants.} yeares may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgement to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in *England*, to be worse there than here. Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing, for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill bloud, and become odious to God and man; but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers, the which to my utmost I will doe my best indeavour.

[p. 24.]

CHAP. XI.

The planting Bastable or Salem and Charlton, a description of the Massachusetts.

In all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will ^{1629.} say, we were the first; and so every ^{The planting Salem.} next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happinesse of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and

doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets.

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children, people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality : also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts ; 41. goats, some conies, with all provision for houshold and apparell ; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man. They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives *Naemkecke*, by our Royall King *Charles, Bastable* ; but now by the planters, *Salem* ; where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of *Dorchester*, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men, an hundred and fifty more they have sent to the *Massachusetts*, which they call *Charlton*, or *Charles Towne* : I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it *Charles* river, after the name of our Royall King *Charles* ; but they find that faire Channell to divide it selfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, [p. 25.] where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hills.

Their provisions
for Salem.
*
The planting Sa-
lem and Charlton.
A description of
the Massachusetts
Bay.

In the Iles you may keepe your hogs, horse, cattell, conies or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list, onely

having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In those Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoyning to another, leaving every of them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelesly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration make ditches, pales, plant young trees with an excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maineposts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales, or what you will; which order in *Virginia* hath not beene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow streight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees, upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater, neither grow they so thicke together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth. Now in *New-England* the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke, and the rather for that within a square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places.

[p. 26.] Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and moaring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any landman, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my Sea-Grammar, a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship but the Sea-termes, charge and duty of every officer is plainly expressed, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget. But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all the most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to *Noah* for his Arke, which he never did to any other building but his Temple, which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those inhumanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse or cruelty; whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it,

CHAP. XII.

Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods, for any thing, their healths.

For the building houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called [p. 27.] the marble harbour: There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke, yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith, but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter; therefore be careful in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Ilands of *Auguan*, where you may have harsh sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture, which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in *Virginia*; and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them & hazard the rest, especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea. All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

Extraordinary
meanes for
buildings.

Caveats for
cattell.

The best way wee found in *Virginia* to spoyle the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay, the greatest branches in the root they spoyle with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot: betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne, where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both; and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other: in *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two, which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats, complaine of the piercing cold, especially in January and February, yet the [p. 28.] *French in Canada, the Russians, Swethlanders, Polanders, Germans;* and our neighbour *Hollanders*, are much colder and farre more Northward, for all that, rich Countreyes and live well. Now they have wood enough if they will but cut it, at their doores to make fires, and traine oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for candles, where in *Holland* they have little or none to build ships, houses, or any thing but what they fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in the latitude of Yorkshire, and *New-England* is in the height of the North cape of *Spaine*, which is 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of *Bisky*

A silly complaint
of cold, the rea-
son and remedy.

January and February, yet the [p. 28.]

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I have felt as much cold, frost, and snow as in *England*, and of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and Southward of the line, lie in the same parallels of *Virginia* and *New-England*, as at large you may finde in the 201. page of the generall history.

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; ^{Provisoos for passengers and saylers at sea.} but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine, therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea: in this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die, for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger, as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

CHAP. XIII.

Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.

Who would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay ^{1630.} a foundation for a plantation, but we ^{Their present estate.} see many men many mindes, and still new Lords, new lawes: for those 350. men with all their cattell [p. 29.] that so well arived and promised so much, not being of one body, but severall mens servants, few could command and fewer obey, lived merrily of that they had, neither planting or building any thing to any purpose, but one faire house for the

Governour, till all was spent and the winter approached ; then they grew into many diseases, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a supply from *England*, which expected Houses, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

It is true, that Master *John Wynthrop*, their now Governour, a worthy Gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised, but at Sea, such an extraordinarie storme encountered his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and brused, threescore and ten died, many of their people fell sicke, and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived in *New-England* at severall times, where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew it selfe. And to second this, neare as many more came after them, but so ill provided, with such multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their necessities.

This small triall of their patience, caused among them no small confusion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmost wits ; some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to returne to *Babel*, as they tearmed *England*, than stay to enjoy the land they called *Canaan* ; somewhat they must say to excuse themselves.

Those he found Brownists, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*, who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want, some two hundred of the

The fruits of
counterfeits.

rest he was content to returne for *England*, whose clamors are as variable as their [p. 30.] humours and Auditors ; some say they could see no timber of two foot diameter, some the Country is all Woods, others they drunke all the Springs and Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fresh water ; some of the danger of the rattell Snake ; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to *England* great gainers out of others miseries ; yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes, but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releevd those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him, and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell, as for Corne they are very ignorant : If upon the coast of *America*, they doe not before the end of this October (for toies) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours, and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in *Virginia*, and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them ; a consequence well worth putting in practice : and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well. I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in *Virginia*, I have beene a suter to have undertaken, but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated : but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters doe it themselves, and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull of Spaniards in the West Indies, subdued millions of the inhabitants, so depopulating those Countries they conquered, that they are glad to buy *Negroes* in *Africa* at a great rate, in Countries farre remote from them, which although they bee as idle and as devilish people as any in the world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best servants; notwithstanding, [p. 31.] there is for every foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hundred Indians and Negros, and in *Virginia* and *New-England* more English than Salvages, that can assemble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and then replant it: but there Indians were in such multitudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours such a few, and so dispersed, it were nothing in a short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not doe as much as any, but upon every sleight affront, in stead to amend it, we make it worse; notwithstanding the worst of all those rumours, the better sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so are the most of their best friends here; and making provision to supply them, many conceit they make a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would spend more here than they transport thither. One Ship this Summer with twenty cattell, and forty or fifty passengers, arived all well, and the Ship at home againe in nine weekes: another for all this exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish, and fourescore Kegs of Sturgion, which they did take and save when the season was neare past, and in the very heat of Summer, yet as good as can be. Since another ship is gone from *Bristow*, and many more a providing to follow them with all speed.

Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours, they are in no such distresse as is supposed: as for

their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute the fault to the Country nor mee; yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder; for I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischief so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection, [p. 32.] through the weaknesse of my abilitie, you may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason, and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom hee hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in *England*.

CHAP. XIV.

Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at Bastable now called Salem.

Now because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in *Virginia*, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie

Ecclesiasticall
government in
Virginia.

their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees, in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new; this was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers [p. 33.] came, and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.

Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that
Their estates at this day. Country to a great happinesse, had they not so much doated on their Tobacco, on whose furnish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides, yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry, but *Iames* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councill here, allowed by the Councill there, and confirmed by the

Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all *England*, *An.* 1605. to master *Richard Hachuit* Prebend of *Westminster*, who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Now in *New-England* they have all our examples to teach them how to be-
ware, and choice men, wee most ignorant Their order of teaching in Sa-lem.
in all things, or little better, therefore pre-
sage not the event of all such actions by our defaile-
ments: For they write, they doubt not ere long to
be able to defend themselves against any indifferent
enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected
among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they
say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day ob-
served, the common Prayer (as I understand) and
Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with
strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good
orders to bring those people with whom they have
to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live
well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the
Country; which done, in time from both those Planta-
tions may grow a good addition to the Church of
England; but *Rome* was not built in one day, whose
beginnings was once as unhopefull as theirs, and
to make them as eminent shall be my humble and
hearty prayers.

[p. 34.] But as yet it is not well understood of any
authority they have sought for the government & tran-
quillity of the Church, which doth cause
those suspicions of factions in Religion, The miserable ef-
fects of faction in Religion.
wherein although I be no Divine, yet I
hope without offence I may speake my
opinion as well in this as I have done in the rest.

He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turks Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes, whose dis-joyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth, where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature; for my owne part, I have seene many of you here in *London* goe to Church as orderly as any.

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of *England*, for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cattell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide meanes to accomplish, nor can you have any certaine releefe, nor long subsist without more supplies from *England*. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame not of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but lamentable in a well settled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes

The necessity of
order and au-
thority.

[p. 35.]

CHAP. XV.

The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths Sea Captaines.

In regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never; I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine; I have beene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it my selfe.

The effect of a Cittadell, or the true modell of a Plantation.

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one; towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth culturate to pay foure pence yearely, and some small matter out of every hundred of fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it, it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker, in reason, let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place, and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men

holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiours, extremities from the comminalty, & none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly imployed for their owne defence and security; as for corruption in so small a Government, you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly.

[p. 36.] Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care
The condition of trade and freedom. that all your Country men shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage, Ancorage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorne to them of understanding, for Dutch, French, Biskin, or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they: Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty is fitting, which in a short time will much increase your trade and shipping to fetch it from you, for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided; now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade, nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as *Holland, Genua, Ligorne*, and divers other places can well tell you, and doth most beggar those places where they take most custome, as *Turkie, the Archipelagan Iles, Cicilia, the Spanish ports*, but that their officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your orderly pro-

ceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in *England*, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered your selves, and are able to subsist; for till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation, is not the way to make them prosper, nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish any thing; that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councells, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there; nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft seene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived.

[p. 37.] I speake not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could wish every English man to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; Why should the brave Spanish

The Spaniards
glory.

Souldiers brag, The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King; who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like for ours, who is no way his inferior; and truly there is no pleasure comparable to a generous spirit; as good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels, to see daily new Countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems, releeve the oppressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country: it is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth, and honour, but that which is got by prowesse and magnanimity is the truest lustre; and those can the best distinguish content, that have escaped most honoura-

ble dangers, as if out of every extremity he found himselfe now borne to a new life to learne how to amend and maintaine his age.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe to them doth second them, I should thinke my selfe guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; however some overweining capricious conceits, may attribute it to vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased to bestow on me: But such trash I so much scorne, that I presume further to advise those, lesse advised than my selfe, that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and exercise of armes, drilling your men at your most convenient times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, manaples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not sparing of a little extraordinary shot and powder to make them mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde most capable, for shot must be your best weapon, yet all this will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blounded, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them, not to shoot a ducke, a goose, or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send. The want of [p. 38.] this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Florida*, each surprising other, and lately neare the ruine of *Mevis* and *Saint Christophers* in the *Indies*: also the *French* at *Port Riall*, and those at *Canada*, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, *Cape Britton* not far from you, called *New-Scotland*. Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advātage of opportunity: for as rich

preyes make true men theeves ; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner : to the prevention whereof, I have not beene more willing at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions suting my calling and profession to make good, and *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of *Virginia*, the Summer Iles, and *New-England* ; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defailments of all those noble and worthy Captaines ; Captaine *Philip Amadas*, and *Barlow* ; that most renowned Knight Sir *Richard Greenville*, worthy Sir *Ralph Layne*, and learned Master *Hariot*, Captaine *John White*, Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, Captaine *Martin Pring*, and *George Waymouth*, with mine owne observations by sea, rivers and land, and all the governours that yearely succeeded mee in *Virginia*. Also those most industrious Captaines, Sir *George Summers*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, with all the governours that succeeded them in the Summer Iles. Likewise the plantation of *Sagadahock*, by those noble Captaines, *George Popham*, *Rawley Gilbert*, *Edward Harlow*, *Robert Davis*, *James Davis*, *Iohn Davis*, and divers others, with the maps of those Countries : with it also you may finde the plantations of Saint *Christophers*, *Mevis*, the *Berbados*, and the great river of the *Amazons*, whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand.

A reference to the actions of all our prime discoverers and planters.

[p. 39.] This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be employed, and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misemploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus, Curtes, Pitzara, Zotto, Magellanus*, and the rest, served more than an apprenticeship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected, when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir *Fr. Drake*, the renowned Captain *Candish*, Sir *Richard Luson*, Sir *John Hawkins*, Captaine *Carlile*, and Sir *Martin Furbisher*, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, *Cumberland, Essex, Southampton*, and *Nottingham* that good L. Admirall, with many hun-

What is requisite
to be in a Govern-
ment of a planta-
tion.

The expeditions
of Queene Eliza-
beths Sea-Cap-
taines.

dreds of brave English Souldiers, Captaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like : Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt, found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those could better guide penknives than use swords ; and there is no misery worse than be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward ; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne blood, for feare of a checke, [p. 40.] when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Sovereigne, as duty required. Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing : if you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge ; and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get, but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant. Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie and dissolution ; so the contraries well practised will in short time make
you happy, and the most admired people
of all our plantations for your
time in the world.

Iohn Smith writ this with his owne
hand.

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 3. The Company in England say 7. or 8. thousand : the Counsell in Virginia say but 2200. or thereabouts.

PLAIN DEALING:
OR,
N E V V E S
FROM
New-England.

*(Vivat Rex Angliæ Carolus,
Vivat Anglia,
Vivantq: eorum Amici omnes.)*

A short view of NEW-ENGLANDS
present Government, both Ecclesiasticall and
Civil, compared with the anciently-received
and established Government of ENGLAND,
in some materiall points; fit
for the gravest consideration
in these times.

By THOMAS LECHFORD of Clements Inne,
in the County of Middlesex, Gent.

*Levis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest,
Et clepere sese; Magna non latitant mala. Sen.*

L O N D O N,
Printed by W. E. and I. G. for Nath: Butter, at the signe of
the pyde Bull neere S. Austins gate. 1642.

[On the back of the title-leaf are the royal arms, with the legend "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*"]

T O T H E R E A D E R .

***E**Very man is to approve himselfe, and answer to God for his actions his conscience leads him to ; and next, to good men, as much as in him lyeth. I have thus presumed to enter into publique, for these reasons :*

First, because it is well knowne unto many, that heretofore I suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment out of this good Land, for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England : therefore now I desired to purge my selfe of so great a scandall ; and wherein I have offended, to intreat all my Superiours, and others, to impute it rather to my ignorance, for the time, then any wilfull stubbornnesse.

Secondly, seeing that since my comming home, I find that multitudes are corrupted with an opinion of the unlawfullnesse of the Church-government by Diocesan Bishops, which opinion I beleeve is the root of much mischief ; having now had experience of divers governments, I see not how I could with faithfulnessse to God, my King and Countrey, be any longer silent, especially considering some of these late troubles occasioned, among other sins, I fear, much through this evill opinion. Happy shall I be, if any be made wiser by my harmes ; I wish all men to take heed, how they shake hands with the Church of God, upon any such heedlesse grounds as I almost had done.

Thirdly, that I might (though unworthy) in a fit season, acquaint the learned and pious Divines of England with these my slender observations, quæres, and experiments, to the end they may come the better pre-

To the Reader.

pared, upon any publique occasion, for the consideration of such matters, and so at length, those good things that are shaken among us may be established, and truth confirmed.

It is enough for me, being a Student or Practiser at Law, faithfully to put a Case, which will be this: Whether the Episcopall Government by Provinciaall and Diocesan Bishops, in number about 26. in England, being, if not of absolute Divine authority, yet nearest, and most like thereunto, and most anciently here embraced, is still safest to be continued?

Or a Presbyterian government, being (as is humbly conceived) but of humane authority, bringing in a numerous company of above 40000. Presbyters to have chiefe rule in the keyes, in England, be fit to be newly set up here, a thing whereof we have had no experience, and which moderate wise men think to be lesse consonant to the Divine patterne, and may prove more intolerable then the said Episcopacie?

Or an independent government of every congregationall Church ruling it selfe, which introduceth not onely one absolute Bishop in every Parish, but in effect so many men, so many Bishops, according to New-Englands rule, which in England would be Anarchie & confusion?

I would entreat those that stand for this last mentioned manner of government, to be pleased to consider,

1. *That the very terme of leading, or ruling in the Church, attributed to Elders, forbids it; for if all are Rulers, who shall be ruled?*

2. *The maine acts of Rule consist of receiving into the Church by Baptisme, or otherwise, and ejection out of the Church by censure, binding and loosing; now these are committed to the Apostles, and their successors, and not to all the members of the Church.*

3. *All have not power to baptize, therefore not to receive into the Church, nor to cast out of the Church. My brethren, be not many masters, saith S. Iames, 3. 1.*

To the Reader.

The words of the wise are as goads, and as nayles, fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd, *Eccles.* 12. 11.

And whereas some may say, that this power of ruling is but ministerially in the officers, and initiatively, conclusively, and virtually in the people: If so, what power ordinarily have the people to contradict the ministeriall works and acts of their Officers? Must the whole Church try all those whom their Ministers convert abroad, suppose among Indians, before they may baptize them? How can all the Church examine and try such? All have not power, warrant, leisure, pleasure, ability, for, and in such works, nor can all speake Indian language.

Doubtlesse the acts of rule by the Officers is the rule of the whole Church, and so to be taken ordinarily without contradiction, else there would be no end of jangling: And thus taken, the whole Church of Corinth, by S. Pauls command, (sc. by their Ministers) were to put away that wicked person, and deliver him up to Satan, 1 Cor. 5. 13. and restore him, and forgive him, 2 Cor. 2. and so all the doubt on that Text is (neer I think) resolved.

Now that the government at New-England seemeth to make so many Church-members so many Bishops, will be plaine by this ensuing Discourse: for you shall here find, that the Churches in the Bay governe each by all their members unanimously, or else by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and super-spection with their Ministers: and that in their Covenant it is expressed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another. And in time their Churches will be more corrupted than now they are; they cannot (as there is reason to feare) avoid it possibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confusion?

Nay, say some, we will keep out those that have not true grace. But how can they certainly discern that true grace, and what measure God requireth? Besides,

To the Reader.

by this course, they will (it is to be feared) in stead of propagating the Gospel, spread heathenisme; in stead of gaining to the Church, lose from the Church: for when the major part are unbaptized, as in twenty years undoubtedly they will be, by such a course continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may goe among their fellow-heathens the Indians, or rise up against the Church, and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.

And that you (courteous reader) may perceive I have from time to time dealt cordially in these things, by declaring them impartially to my friends, as I received light, I shall adde in the last place certaine passages out Letters, sent by me into England to that purpose, and conclude.

And I doe not this, God knoweth, as delighting to lay open the infirmities of these well-affected men, many of them my friends, but that it is necessary, at this time, for the whole Church of God, and themselves, as I take it: Besides, many of the things are not infirmities, but such as I am bound to protest against; yet I acknowledge there are some wise men among them, who would help to mend things, if they were able, and I hope will do their endeavours. And I think that wiser men then they, going into a wilderness to set up another strange government differing from the settled government here, might have falne into greater errors then they have done.

Neither have I the least ayme to retard or hinder an happy and desired reformation of things amisse either in Church or Common-wealth, but daily and earnestly pray to God Almighty, the God of Wisdome and Counsell, that he please so to direct his Royall Majesty, and his wise and honourable Counsell, the high Court of Parliament, that they may fall upon so due and faire a moderation, as may be for the glory of God, and the

To the Reader.

*peace and safety of his Royall Majesty, and all his
Majesties dominions, and good Subjects. Vale.*

Clements Inne,
Jan. 17. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

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of this DISCOURSE.

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Plaine dealing :
 O R,
N E W E S
 F R O M
N E W - E N G L A N D .

HAVING been forth of my native Countrey, almost for the space of foure yeeres last past, and now through the goodnesse of Almighty God returned, many of my friends desiring to know of me the manner of governments, and state of things, in the place from whence I came, *New England* ; I thinke good to declare my knowledge in such things, as briefly as I may. I conceive, and hope, it may be profitable in these times of disquisition.

[p. 2.] *For the Church government, and administrations, in the Bay of the Mattachusetts.*

A Church is gathered there after this manner : A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith and repentance, they sollemnly enter into a Covenant with God, and one another (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect : *viz.*

How Churches are gathered there.

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and
 the vanities of the sinfull world, and
 Their Church all their former lusts, and corruptions,
 Covenant. they have lived and walked in, and to
 cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their
 onely King and Lawgiver, their onely Priest and
 Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in
 the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to sub-
 mit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordi-
 nances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort,
 to watch over, and support one another.

Whereby they are called the Church of such a
 place, which before they say were no Church, nor of
 any Church except the invisible: After
 Election of their this, they doe at the same time, or some
 Church. Officers. other, all being together, elect their own
 Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if
 they have [p. 3.] fit men enough to supply those
 places; else, as many of them as they can be pro-
 vided of.

Then they set another day for the ordination of
 their said officers, and appoint some of
 Their Ordinations. themselves to impose hands upon their
 officers, which is done in a publique day of fasting
 and prayer. Where there are ministers, or elders,
 before, they impose their hands upon the new offi-
 cers: but where there is none, there some of their
 chiefeest men, two or three, of good report amongst
 them, though not of the Ministry, doe, by appoint-
 ment of the said Church, lay hands upon them. And
 after the said ordination, if there are any elders of
 other Churches present, (as of late I have knowne
 divers have been present, under the names of the
 Messengers of the Churches) they give the new
 Officers the right hand of fellowship,
 The right hand of taking them by the right hand, every one
 fellowship by messengers of severally, or else, sometimes, one for-
 Churches. raine Elder, in the name of all the rest,

gives the right hand of fellowship, with a set speech unto them. Notice is given in divers Churches or other places, before-hand, of the gathering of every Church, divers weeks before; and so also of every ordination. And some Ministers, or others, as Messengers from other Churches, are usually present at such gatherings of Churches, and ordinations: for sometimes, Magistrates, Captains, Gentlemen, and other meaner Brethren, are made messengers of Churches, for those and other purposes, never having had imposition of hands: And at planting of a Church, or gathering, [p. 4.] as they tearme it, one of the Church messengers of forraigne Churches, examines and tries the men to be moulded into a Church, discerns their faith and repentance, and their covenant being before ready made, written, subscribed, and here read and acknowledged, hee decerns and pronounceth them to be a true Church of Christ, and gives them the right hand of fellowship, and all this in the name of Christ, and of all the Church-messengers present, and their churches: so did Master *Weld* at the founding of *Weymouth* Church, or to this effect.

And the generall Court will not allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

Some Ministers have there heretofore, as I have heard, disclaimed the power of their Ministry received in *England*, but ^{Some differ.} others among them have not. Generally, for the most part, they hold the Pastors and Teachers offices to be distinct; the Teacher to minister a word of knowledg, the Pastor a word of wisdom, but some hold them all one; as in the Church of *Watertowne*, there are two Pastors, neither will that Church send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church so gathered, he or shee commeth to

How members
are received or
added to the
Church there. the Elders in private, at one of their
houses, or some other place appoint-
ed, upon the weeke dayes, and make
knowne their desire, to enter into Church-fellowship
with that Church, and then the ruling Elders, or
one of them, require, [p. 5.] or aske him or her,
if he bee willing to make known unto them the worke
of grace upon their soules, or how God hath bene
dealing with them about their conversion: which (at
Boston) the man declareth usually standing, the
woman sitting. And if they satisfie the Elders, and
the private assembly, (for divers of the Church, both
men and women, meet there usually) that
The usuall termes
whereupon. they are true beleevers, that they have
bene wounded in their hearts for their
originall sinne, and actuall transgressions, and can
pitch upon some promise of free grace in the Scrip-
ture, for the ground of their faith, and that they finde
their hearts drawne to beleeve in Christ Jesus, for
their justification and salvation, and these in the
ministerie of the Word, reading or conference: and
that they know competently the summe of Christian
faith: And sometimes, though they be not come to
a full assurance of their good estate in Christ. Then
afterwards, in convenient time, in the publique assem-
bly of the Church, notice is given by one of the ruling
Elders, that such a man, or woman, by name, desireth
to enter into Church-fellowship with them, and there-
fore if any know any thing, or matter of offence
against them, for their unfitnessse to joyne with them,
such are required to bring notice thereof to the
Elders; else, that any who know them, or can say
any thing for their fitnessse, be ready to give testimony
thereof, when they shall be called forth before the
whole Church.

If there be matter of offence, it is first heard [p. 6.]
Matters of offence
how heard in pri- before the Elders, and if the party
satisfie them, and the offended, in pri-

vate, for private offences, and promise to satisfie in publique, for publique offences; then, upon another day, one of the ruling Elders calleth forth the party, by name, in the publique assembly of the Church, and before strangers, and whomsoever present, most commonly upon the Lords day, after evening exercises, and sometimes upon a week day, when all the Church have notice to be present.

The party appearing in the midst of the Assembly, or some convenient place, the ruling Elder speaketh in this manner: Brethren Dilatorie proceedings in admitting members. of this congregation, this man, or woman

A. B. hath been heretofore propounded to you, desiring to enter into Church-fellowship with us, and we have not, since that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing against him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet speak. Then after some silence he proceedeth, Seeing no man speaketh to the contrary of his admission, if any of you know any thing, to speak for his receiving, we desire you, give testimony thereof to the Church, as you were also formerly desired to be ready therewith, and expresse your selves as briefly as you may, and to as good hearing. Whereupon, sometimes, men do speak to the contrary, in case they have not heard of the propounding, and so stay the party for that time also, till this new offence be heard before the [p. 7.] Elders, so that sometimes there is a space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving; and some are so bashfull, as that they choose rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe such * publique confessions and tryals, but that is held * Whether Popish Auricular confession, and their fault.

these publique confessions be not extremes, and whether some private Pastorall or Presbyteriall collation, left at liberty, upon cause, and

in case of trouble of conscience, as in the Church of England is approved, be not better then those extremes, I leave to the wise and learned to judge.

But when none speaketh to the contrary, then some one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren speak their opinions of the party, giving instances in some godlinesse and good conversation of his, or some other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto consent) for their part, to give him the right hand of fellowship.

Testimonials and
Recommendations.

Which done, the Elder turneth his speech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or sometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the same.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, speaketh himselfe; but if it be a woman, her confession made before the Elders, in private, is most usually (in *Boston* church) read by the Pastor, who registred the same.

Publique confessions of parties to be received.

At *Salem* the women speake themselves, for the most part, in the Church; but of late it is said, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but [p. 8.] their entrance into Covenant. The man in a solemne speech, sometimes a quarter of an houre long, shorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his soule, to the same purpose, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned.

Then the Elder requireth the party to make profession of his faith; which also is done either by questions and answers, if the party be weake, or else in a solemne speech according to the summe and tenour of the Christian faith laid downe in the Scriptures, defining faith, and shewing how it is wrought by the Word, and Spirit of God, defining a Church to be a company of

Their profession of faith.

beleevers gathered out of the world, by the Word preached, and holy Spirit, and knit together by an holy Covenant, that there are in the Church remaining such and such officers, and members, as aforesaid: That is to say, Pastors and Teachers, ruling Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses, or Widowes; and such and such are their offices and duties in particular, *viz.* the Pastor to exhort, and besides to rule; the Teacher to instruct in knowledge, and likewise to rule; the ruling Elder to assist Pastor and Teacher in ruling, as the Levites were given to the priests for helps, and to see to whomsoever comming into, or to goe forth of the Church, by admonition, or excommunication; the Deacon to receive the contributions of the Church, and faithfully to dispose the same; the Deaconesses to shew mercie with cheerfulness, and to minister to the sick and poore brethren; the members all, to [p. 9.] watch over and support one another in brotherly love.

Officers in the Church.

Their duties or offices.

Members duties.

Notwithstanding, there was a Sermon lately made by Master *Cotton* in *October, Anno 1640.*

A Sermon of

upon 1 *Cor.* 11. 19, touching heresies, which was since commonly there called the Sermon of the twelve Articles, wherein was declared, that there are twelve articles of Religion, which maintained by any, the Church may receive them, and keepe fellowship with them; but the ignorant of them after instruction and scandalous sins unrepented, exclude from the fellowship of the Church. The said Articles were to this effect:

twelve Articles of Religion.

First, that there are three Persons in one God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirit. Secondly, that this God made, and governs all the World, and that he is a rewarder of the good, and punisher of the evill. Thirdly, that this God alone is to be worshiped. Fourthly, this

worship of God is instituted in his written Word, not the precepts of men. Fifthly, that from the fall of *Adam*, we have not so worshiped God, but have all sinned, and deprived our selves of the reward promised, and therefore are under the curse by nature. Sixthly, that we are by nature utterly unable to rescue our selves from this curse. Seventhly, that Jesus Christ the eternall Sonne of God, in fulnesse of time took upon him our nature, and was made flesh for us, and by his death and sufferings, redeemed his elect from sin and death. Eighthly, that Christ Jesus, and salvation by him, is offered, and given in the [p. 10.] Gospell, unto every one that beleeveth in his name, and onely by such received. Ninthly, that no man can come unto Christ, nor beleve on him, except the Father draw him by his Word and Spirit. Tenthly, whom the Lord draws to him by his Word and Spirit, them he justifies freely by his grace, and according to his truth, not by works. Eleventhly, where the soule is justified, it is also regenerate and sanctified. Twelfthly, this regeneration and sanctification is still imperfect in this life. And unto all is added this generall Article, That such as walke after this rule, shall arise to everlasting life; and those that walk otherwise, shall arise to everlasting condemnation, in the day of Judgement: That the knowledge and beliefe of these are of the *foundation of Religion*: But things touching the *foundation of Churches*, as Baptisme, Imposition of hands; ignorance in these may hinder the measure of our reward in heaven, not communion with the Church on earth. Exceptions against the Apostles Creed were these: That it is not of necessity to beleve Christs descent into hell in any sense; That it is not in that Creed contained, that the Scripture is the onely rule of Gods worship; nor doth it so directly set forth the point of Justification.

And also I remember Master *Knolles*, now one of the Pastors at *Watertowne*, when he first came to be admitted at *Boston*, never made any mention in his profession of faith, of any Officers of the Church in particular, or their duties, and yet was received.

Master Knolles
how admitted.

[p. 11.] The party having finished his Discourses of his confession, and profession of his faith, the Elder againe speaketh to the congregation: Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, from this party, doe not satisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowship*, use your liberty, and declare your mindes therein: And then, after some silence, if none except against the parties expressions, (as often some members doe) then the Elder proceedeth, saying, But if you are satisfied with that you have heard of, and from him, expresse your willingnesse, and consent to receive him, by your *usuall signe*, which is *erection and extention of the right hand*.

Right hand of
fellowship given
to brethren.

The whole
Church ruleth.

This done, sometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the same manner, for the most part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, spending sometimes almost a whole afternoone therein. And then the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearseth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publicly say, they doe promise, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promiseth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Their entrance
into Covenant.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords supper with them, and their children bee baptized, but not before: also till then they may not be

free men of the Common-wealth, but being received in the Church they may.

[p. 12.] Sometimes the Master is admitted, and not the servant, & *e contra*: the husband is received, and not the wife; and on the contrary, the child, and not the parent.

Severing in the family.

Also all matters of publique offence are heard & determined in publique, before all the Church, (and strangers too in *Boston*, not so in other places.) The party is called forth, and the matter declared and testified by two witnesses; then he is put to answer;

Offences, how heard in publique.

The whole Church ruling and usurping the keyes.

* Whether a grave and judicious consistorie of the Bishop well assisted be not a great deale better, I leave to our superiours to determine.

Which finished, one of the ruling Elders asketh the *congregation if they are satisfied with the parties expressions? If they are, he requireth them to use their *liberty*, and declare their satisfiednesse; If not, and that they hold the party worthy of admonition or excommunication, that they wnesse their assent thereto by their silence. If they be silent, the sentence is denounced. If it be for defaults in erroneous opinions onely, the Teacher, they say, is to denounce the sentence; If for matter of ill manners, the Pastor denounceth it; the ruling Elders doe not usually denounce any sentence: But I have heard, a Captaine† delivered one to Satan, in the Church at *Dorchester*, in the absence of their Minister.

Who denounce Church censures.

Dic Ecclesiæ.

* This agreeth with the rule in *England*.

Ordinarily, matter of offence is to be brought to the Elders in private, they may not otherwise *tell the* * *Church* in ordinary matters, and so it hath been declared in publique, by the Pastors of *Boston*.

[† In the copy of Lechford, from which this is printed, there is the following manuscript note in the margin, against the word *Captaine*: — “In the original MS. ‘Israel Stoughton’ is inserted.”]

The admonished must, in good manners, abstain from the Communion, and must goe on to satisfie the Church, else Excommuni-^{Admonition.} cation follows.

[p. 13.] The excommunicate is held *as an Heathen and Publican*: Yet it hath been declared at *Boston* in divers cases, that^{Excommunica-} children may eate with their parents excommunicate; that an elected Magistrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were chosen; that an hereditary Magistrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed still in civill things; that the excommunicate person may come and heare the Word, and be present at Prayer, so that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Assembly: But at *New-haven, alias Quinapeag*, where Master *Davenport* is Pastor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in frost, snow, and raine. Most an-end, in the *Bay*, they use good moderation, and forbearance in their censures: Yet I have known a Gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stifnesse maintained, saying, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of Joyners worke of a chamber too high, and endeavouring to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the Church, (though the first told the party of it) and this without her husband. I feare she is not yet absolved; I am sure she was not upon the third of August last, when we loosed from *Boston*.

There hath been some difference about jurisdictions, or cognizance of causes: Some have held, that in causes betweene brethren of the Church, the matter should be first told the [p. 14.] Church, before they goe to the civill Magistrate, because all causes in difference doe^{Cognizance of causes.}

amount, one way or other, to a matter of offence; and that all criminall matters concerning Church members, should be first heard by the Church. But these opinionists are held, by the wiser sort, not to know the dangerous issues and consequences of such tenets. The Magistrates, and Church-leaders, labour for a just and equall correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other, neither the civill Magistrates to be exempt from Ecclesiasticall censure, nor the Ministers from Civill: & whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civill power first begin to lay hold of a man, the same to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle.

Every Church hath power of government in, and by it selfe; and no Church, or Officers, have power over one another but by way of advice or counsaile, voluntarily given or besought, saving that the generall Court, now and then, over-rule some Church matters: and of late, divers of the Ministerie have had set meetings to order Church matters; whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule.

Churches independent.

In *Boston*, they rule, most an-end, by unanimous consent, if they can, both in admissions, and censures, and other things. In *Salem*, they rule by the major part of the Church: You that are so minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours.

Difference of rule in Churches.

In *Boston*, when they cannot agree in a matter, they will sometimes referre it to some select brethren [p. 15.] to heare and end, or to certifie the Church, and any brethren, that will, to be present at the discusse in private.

Consistory. A better Consistory is, and may be constituted in England.

Some Churches have no ruling Elders, some but one, some but one teaching Elder, some have two ruling, and two teaching El-

Difference in number of Officers.

ders ; some one, some two or three Deacons ; some hold that one Minister is enough for a small number of people ; No Church there hath a Deaconesse, as far as I know.

Where farmes or villages are, as at *Rumney-marsh* . and *Marblehead*, there a Minister, or a brother of one of the congregations of *Boston* for the *Marsh*, and of *Salem* for *Marblehead*, preacheth and exerciseth prayer every Lords day, which is called prophesying in such a place. And so it was heretofore at *Mountwoollaston* within *Boston* precincts, though since it became a Church now called of *Braintree*, but before they of the mount did, and those of the *Marsh* and *Marblehead* still come and receive the Sacrament at *Boston*, and *Salem* respectively, and some of *Braintree* still receive at *Boston*.

Also when a Minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling Elder of the place, after the Psalme sung, saying publicly ; If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people, at this time, in the name of God let him say on ; this is held prophesying. Also the confessions or speeches made by members to be admitted, have beene by some held prophesying, and when a brother exerciseth in his [p. 16.] own congregation (as at *Salem* they doe sometimes) taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the *Bay*, by some of the most grave and learned men amongst them, that none should undertake to prophesie in publique, unlesse he intend the worke of the Ministry, and so in some places, as in schooles*, and not abroad, without they have both imposition of hands, and mis-

Chappels of ease.

These, you see, are necessary in England in some places.

Prophesying.

Prophesying, or Preaching by Licence.

It ought not to be otherwaies in England.

* Universities, Cathedrals, and Collegiat Churches.

sion, or permission, because prophecie properly hath
 1 *Cor.* 13. 2. its denomination from * *understanding*
propheticallyl Scriptures, which to know
 discreetly to handle, requireth good learning, skill
 in tongues, great fidelity, and good conscience.

The publique worship.

THE publique worship is in as faire a *meeting*
house as they can provide, wherein, in most
 places, they have beene at great charges.
 Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come
 together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell,
 about nine of the clock or before. The
 Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a
 quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and
 expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalme is sung, which
 ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the
 Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tem-*
pore exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with
 prayer and a blessing.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Sup-
 per, whereof notice is given usually a
 fortnight [p. 17.] before, and then all
 others departing save the Church, which is a great
 deale lesse in number then those that goe away, they
 receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling El-
 ders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or
 upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecra-
 ting, unlesse they stand up, and make a narrow shift.
 The one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and
 blesseth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, ac-
 cording to the words of Institution; the other prays
 after the receiving of all the members: and next
 Communion, they change turnes; he that began at
 that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the
 Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and per-
 adventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands,

and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have drank, goes from one to another. Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boston*, come in, and *see the Sacrament administred, if he will: But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.

* Once I stood without one of the doores, and looked in, and saw the administration: Besides, I have had credible relation of all the particulars from some of the members.

About two in the after-noone, they repaire to the meeting-house againe; and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalme being [p. 18.] sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the after-noon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

Afternoone.

After that ensues Baptisme, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptisme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghost*. No sureties are required.

Baptisme.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as

Contribution.

building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or [p. 19.] papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

But in *Salem* Church, those onely that are of the Church, offer in publique; the rest are
Differences in contributions. required to give to the Ministerie, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministerie.

This done, then followes admission of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other
Admissions. Offences. things, sometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is sung a Psalme, and then the Pastor concludeth with a Prayer and a blessing.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes, and in *Boston*, upon Thursdayes, when Master *Cotton* teacheth out
Lectures. Fasts & feasts.

of the *Revelation*. There are dayes of fasting, thanksgiving, [p. 20.] and prayers upon ^a occasions, but no ^b holy dayes, except the Sunday.

set Synods in the Reformed Churches? ^b And why not holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews? Besides, the commemoration of the blessed and heavenly mysteries of our ever blessed Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the moderate recreation of youth and servants, but after divine services on most of those dayes, seeing that upon the Sunday it is justly held unlawfull? And sure enough, at New-England, the Masters will and must hold their servants to their labour more then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think even they should doe well to admit of some Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiser sort among them hold necessary and expedient.

In some Churches, nothing is ^c read on the first day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a Psalme dictated before or after the Sermon, as at *Hingham*; there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church, (except in *Concord* Church, and in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving :) the reason given by some is, because when people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Ministers catechizing; as if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*, did not reach to Ministers catechizings. But, God be thanked, the generall Court was so wise, in *June* last, as to enjoin, or take some course for such catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it should be done.

be exceeding great, as well as publique preaching and expounding.

[p. 21.] They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the first, second, third, forth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin at March, by

^a And why not set fasting dayes & times, and set feasts, as well as

^c Little reading, catechizing.

^c Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read in publique, Chapters and Psalmes in every Church, besides the eleven or twelve* Commandments, Epistle and Gospell, the Creed and other good formes and catechizings, and besides what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes both in the parish, and Cathedral and Collegiat Churches, & in the Universities, and other Chappels, the benefit whereof, doubtlesse, all wise men will acknowledge to

Dayes and moneths how called.

[* In the copy from which this is reprinted, a pen has been carefully drawn through the words 'eleven or twelve,' and the color of the ink shows this to have been done early.]

the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: because they would *avoid all memory* of heathenish and idols *names*: And surely it is good to overthrow heathen-

Neglect of in-
structing the
Indians.

isme by all good wayes and meanes. But there hath not been any sent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to instruct them in the Religion; First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English. Secondly, some say out of *Rev.* 15. last, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; *till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter into the Temple*, that is, the Christian Church, and the *seventh Viall* is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, because all Churches among them are equall, and all Officers equall, and so betweene many, nothing is done that way. They must all therefore equally beare the blame; for indeede I humbly conceive that by their principles, no Nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if so, by their principles how can any Nation be governed? They have nothing to excuse themselves in this point of not labouring with the Indians to instruct them, but their want of a staple trade, and other businesses taking them up. And it is true, this may excuse *à tanto*.

Of late some Churches are of opinion, that any
[p. 22.] may be admitted to Church-
Charity. fellowship, that are not extremely ignorant or scandalous: but this they are not very forward to practice, except at *Newberry*. Besides, many good people scruple their Church Covenant, so highly tearmed by the most of them, a part of the * Covenant of grace; and particularly, one Master

* The Covenant of Grace of the New Testament, it is true, makes the whole universall Church of Christ, and every part thereof, or at least belongeth thereunto: but allowing Churches a Covenant of Reformation tending to the better ordering and well-being of themselves, and for other politique respects, this is as much as they at New-England can justly make of their Covenant, and some that are judicious among themselves have acknowledged it: And yet, even this, un-

Martin for saying in argumentation, that their Church Covenant was an humane invention, and that they will not leave till it came to swords point, was fined ten pounds, his cow taken and sold for the money. A Minister standing upon his Ministry, as of the Church of *England*, and arguing against their Covenant, and beeing elected by some of *Weymouth* to be their Minister, was compelled to recant some words; one that made the election, & got hands to the paper, was fined 10. pounds, and thereupon speaking a few crosse words, 5. pound more, and payed it downe presently; Another of them for saying one of the Ministers of the Bay was a Brownist, or had a Brownisticall head, and for a supposed lie, was whipt: and all these by the generall or quarter civill Courts.

[p. 23.] *Touching the government of the Common-Weale there.*

None may now be a *Freeman* of that Commonwealth, being a Societie or Corporation, named by the name of the *Gov-^{Ecclesia re-}ernour, Deputy Governour, and Assistants gnans.* of the Societie of the *Mattachusetts Bay in New-England*, unlesse he be a Church member amongst them. None have voice in elections of Governours, Deputy, and Assistants; none are to be Magistrates, Officers, or Jurymen, grand or petite, but *Freemen*. The Ministers give their votes in all elections of Magistrates. Now the most of the persons at *New-England* are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not *Freemen*, and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must bee tryed and judged too by those of the Church, who are in a sort their adversaries: how equall that

lesse it be made and guided by good counsell, and held with dependance and concatenation upon some chiefe Church or Churches, may tend to much division and confusion, as is obvious to the understanding of those that are but a little versed in study of these points.

hath been, or may be, some by experience doe know, others may judge.

The manner of the elections is this : At first, the
Elections of the
 Governour &
 chiefe Magis-
 trates. chiefe Governour and Magistrates were
 chosen in *London*, by erection of hands,
 by all the *Free-men* of this *Society*. Since
 the transmitting of the Patent into *New-
 England*, the election is not by voices, nor erection
 of hands, but by papers, thus :

The generall Court-electory sitting, where are
 present in the Church, or meeting-house at [p. 24.]
Boston, the old Governour, Deputy, and all the Magis-
 trates, and two Deputies or Burgesses for every
 towne, or at least one, all the *Freemen* are bidden to
 come in at one doore, and bring their votes in paper,
 for the new Governour, and deliver them downe upon
 the table, before the Court, and so to passe forth at
 another doore. Those that are absent, send their
 votes by proxies. All being delivered in, the votes
 are counted, and according to the major part, the old
 Governour pronounceth, that such an one is chosen
 Governour for the yeare ensuing. Then the *Free-
 men*, in like manner, bring their votes for the Deputy
 Governour, who being also chosen, the Governour
 propoundeth the Assistants one after the other. New
 Assistants are, of late, put in nomination, by an order
 of general Court, beforehand to be considered of :
 If a *Freeman* give in a blanck, that rejects the man
 named ; if the *Freeman* makes any mark with a pen
 upon the paper which he brings, that elects the man
 named ; then the blancks and marked papers are
 numbred, and according to the major part of either,
 the man in nomination stands elected or rejected.
 And so for all the Assistants. And after every new
 election, which is, by their Patent, to be upon the
 last Wednesday in every Easter Terme, the new
 Governour and Officers are all new sworn. The
 Governour and Assistants choose the Secretary.

And all the Court consisting of Governour, Deputy, Assistants, and Deputies of towns, give their votes as well as the rest; and the *Ministers*. [p. 25.] and *Elders*, and all *Church-officers*, have their *votes* also in all these elections of chiefe Magistrates. Constables, and all other inferiour Officers, are sworn in the generall, quarter, or other Courts, or before any Assistant.

Every *Free-man*, when he is admitted, takes a strict oath, to be true to the Society, or jurisdiction: In which oath, I doe not re-^{Freemen their oath.} member expressed that ordinary saving, which is and ought to be in all oathes to other Lords, *Saving the faith and truth which I beare to our Sovereigne Lord the King*, though, I hope, it may be implied.

There are two generall Courts, one every halfe yeare, wherein they make Lawes or Ordinances: The Ministers advise in making^{Courts and Laws.} of Laws, especially Ecclesiasticall, and are present in Courts, and advise in some speciall causes criminall, and in framing of Fundamentall Lawes: But not many Fundamentall Lawes are yet established: which, when they doe, they must, by the words of their Charter, make according to the Laws of *England*, or not contrary thereunto. Here they make taxes and levies.

There are besides foure quarter Courts for the whole Jurisdiction, besides other petie Courts, one every quarter, at *Boston*, *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, with their severall jurisdictions, besides every towne, almost, hath a petie Court for small debts, and trespasses under twenty shillings.

In the generall Court, or great quarter Courts, before the Civill Magistrates, are tryed [p. 26.] all actions and causes civill and^{Actions and causes.} criminall, and also Ecclesiasticall, especially touching non-members: And they themselves

say, that in the generall and quarter Courts, they have the power of Parliament, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, and Star-chamber, and all other Courts of England, and in divers cases have exercised that power upon the Kings Subjects there, as is not difficult to prove. They have put to death, banished, fined men, cut off mens eares, whipt, imprisoned men, and all these for Ecclesiasticall and Civill offences, and without sufficient record. In the lesser quarter Courts are tryed, in some, actions under ten pound, in *Boston*, under twenty, and all criminall causes not touching life or member. From the petie quarter Courts, or other Court, the parties may appeale to the great quarter Courts, from thence to the generall Court, from which there is no appeale, they say: Notwithstanding, I presume their Patent doth reserve and provide for Appeales, in some cases, to the Kings Majesty.

The generall and great quarter Courts are kept
Grand Juries. in the Church meeting-house at *Boston*.

Twice a yeare, in the said great quarter Courts held before the generall Courts, are two grand Juries sworne for the Jurisdiction, one for one Court, and the other for the other, and they are charged to enquire and present offences reduced, by the Governour, who gives the charge, most an-end, under the Heads of the *ten Commandements*: [p. 27.] And a draught of a body of fundamentall laws, according to the judiciall Laws of the Jews, hath been contrived by the *Ministers* and *Magistrates*, and offered to the generall Court to be established and published to the people to be considered of, and this since his Majesties command came to them to send over their Patent: Among which Lawes, that was one I excepted against, as you may see in the paper following, entituled, *Of the Church her liberties, presented to the Governour and Magistrates of the Bay, 4 Martii, 1639.* Notwithstanding, a by-law, to that

or the like effect, hath been made, and was held of force there when I came thence : yet I confesse I have heard one of their wisest speak of an intention to repeale the same Law.

Matters of debt, trespasse, and upon the case, and equity, yea and of heresie also, are tryed ^{Tryals.} by a Jury. Which although it may seeme to be indifferent, and the Magistrates may judge what is Law, and what is equall, and some of the chief Ministers informe what is heresie, yet the Jury may finde a generall verdict, if they please ; and seldome is there any speciall verdict found by them, with deliberate arguments made thereupon, which breeds many inconveniences.

The parties are warned to challenge any Juryman before he be sworn ; but because there is but one Jury in a Court for tryall of causes, and all parties not present at their swearing, the liberty of challenge is much hindred, and some inconveniences doe happen thereby. Jurors are returned (p. 28.) by the Marshall, he was at first called the Bedle of the Societie. Seldome is there any matter of record, saving the verdict many times at randome taken and entred, which is also called the judgment. And for want of proceeding duly upon record, the government is cleerely arbitrary, according to the discretions of the Judges and Magistrates for the time being. And humbly I appeale to his royall Majesty, and his honourable and great Counsell, whether or no the proceedings in such matters as come to be heard before Ecclesiasticall Judges, be not fit to be upon Record ; and whether Registers, Advocates, and Procurators, be not necessary to assist the poore and unlearned in their causes, and that according to the warrant and intendment of holy Writ, and of right reason. I have knowne by experience, and heard divers have suffered wrong by default of such in *New-England*. I feare it is not a little degree of pride and danger-

ous improvidence to slight all former lawes of the Church or State, cases of experience and precedents, to go hammer out new, according to severall exigencies; upon pretence that the Word of God is sufficient to rule us: It is true, it is sufficient, if well understood. But take heede my brethren, despise not learning, nor the worthy Lawyers of either gown, lest you repent too late.

The parties in all causes, speake themselves for the most part, and some of the Magistrates where they thinke cause requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward. Most matters [p. 29.] are presently heard, and ended the same Court, the party defendant having foure dayes warning before; but some causes come to be heard again, and new suits grow upon the old.

Profane swearing, drunkennesse, and beggers, are but rare in the compasse of this Patent, through the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poore there living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably, better then the rich, by their stocks, which without exceeding great care, quickly waste.

A Paper of certaine Propositions to the generall Court, made upon request, 8. Iunii, 1639.

1. **I**T were good, that all actions betweene parties, were entred in the Court book, by the Secretary, before the Court sits.

2. That every action be declared in writing, and the defendants answer, generall or speciall, as the case shall require, be put in writing, by a publique Notarie, before the cause be heard.

3. The Secretary to take the verdicts, and make forth the judicall Commands or Writs.

4. The publique Notarie to record all the proceed-

ings in a fair book, and to enter executions of commands done, & satisfactions acknowledged.

5. The fees, in all these, to be no more then in an inferiour Court of Record in *England*, and to be allowed by the generall Court, or Court of Assistants.

[p. 30.] *The benefit hereof to the publique good.*

1. **I**T will give an easie and quick dispatch to all Causes: For thereby the Court and Jury will quickly see the point in hand, and accordingly give their verdict and judgement.

2. The Court shall the better know, constantly, how to judge the same things; and it is not possible, that the Judges should, alwayes, from time to time, remember clearly, or know to proceed certainly, without a faithfull Record.

3. The parties may hereby more surely, and clearly obtaine their right; for through ignorance and passion, men may quickly wrong one another, in their bare words, without a Record.

4. Hereby shall the Law of God and Justice be duly administred to the people, according to more certaine and unchangeable rules, so that they might know what is the Law, and what right they may look for at the mouthes of all their Judges.

5. Hereby the Subjects have a great part of their evidences and assurances for their proprieties, both of lands and goods.

[p. 31]. *A Paper touching the Church her liberties, delivered at Boston, 4. Martii, 1639.*

To the Right Worshipfull the Governour, Deputy Governour, Councillers, and Assistants, for this Jurisdiction.

WHEREAS you have been pleased to cause me to transcribe certain Breviats of Propositions, delivered to the last generall Court, for the establishing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the wel-fare of this People and Country; and published the same, to the intent that any man may acquaint you, or the Deputies for the next Court, with what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the said lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of some things of great moment, about the same Lawes, in discharge of my conscience, which I shall, as *Amicus curiæ*, pray you to present with all faithfulness, as is proposed, to the next generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further considered of, as followeth:

1. It is propounded to be one chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councill intended, to take care, that the *conversion* of the *Natives* be endeavoured.

2. It is proposed, as a liberty, that a convenient * number of Orthodoxe Christians, allowed [p. 32.] to plant together in this Jurisdiction, may gather themselves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their places, giving notice to seven of the next Churches, one moneth before thereof, and of their names, and that they may exercise all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and so

* Although some have held that three or two may make a Church, yet I have heard Master *Cotton* say, that a Church could not be without the number of sixe or seaven at least, and so was their practise while I was there, at *Weymouth*, and *New Taunton*, and at *Lin*, for *Long Island*; Because if there are but three, one that is offended with another, cannot upon cause tel the Church, but one man.

they proceede according to the rule of God, and shall not be hindered by any Civill power ; nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

This clause (*nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered*) doth as I conceive contradict the first proposition.

My reasons are these.

1. If the *conversion of the Natives* must be endeavoured, then some wise and godly men (they should be of your *gravest and best men*) must bee sent forth to teach them to know God.

2. When such are sent, they must bee either sent immediately by the Lord, or mediately by his Churches.

3. If the Churches send men, they that are sent must be sent by imposition of *hands of the Presbyterie*.

[p. 33.] *Now when Churches are thus gathered or planted, they are gathered by Ministers, doing the works of Apostles and Euangelists, which hath ever been, and is the ordinary and regular way of gathering or planting Churches, (and not as is proposed, a convenient number of Orthodoxe Christians, gathering themselves into a Church) and yet when such a Church is gathered by Church-messengers and Ministers, this Court is advised not to allow the same ; which, I conceive, is to say, The conversion of the Natives shall not be endeavoured, orderly, according to the rule of God.*

Againe, it would be considered, that when men are sent forth, whether they should not be sent forth *two*, and by *two* at least, as the Scriptures beare, and for divers good reasons, which lye not hid to your wisdomes.

That you would be pleased to shew unto the Elders these things to be considered, and that they would well weigh, whether or no those Ministers and Messengers sent by Churches, should not visit the Churches which they plant ?

Other things there are, wherein, I think, I could also, to good purpose, move somewhat to your Worshipps, which lyes more directly in the way, and calling, I have been educated, if I were required, but this thing lying upon my conscience, I could not well passe by: Wherefore I shall request it may be considered.

1. Whether it be not fit to leave out, at least, [p. 34.] that contradictory clause, *viz. Nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered ?*

2. Whether it be not better to let the liberty run thus, in generall,
The holy Church of God shall enjoy all her just liberties ?

A Paper intended for the honoured John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour. Boston, Maii 2. 1640.

IF you see a necessity of *baptizing* them without, If an ingagement of *Propagation* of the truth to the Infidel *Natives* :

Then consider, whether by the Kings leave, some Churches may not be appointed to send their chiefe Pastors, and other Ministers, to doe such works.

Also with some kind of subjection, or acknowledgement of authority of the Ministerie in *England*, if it be but by way of advice, which is cleare to me you may doe :

I make no doubt but in all things requisite for the state of the Country, they will yeeld you all faire liberties.

Nay, I am perswaded, the Kings Majesty will not send any unexperienced Governour to afflict, but

make you Patentees againe, or at least, after the manner of other Plantations, restoring not onely favour, but other benefits, whereof, under God, to us *Englishmen*, he is the Fountaine. The Kings Attorney did offer some of you this in my hearing, I meane, the renewall of your Patent.

[p. 35.] Nay further, if you would invent, and devise what the King may doe for the Country, you might obtaine.

The very conversion of these poore naked people, which is very hopefull, and much prepared for *per accidens*, or Gods owne providence, bringing good out of evill, will rejoyce the hearts of all Christians in our deare native Countrey, and here: and of it selfe (if there were no other desirable things here, as blessed be God there are many) would cause a continued confluence of more people then you can tell well where to bestow for the present.

The Fishing trade would be promoted with authority.

Hereby would you give the greater testimony to the cause of Reformation.

Hereby will you, under God and the King, make Church-work, and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countryes.

You will enrich your Countries both, in short time. The Heathens in time, I am perswaded, will become zealous Christians, then will they labour, get cloathes, and substance about them. In vaine doe some think of civillizing them, either by the sword, or otherwise, till (withall) the Word of God hath spoken to their hearts: wherein I conceive great advice is to be taken.

For which purpose a Presse is necessary, and may be obtained, I hope, so that wise men watch over it.

Consider how poorely your Schooles goe on, [p. 36.] you must depend upon *England* for help of

learned men and Schollers, bookes, commodities infinite almost.

No doubt but the King, this way, will make your authority reach even to the Dutch Southward, and to the French Northward. *New-England* indeede without fraction. A facile way, taking out the core of malice.

The conversion and subduing of a Nation, and so great a tract of ground, is a work too weighty for subjects any much longer to labour under without Royall assistance, as I apprehend, I think, in religious reason.

If any shall suggest, that your Churches may send forth men of their own authority ;

Consider, if it may be done warrantably by the Word of God, as peradventure it may be so.

Yet you will be in danger, *rebus sic stantibus*, of great imputations.

That you infringe *Regall power*,
And Ecclesiasticall.

Whereon adversaries will sure enough make fearfull worke.

And besides, some reformatiions (under favour) have been too deep, at least for others to follow.

They were also unexperienced of mission to convert Infidels.

Is *Geneva* without her faults ? or *Holland, Rotterdam, Amsterdam*, without theirs ? what experience have they of mission, or ever had ?

Now I beseech you grave Sir, doe you thinke it good, honourable, safe, for us poore men here, [p. 37.] or for the Religion and Professors thereof in generall, in the whole world, that such as have the name of the most zealous, should be the first example of almost utmost provocation to our owne Sovereigne ?

For my part, I disclaime *Parker*,

And encline to *Hooker, Jewel*, as to government.

Great men have great burthens, therefore they have their counsels crosse, and sometimes they use them both.

You heare enough on the other side,

Heare now this, on this, and the Lord guide your spirit.

Odere Reges dicta, quæ dici jubent.

These are the Ministers of the Bay.

AT *Boston*, master *Cotton* Teacher, master *Wilson* Pastor: At *Roxbury*, master *Weld* Ministers names. Pastor, master *Eliott* Teacher: At *Dorchester*, master *Mather* Pastor or Teacher, and Master *Burgh* out of office: At *Braintree*, Master *Thomson* Pastor, Master *Flint* Teacher: At *Weymouth*, Master *Newman* Pastor, Master *Parker* out of office: At *Hingham*, master *Hubbard* Pastor, master *Peck* Teacher: They refuse to baptize old *Ottis* grandchildren, an ancient member of their own Church. At *Charlestowne*, Master *Symms* Pastor, master *Allen* Teacher: At *Cambridge*, master *Sheppard* Pastor, master *Dunster* School-master; divers young Scholars are there under him to the number of almost twenty: At *Watertowne*, master *Phillips* [p. 38.] Pastor, master *Knolls* Pastor: At *Dedham*, another master *Phillips* out of office, and master *Allen* Pastor or Teacher: At *Sudbury*, master *Brown* in office, master *Fordham* out of office: At *Lynne*, master *Whiting* Pastor, master *Cobbet* Teacher: At *Salem*, master *Peter* Pastor, master *Norris* Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-master: At *Ipswich*, master *Rogers* Pastor, master *Norton* Teacher, and master *Nathaniel Ward*, and his sonne, and one Master *Knight*, out of employment: At *Rowley*, Master *Ezek. Rogers* Pastor, Master *Miller*: At *Newberry*, Master *Noyse* Pastor, Master *Parker* Teacher: He is sonne of Master *Robert Parker*, sometime of *Wilton*, in the County of *Wiltes*, deceased, who in his life time writ

that mis-learned and mistaken Book *De Politeia Ecclesiastica*. At *Salisbury*, Master *Worster* Pastor: At *Hampton*, Master *Bachelor* Pastor, Master *Dalton* Teacher: There are other School-masters which I know not, in some of these townes.

The Magistrates in the Bay are these :

Master *Bellingham* the present Governour, master *Endecot* the present Deputy Governour, Magistrates
names. master *Winthrop*, master *Dudley*, master *Humfrey*, master *Saltonstall*, master *Bradstreet*, master *Sloughton*, master *Winthrop junior*, master *Nowell*, Assistants. Master *Nowell* is also Secretarie. Master *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages. There is a *Marshall*, [p. 39.] who is as a *Sheriffe* or *Bailiffe*, and his Deputy is the *Gaoler* and executioner.

Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates, and not by the Ministers. * Probats of Testaments, and granting of Letters of Administration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter Courts. At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The Ministers are most commonly present.

Marriages.
Testaments.
Administrat.
Burials.
* Causes touching Matrimonie, and Testaments, and other Ecclesiasticall causes, have been anciently by the good lawes of England, committed to the Clergie, upon better grounds then many are aware of. Brethren,

I pray consider well that the Apostle doth allow judgements of controversies to the Church, 1 *Cor.* 6. And so they did anciently in other Countiees, as well as in England, as appeares by S. *Augustines* profession thereof, cited by one lately, viz. That he (the said Father, and other holy men of the Church) suffered the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes touching secular affaires, either by determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreaties: Which labour (saith he) we endure with consolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life. To which molestations, the Apostle tyed us, not by his owne judgement, but by his judgement who spake in him. Besides, should they judge these things, and labour for, and watch over us in the Lord, and not

They are very diligent in traynings of their soldiers and military exercises, and all except Magistrates, and Ministers beare ^{Trainings or Musteis.} armes, or pay for to bee excused, or for speciall reasons are exempted by order of Court. The Captains, and officers are such as are admitted of the Church.

But the people begin to complain, they are ruled like *slaves*, and in short time shall have ^{Grievances.} [p. 40.] their children for the most part remain unbaptized: and so have little more privilege then Heathens, unlesse the discipline be amended and moderated.

It is feared, that Elections cannot be safe there long, either in Church or Common-wealth. So that some melancholy men thinke it a ^{Danger.} great deale safer to be in the midst of troubles in a settled Common-wealth, or in hope easily to be settled, then in mutinies there, so far off from succours.

At *New Plymouth* they have but one * Minister, master *Rayner*; yet master *Chancey* lives there, and one master *Smith*, both Ministers, they are not in any office there; master *Chancey* stands for dipping in baptism onely necessary,* and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute, and master *Chancey* put to the worst by the opinion of the Churches <sup>*New Plymouth Patent.*
M. Raymer.
M. Smith.
M. Chancey his controversie.</sup> advised withall.

their ground, I know not; but what ever there be in others to advise and assist, the deciding, determining voice, I meane also the negative, in some cases, ought, as I think, to be in the Pastor: Be there never so many Ministers in the Church, *Do nothing without your Pastor or Bishop*, saith *Irenæus*: for whatsoever is faulty in the Church, the Bishop is first and principally blamed, *Rev. 2. and 3.*

Cohannet, alias *Taunton*, is in *Plymouth Taunton*. <sup>** Eccles. 12. 11.*
One shepherd:
James 3. 1. Not many masters.</sup> Patent. There is a Church gathered of <sup>*Whether this be*
M. Hooke.
M. Streate,
their ordination.</sup> late, and some ten or twenty of the

be recompenced as long as they doe well? I speak not to countenance undue exactions, bribes, or other corruptions. I intend brevity, and therefore make bold to refer my Reader to the many learned arguments both in Law-books and Divinity of this subject.

Church, the rest excluded. Master *Hooke* Pastor, master *Streate* Teacher. Master *Hooke* received ordination from the hands of one master *Bishop* a School-master, and one *Parker* an Husbandman, and then master *Hooke* joyned in ordaining master *Streate*. One master *Doughty*, a Minister, opposed the gathering of the [p. 41.] Church there, alleading that according to the Covenant of *Abraham*, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so *Abrahams* children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publike, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the Ministers spake to the Magistrate to order him: The Magistrate commanded the Constable, who dragged master *Doughty* out of the Assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children.

There are also in this Patent divers other Plantations, as *Sandwich*, *Situate*, *Duxbury*, *Greenesharbour*, and *Yarmouth*. Ministers there are, master *Leveridge*, master *Blackwood*, master *Mathews*, and master *Andrew Hallet* a School-master. Master *Saxton* also, who was comming away when we did.

At the Island called *Aquedney*, are about two hundred families. There was a Church, where one master *Clark* was Elder: The place where the Church was, is called *Newport*, but that Church, I heare, is now dissolved; as also divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and dissolved through dissention. At the other end of the Island there is another towne called *Portsmouth*, but no Church: there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it Prophetie. These of the Island have a pretended civill government of their owne erection, without the Kings Patent. There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of

M. *Doughty*, his
controversie.

Divers other
Towns and
Ministers.

Island *Aqued-*
ney.

Master *Gorton*
whipt and
banished.

their [p. 42.] Magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington*; whereupon *Gorton* was banished the Island: so with his wife and children he went to *Providence*. They began about a small trespasse of swine, but it is thought some other matter was ingredient.

At *Providence*, which is twenty miles from the said Island, lives master *Williams*, and his company, of divers opinions; most are ^{New Providence.} Anabaptists; they hold there is no true visible Church in the *Bay*, nor in the world, nor any true Ministerie. This is within no Patent, as they say; but they have of late a kind of government also of their owne erection.

One master *Blakeston*, a Minister, went from *Boston*, having lived there nine or ten yeares, ^{M. Blakeston.} because he would not joyne with the Church; he lives neere master *Williams*, but is far from his opinions.

There are five or six townes, and Churches upon the River *Connecticot*, where are worthy ^{Connecticot.} master *Hooker*, master *Warham*, master *Hewet*, and divers others, and master *Fenwike* with the Lady *Boteler*, at the rivers mouth in ^{Lady Boteler.} a faire house, and well fortified, and one master *Higgison*, a young man, their Chaplain. These plantations have a Patent; the Lady was lately admitted of master *Hookers* Church, and thereupon her child was baptized.

[p. 43.] The Lady *Moody* lives at *Lynne*, but is of *Salem* Church, shee is (good Lady) ^{Lady Moody.} almost undone by buying master *Humphries* farme, *Swampscot*, which cost her nine, or eleven hundred pounds.

Beyond *Connecticott* are divers plantations, as

New-Haven, alias *Quinapeag*, where master *Davenport* is Pastor, and one master *James a New Haven*. Schoole-master; and another where master *Whitfield* is: and another where master *Pridgeon* is, and some others, almost reaching to the Dutch plantation southward. Among these are my old acquaintance, master *Roger Ludlow*, master *Frost*, sometime of *Nottingham*, and his sonnes, *Iohn Grey* and *Henry Grey*; the Lord in his goodnesse provide for them; they have a Minister, whose name I have forgotten, if it be not master *Blackwell*. I do not know what Patent these have.

Long Island is begun to be planted, and some two Ministers are gone thither, or to goe, as *Long Island*. one master *Peirson*, and master *Knowles*, that was at *Dover*, alias *Northam*. A Church was gathered for that Island at *Lynne*, in the *Bay*, whence some, by reason of straitnesse, did remove to the said Island; and one master *Simonds*, heretofore a servant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know, was one of the first Founders. Master *Peter* of *Salem* was at the gathering, and told me the said master *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confession. Notwithstanding he yet dwels at *Boston*, and they proceed on but slowly. The Patent is granted to the Lord *Starling*; but the *Dutch* claime part of the Island, or the whole: for their [p. 44.] plantation is right over against, and not far from the South end of the said Isle. And one Lieutenant *Howe* pulling downe the Dutch Arms on the Isle, there was like to be a great stir, what ever may become of it. The Dutch also claime *Quinapeag*, and other parts.

At *Northam*, alias *Pascattaqua*, is master *Larkham* Pastor. One master *H. K.* was also *Pascattaqua*. lately Minister there, with master *Larkham*. They two fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead; and the contention was so sharp, that master *K.* and his party

rose up, and excommunicated master *Larkham*, and some that held with him: And further, master *Larkham* flying to the Magistrates, master *K.* and a Captaine raised Armes, and expected helpe from the *Bay*; master *K.* going before the troop with a Bible upon a poles top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were *Scots*, and the other *English*: Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* plantation came in, and kept Court with the Magistrates of *Pascattaqua*, (who have also a Patent) being weake of themselves. And they fined all those that were in Armes, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury, and Verdict, formally. Nine of them were censured to be whipt, but that was spared. Master *K.* and the *Captain* their leaders, were fined 100.l. a piece, which they are not able to pay. To this broyle came master *Peter* of *Salem*, and there gave his opinion, at *Northam*, that the said excommunication was a nullity.

M. Larkham excommunicated.

A broyle or riot.

Episcopacie.

[p. 45.] Master *Thomas Gorgs* sonne of *Captain Gorgs* of *Batcombe*, by *Chedder* in *Somersetshire*, is principall Commissioner for the *Province of Maigne*, under Sir *Ferdinando*, but he was not at that Court at *Northam* himselfe. Master *Wards* sonne is desired to come into the *Province of Maigne*. There is one master *Ienner* gone thither of late. There is want of good Ministers there; the place hath had an ill report by some, but of late some good acts of Justice have been done there, and divers Gentlemen there are, and it is a Countrey very plentifull for fish, fowle, and venison.

Province of *Maigne*.

Not farre from *Northam* is a place called *Exeter*, where master *Wheelwright* hath a small Church.

Exeter.

And at *Cape Anne*, where fishing is set forward, and some stages builded, there one master *Rashley* is Chaplain: for it is farre off

Cape Anne.
Fishing.

from any Church: *Rashley* is admitted of *Boston* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from *Ipswich*.

The *Isle* of *Shoales* and *Richmonds Isle*, which lie neere *Pasquattaqua*, and good fishing places.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from *Boston* Eastward is the *Isle of Sables*, whither one *John Webb*, alias *Evered*, an active man, with his company are gone with commission from the *Bay*, to get Sea-horse teeth and oyle.

Eastward off *Cape Codd* lyeth an Island called *Martins Vineyard*, uninhabited by any English, but Indians, which are very savage.

[p. 46.] Northward from the *Bay*, or Northeast, lyeth the *French* plantation, who take up bever there, and keepe strict government, boarding all vessels that come neare them, and binding the masters till the governour, who is a Noble-man, know what they are; and south of *New-England* the *Dutch* take up the bever.

Three hundred Leagues south from the *Bay* along the coasts, lyeth *Virginia*; neare to that is *Maryland*, where they are Roman Catholiques, they say.

There was a speech of some *Swedes* which came to inhabit neere *Delawar Bay*, but the number or certainty I know not.

Three hundred leagues from the *Bay*, Eastward, lyeth *New-found-land*, where is a maine trade for fishing. Here we touched coming homeward.

Florida lyes betweene *Virginia* and the *Bay* of *Mexico*, and had been a better Country for the *English* to have planted in, according to the opinion of some, but it is so neere the *Spaniard*, that none must undertake to plant there, without good Forces.

[p. 47.] *For the state of the Country in the Bay and thereabouts.*

THe Land is reasonable fruitfull, as I think ; they have cattle, and goats, and swine good store, and some horses, store of fish and fowle, venison, and *corne, both *English* and *Indian*. They are indifferently well able to subsist for victuall. They are setting on the manufacture of linnen and cotton cloath, and the fishing trade, and they are building of ships, and have good store of barks, catches, lighters, shallops, and other vessels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good masts and timber for shipping, planks, and boards, clap-board, pipe-staves, bever, and furies, and hope of some mines. There are Beares, Wolves, and Foxes, and many other wilde beasts, as the Moose, a kind of Deere, as big as some Oxen, and Lyons, as I have heard. The Wolves and Foxes are a great annoyance. There are Rattle snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much ; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and greene spotted ; and swelling, dyes, unlesse he timely get some Snake-weed ; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body. Money is wanting, by reason of the failing of passengers these two last yeares, in a manner. They want help to goe [p. 48.] forward, for their subsistence in regard of cloathing : And great pity it would be, but men of estates should help them forward. It may bee, I hope, a charitable worke. The price of their cattell, and other things being fallen, they are not at present able to make such returns to *England*, as were to be wished for

State of the
Country of
New-England.

*Wheat and Barley are thought not to be so good as those grains in *England* ; but the Rye and Pease are as good as the English : the Pease have no wormes at all. Beanes also there are very good.

them: God above direct and provide for them. There are multitudes of godly men among them, and many poore ignorant soules. Of late some thirty persons went in two small Barks for the *Lords Isle of Providence*, and for the Maine thereabout, which is held to be a beter countrey and climate by some: For this being in about 46. degrees of northerne latitude, yet is very cold in winter, so that some are frozen to death, or lose their fingers or toes every yeere, sometimes by carlesnes, sometimes by accidents, and are lost in snowes, which there are very deepe sometimes, and lye long: Winter begins in October, and lasts till Aprill. Sixty leagues North-erly it is held not habitable, yet again in Summer it is exceeding hot. If shipping for conveyance were sent thither, they might spare divers hundreds of men for any good design. The jurisdiction of the *Bay Patent* reacheth from *Pascattaqua Patent* Northeast to *Plymouth Patent* Southward. And in my travailes there, I have seene the towns of *Newberry, Ipswich, Salem, Lynne, Boston, Charlestowne, Cambridge, Wattertowne, Concord, Roxbury, Dorchester*, and *Braintree* in the *Bay Patent*, *New Taunton* in *Plymouth Patent*, the Island *Aquedney*, and the two townes therein, [p. 49.] *Newport* and *Portsmouth*, and *New Providence* within the *Bay of Narhiggansets*. This for the satisfaction of some that have reported I was no Travailer in *New-England*.

Concerning the Indians, or Natives.

THEY are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame. Seldome they are abroad
of the Indians. in extremity of Winter, but keep in their wigwams, till necessity drives them forth; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth: and for the Winter they have boots, or

a kind of laced tawed-leather stockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing, and playes; they are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords; by an absolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely feature, industrious, and doe most of the labour in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is the lesse grievous to them. They say, *Englishman* much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women: And when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, Lazie *squaes*! but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the *English*. Their children, they will not part with, upon any terms, to be taught. They are of complexion swarthy and tawny; [p. 50.] their children are borne white, but they bedawbe them with oyle, and colours, presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompeag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toyes in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the *Pequid* war, they are kept in very good subjec-

tion, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among them. But the *French* in the East, and the *Dutch* in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot. They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them, notwithstanding, are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The [p. 51.] *Powahe* labours himselfe in his incantations, to extreame sweating and wearinesse, even to extacie. The *Powahes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any of the *English* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powahe* is next the King, or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the *Powahe* marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have marriages among them; they have many wives; they say, they commit much filthinesse among themselves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English*. They live much the better, and peaceably, for the *English*; and themselves know it, or at least their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know so much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another. They live in *Wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the house. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and so burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late, they grinde at our *English* mills.) Venison, Bevers, Otters, Oysters, Clammes, Lobsters, and other fish, Ground-nuts, Akornes, they boyle all to-

gether in a kettle. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trays, [p. 52.] kettles, and spoones, bever, fures, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whose wife hath her cleane spoons in a chest, for some chief *English* men, when they come on guest wise to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a stone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the best entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongst them. They will not taste sweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and strong waters; and I have seene some of them in *English*, or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long staves, or halfe pykes, with pieces of swords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, most commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worship *Kitan*, their good god, or *Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, because he doth them most harme. Some of their Kings names are *Canonicus*, *Meantinomy*, *Owshamequin*, *Cushamequin*, *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem* his wife: She is the Queene, and he is *Powahe*, and King, in the right of his wife. Among some of these Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.

Master *Henry Dunster*, Schoolmaster of *Cambridge*, deserves commendations above many; he [p. 53.] hath the plat-forme M. Dunster a hopefull School-master. and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues;

He will make it good, that the way to instruct the *Indians*, must be in their *owne* language, not *English*; and that their language may be perfected.

A Note of some late occurrences touching Episcopacie.

SOME of the learnedst, and godliest in the *Bay*, begin to understand Governments; that it is necessary, when Ministers or People fall out to send other Ministers, or they voluntarily to goe among them, to seek by all good wayes and meanes to appease them.

Some late occurrences concerning Episcopacie.

And particularly, Master *Peter* went from *Salem* on foot to *New Dover*, alias *Pascattaqua*, alias *Northam*, to appease the difference betweene Master *Larkham* and Master *K.* when they had been up in Armes this last Winter time. He went by the sending of the *Governour*, *Counsell*, and *Assistants* of the *Bay*, and of the Church of *Salem*; and was in much danger of being lost, returning, by losing his way in the woods, and some with him, but God be blessed they returned.

Againe he went a second time, for appeasing [p. 54.] the same difference, and had a Commission to divers Gentlemen, master *Humphrey*, master *Bradstreete*, Captaine *Wiggon*, and master *Simons*, to assist, and to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall, from the *Governour of the Bay*, under his hand, and the publique seale, and then master *K.* went by the worst.

Master *Wilson* did lately ride to *Greens harbour*, in *Plymouth* Patent, to appease a broyle betweene one master *Thomas*, as I take it, his name is, and master *Blindman*, where master *Blindman* went by the worst, and Captaine *Keayne* and others went with master *Wilson* on horseback.

Also at another time, master *Wilson*, master *Ma-*

ther, and some others, going to the ordination of master *Hooke* and master *Streate*, to give them the right hand of fellowship, at *New Taunton*, there heard the difference betweene master *Hooke* and master *Doughty*, where master *Doughty* was overruled, and the matter carried somewhat partially, as is reported.

It may be, it will be said, they did these things by way of love, and friendly advise : Grant that ; But were not the counselled bound to receive good counsell ? If they would not receive it, was not the Magistrate ready to *assist*, and in a manner ready, according to duty, to *enforce* peace and obedience ? did not the Magistrates *assist* ? and was not master *K.* sent away, or compounded with, to seek a new place at *Long Island*, master *Doughty* forced to the Island *Aquedney*, and master *Blindman* to *Connecticot* ?

[p. 55.] *Questions to the Elders of Boston, delivered*
9. *Septemb.* 1640.

1. **W**Hether a people may gather themselves into a Church, without a Minister *sent* of God ?
2. Whether any People, or Congregation, may *ordaine* their owne Officers ?
3. Whether the Ordination, by the hands of such as are *not Ministers*, be good ?

To the which I received an Answer the same day :

TO the first, the Answer is affirmative ; for though the people in this Countrey are not wont to gather themselves into a Church, but (as you would have it) with the presence and advice of sundry Ministers ; yet it were lawfull for them to gather into a Church without them. For if it be the priviledge of every Church to choose their owne Ministers, then there may be a Church, before they have Ministers

of their owne ; for Ministers of another Church have no power but in their owne Church.

To the second and third ; The second and third *Questions* are coincident, and one Answer may serve for both : The Children of *Israel* did impose hands upon the *Levites*, *Num.* 8. 10. and if the people have power to elect their owne officers, they have power also to ordaine them ; for Ordination is but an Installment of a man into that [p. 56.] office, whereto election giveth him right, neverthelesse such a Church as hath a *Presbyterie*, ought to ordaine their Officers by a *Presbyterie*, according to 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

This Answer was brought me by Master Oliver, one of the Elders, and Master Pierce, a Brother of Boston.

When I was to come away, one of the chiefest in the Country wished me to deliver him a note of what things I misliked in the Country, which I did, thus :

I doubt,

1. **W**Hether so much time should be spent in the publique Ordinances, on the Sabbath day, because that thereby some necessary duties of the Sabbath must needs be hindred, as visitation of the sick, and poore, and family.

2. Whether matters of offence should be publicly handled, either before the whole Church, or strangers.

3. Whether so much time should be spent in particular catechizing those that are admitted to the communion of the Church, either men or women ; or that they should make long speeches ; or when they come publicly to be admitted, any should speak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unlesse before the Elders, upon just occasion.

4. Whether the censures of the Church should be ordered, in publique, before all the Church, or

strangers, other then the denunciation of [p. 57.] the censures, and pronounciation of the solutions.

5. Whether any of our *Nation* that is not extremely ignorant or scandalous, should bee kept from the Communion, or his children from *Baptisme*.

6. That many thousands in this Countrey have forgotten the very principles of Religion, which they were daily taught in *England*, by set forms and Scriptures read, as the Psalmes, first and second Lesson, the ten Commandments, the Creeds, and publike catechizings. And although conceived Prayer be good and holy, and so publike explications and applications of the Word, and also necessary both in and out of season : yet for the most part it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, discourage the weake and ignorant, (which are the most of men) when they are in ordinary performed too tediously, or with the neglect of the Word read, and other premeditated formes inculcated, and may tend to more ignorance and inconvenience, than many good men are aware of.

7. I doubt there hath been, and is much neglect of endeavours, to teach, civilize, and convert the *Indian Nation*, that are about the Plantations.

8. Whether by the received principles, it bee *possible* to teach, civilize, or convert them, or when they are converted, to maintain Gods worship among them.

9. That electorie courses will not long be safe here, either in Church or Common-wealth.

[p. 58.] 10. That the civill government is not so equally administred, nor can be, divers orders or by-laws considered.

11. That unlesse these things be wisely and in time prevented, many of your usefulest men will remove and scatter from you.

At *Boston* July 5. 1641.

Certain Quæres about Church government, planting Churches, and some other Experiments.

1. **W**Hether the people should cal the Minister,
or the Minister ^a gather the people?
2. When a Church is gathered or planted; should
they not have a care in ^b propagating
other Churches, in other places next
them.
^a Mat. 10. 1.
Mar. 3. 13.
Act. 1. 4. & 2.
47. & 8. 5. 6. &
9. 32, 35. & 11.
19. 20. 21. 26.
^b Acts 8. 14. &
9. 31. & 11. 22.
27. & 13. 2. 3. &
14. 21. to 28.
^c Col. 2. 5.
Act. 11. 27. &
15. 36. & 16. 4.
3. Whether should not the first Church
^c visit the later Churches planted by them,
to see they keepe the faith and order, as
long as shee remains herselfe in purity
of Doctrine and worship?
4. How shall a Church propagate, and
visit other Churches? shall they do it by
their members, ordinary Christians, or by their Min-
isters, ^d or Pastors? shall they ^e intend
such propagation, or stay, till by their
numbers increasing, they are necessi-
tated to swarme, or are persecuted
abroad?
^d Acts 8. 5. 14.
& 11. 22. 27. &
13. 2. 3.
^e Mat. 28. 19.
Acts 13. 1, 2, 3.
& 8. 1.
5. If by their Pastors, must not there bee more
^f Ministers then one in the first Church?
^f Acts 1. 2, 3, 4.
& 2. 47. & 13. 1. how else can any be spared to goe
abroad about such works upon occasion?
6. When they have planted other Churches,
[p. 59.] must not the ^g first Church take care for the
providing of Elders or Ministers for these new
planted Churches, and ^h ordain them,
and sometimes goe ⁱ or send some to
teach them, and uphold the worship of
God among them?
^g Act. 1. 25, 26.

^h Act. 6. 6.
& 14. 23.
ⁱ Act. 8. 14.
& 11. 22.
7. How can any preach, unlesse he
be ^k sent? and how can he be sent,
unlesse by imposition of ^l hands of the
Presbytery of the first Church?
^k Rom. 10 15.

^l Act. 6. 6. & 13.
3. 1 Tim. 4. 14.
8. If so, hath not the first Church

and the Ministers thereof, Apostolical ^m power in these things?

9. But have all ⁿ Churches and Ministers this power? are they able? have they learned men enough, to ^o water where they have planted? If some should not be of the ^p *Quorum*, as it were, in ordinations, and the like, what order, peace, or unity can be expected?

^m Eph. 4. 11.
Act. 1. 25. & 8.
14. & 11. 22. 27.
ⁿ Rom. 16. 1.

^o 1 Cor. 3. 6.

^p 2 Tim. 1. 6.
1 Tim. 4. 14.
compared.

10. Again, if all Churches and Ministers have this power, equally, to exercise the work Apostolical; must they not all then goe, or send abroad, to convert the Indians, and plant Churches? and how can all be spared abroad? Are all ^q Apostles? all Evangelists? where were the body, if so?

^q 1 Cor. 12.
19, 29.

11. Will they not interfere one upon another, and trespassed upon one another's ^r line, rule, or portion, which blessed *S. Paul* condemned in those that entered into his labours?

^r 2 Cor. 10. 12.
to the end.

12. When any other ^s Church, besides the ^t first, hath power and ability to propagate and bring forth other Churches, may she not do well so to do? must she not? in her fitting line, observing peace, and holding communion with [p. 60.] the first, as long as they remain in purity both of them? and if a second, why not a third, and a fourth, and so forth to a competent number?

^s Act. 13. 1. 2, 3.
^t Act. 1. 4. & 2.
47.

13. Whether the first and other Churches also having power and ability thus to propagate the Gospel and plant Churches, may not be fitly called, prime, chief, or principall seats of the Church, or ^v chiefe Churches?

^v As Hierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Acts 11. 26.

14. Whether those Churches so gathered, in one Kingdome, Citie, or Principality, holding communion together, may not be fitly,

in regard of their unity in Doctrine and worship, call-
ed the Church of such a Nation, or Province, ^u City,
or Countrey?

15. Whether is it probable, that the first Church
^u Acts 11. 22. Christian, that wee reade of to be, at
^x *Hierusalem*, was onely one congrega-
^x Acts 1. 4, 15. tion, or but as many as could meete in
26. & 2. 41. one place? had they not among them
twelve Apostles, besides Elders, three
thousand, at once added, what ever number there
was besides? and had they such a large Temple or
meeting-houses at their command in those dayes?

16. Whether the word *Church* bee not diversly
taken in holy Scripture, and sometimes for a civill or
uncivill assembly or congression? ^y Acts
^y Act. 19. 40. 19. 40. *Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν*
ἐκκλησίαν, and when he had thus spoken, he dis-
missed the assembly or Church?

17. Whether anciently in *England*, some small
Fitzherb. N. B. assemblyes were not called Churches,
as every [p. 61.] presentative Rectory
or Parsonage is called *Ecclesia*, when others that
were greater were not so called, as no Vicaridge,
Donative or Chappel is called *Ecclesia* in our Law?

18. Whether the Rector, or Parson that is a Pres-
byter in a Church, should, being alone, rule abso-
lutely by himselfe, without the concurrence, advise, or
^z 1 Cor. 5. 3. 4. superiour power of the Evangelisticall ^z
Pastor of the Church, who had care in
the plantation or erection of the Parsons Church?

19. If not; should the Vicar, Donative, Minister
or Chaplain?

20. But where they have used to rule more abso-
lutely, (as in some peculiar jurisdictions in *England*)
why may they not with the peace and unity of the
Church, and by good advise, stil doe the same alway,
with subordination to the Evangelisticall leaders, and
fit Christian, and Nationall Synods?

21. If the Parson should not rule alone ordinarily, why should the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without the advise and assistance of a competent number of their Presbyters, who may afford them counsell? Did not the holy Apostles advise with the Elders ^a sometimes? is it safe ^{a Acts 15. 6.} for them or the whole?

22. But were there any Bishops superintendent, over other Bishops, or Presbyters, in the first hundred years after Christs birth? *Objection.* Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epistle to the twelve [p. 62.] Tribes, which were then scattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely ^b Elders? and S. *Peter* write his generall ^{b James 5. 14.} Epistle, and therein direct or command the ^c Elders not to over-rule the flock, ^{c 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.} the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Bishops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not else have returned answer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Bishops, above us?

23. Were not the Apostles and Evangelists then living, ^d Bishops, and superintendent overseers? had they not the ^e care of *Answer.* all the Churches, in their lines? did not ^{d Acts 1. 20.} these holy Apostles, S. *James* and S. *Peter*, mention their owne names, in their ^{e 2 Cor. 11. 23. & Chap. 10. 12 to the end.} Epistles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-sight upon those to whom he wrote, to see that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there should be such a superintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not some equall correspondent superspection also in after-ages, when those extraordinary men should cease? If some had then the care of all the Churches, should there not be some, in after-times, to have the care of some, to a competent number of

Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are ^f able ?
^f 2 Cor. 8. 12. And though this Divine right be broken
 through the many grosse corruptions of
 successions, and the like, yet is it not equall to ob-
 serve the first Institution, as neere as may be, as we
 say the equity of some Lawes and Statutes among us
 is sometimes to be observed, though [p. 63.] not in
 the Letter ? And why may not a chiefe Pastor be
 called a Bishop, as well as an Elder, or any other
 officer heretofore superiour ?

24. If ^g Psalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall songs
^g Eph. 5. 19. are to be sung in the Church, and to sing
ⁱ 1 Cor. 14. 26. 40. melodiously, and with good harmony, is
 the gift of God, and uncomely singing a
 kind of sin in the holy Assemblies ; why should not
 the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint
 some, in their stead, to take care of the singings of
 the Church ? and may not some be fitter to lead in
 singing, then others ? and lest they may fall out of
 their tunes to jarring, why may they not use the help
 of some musicall instruments ? and lest they should
 want able men this way, why should they not take
 care, that some children be trained up in Musique ?

25. Whether or no Christ did not allow of a ^h form
^h Mat. 6. 9. Sic of Prayer, and a short one too ? will
^{ergo} adore not the ⁱ strong allow the weak helps in
^{vos. οὕτως.} Prayer ? are not the best Christians often
^{Luke 11. 2.} distracted in long Prayers ? is it not easier
ⁱ Rom. 15. 1. for the strong to pray, then for as strong
 men to hear Prayer well ? should those
 that are strong Proficients in grace not be
 satisfied, without all their weak brethren
 come to the same pitch of high sanctifica-
 tion with themselves ? should they not
 rather ^k condescend to the weaker ? And
 although it be rare to tell of any actually
 converted by formes of Prayer, and Scrip-
 tures read ; yet who can justly deny, but that much

h Mat. 6. 9. Sic
ergo adore
vos. οὕτως.
 Luke 11. 2.
i Rom. 15. 1.

h Rom. 12. 16.
Idipsum in in-
vicem sentien-
tes ; non alla
sapientes, sed
humilibus con-
sentientes. ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ταπεινοῖς
συναπαγόμενοι,
 but condescend-
 ing to the humi-
 ble.

good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by such things that way, *Sicut ultimus ictus* [p. 64.] *quercum non cædit, extrema arena clepsydrum non exhaurit*, as the last stroak fells not the oake, nor the last sand exhausts the houre-glasse?

26. Whether may not a man ^l and his household, a woman and her houshold, a whole ^m City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently instructed in the Religion of God?

^l Act. 10. 24. 44, 47, 48. & 16. 30. 31, 32, 33. vers. 14, 15. ^m Acts 8. 8. 12. 14.

27. Is it certain, that all that were baptized in ⁿ *Cornelius* his house, in the ^o Gaolers house, in *Lydia's*, in ^p *Samaria*, in ^q *Corinth*, were such true beleevers, as now good men require all those that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not ^r hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumcised in the old Testament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, so received into the bosome of the Church?

ⁿ Acts 10. ^o Acts 16. ^p Acts 8. ^q Acts 18.

^r Acts 8. 13. Act. 2. 41. & 5. 1. compared.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Gospel, poll by poll, in such manner as is imagined by the leaders of separations?

29. If it be possible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Heathen people, can be so converted, before the Greek Kallends.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Pastour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the supream Magistrate (who hath, at most [p. 65.] times, the power of all the people, and sometimes their counsell in a regular way) joynes with a select and

competent number and company of Presbyters in the same ?

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may^s ordaine them ?

^s 1 Tim. 5. 22.
Titus 2. 2.

32. Whether or no to maintain a desired purity or perfection in the Magistracie, by election of the people, these good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too strict in receiving the brethren, and to run a course tending to heathenisme ?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magistrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kingdomes ? Are there not some great mysteries of State and government ? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, courage, magnanimity, patience ? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule ? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counsellors enabled, and the grace and blessing of God upon all ? Doe not the wise, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much, yea, very much trust and confidence to the King, as to the head and supream Governour, though much be also in the rest of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counsell, maintain, and [p. 66.] preserve the whole, but especially the Head ?

34. Hence what government for an Englishman but an hereditary, successive, *King*,^v *the son of Nobles*, well counselled and assisted ?

^v Pro. 25. 3.
Eccles. 8. 4.
& 10. 16, 17.

35. Whether we the posterity of the Church, and people of God, who now see the tops of things onely, may safely condemne the foundations, which we have not seen ?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare speculation, and knowledge joyned with sound experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of some deepe corruptions in Churches called Christian, and the experience of those that have conversed in and about planting, and building Churches, where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether those Authors from *Hierome*, to Arch-Bishop *Adamson*, that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and should alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Testimony bee of that validity as is thought by some? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether messengers sent by Churches, or Ministers taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowship to Ministers in those [p. 67.] Churches, and to appease differences in Church affairs, are not Episcopall acts?

40. Is Episcopacie, or a superintendencie necessary at *New-England*, and is it not necessary in more populous places? Are there not some, nay many depths and ^u mysteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catho- ^{u 1 Cor. 4. 1.} ^{& 2. 10.} _{lique} interpretations, which transgressed, the faith is hurt? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary for all men, nay all Ministers, to attain the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, patience, long suffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, chosen, and ordained? and do not the sacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this

Kingdome attribute much, yea very much trust and confidence to the chief Pastors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, especially to the Bishops of the prime and Metropolitall Churches, by the assistance of, and with, and under the supreame Magistrate, the chiefe, the best cement of government, though much be also in other members of the great body, the Church, to counsell, maintaine and preserve the whole in the faith, soundnesse, peace and unity, especially the chief leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Christians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciaall and Diocesan Bishops, especially in *England* and *Ireland*?

By the just examination of the whole, those that are pious and learned, may easily gather, what good [p. 68.] reasons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity, is the daily prayer of one of her most unworthy sons,

Clements Inne,
Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

To a friend.

Sir,
Here is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, especially fish, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections destroy us not. It is a good Land, I say, that instructs us to repentance, when we consider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our selves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Physitians) of necessity we must hurt and spoile one another a great while, before we come to such a settled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.

I thank God, now I understand by experience, that there is no such government for *English* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawfull Ministerie, under godly Diocesan Bishops, deducing their station and calling from Christ and his Apostles, in descent or succession; a thing of greater consequence then [p. 69.] ceremonies, (would to God I had known it sooner) which while I have in my place stood for here these two years, and not agreeing to this new discipline, impossible to be executed, or long continued, what I have suffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread; and therefore sometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an house of my owne to put my head in, or any stock going: Whereupon I was determined to come back, but by the over-entreaty of some friends, I here think to stay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will shortly give a good issue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majesties dominions.

I was very glad to see my Lord Bishop of *Exeters* Book; it gave me much satisfaction. If the people may make Ministers, or any Ministers make others without an Apostolicall Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad also was I to see Master *Bulls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation, both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here?

[p. 70.] And whereas I was sometimes mis-led by those of opinion that Bishops, and Presbyters, & all

Ministers, are of the same authority ; When I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-steps here, I quickly saw my error : For besides, if the congregations be not united under one Diocesan in fit compasse, they are in a confusion, notwithstanding all their classically pretendments, how can the Gospel be propagated to the Indians without an Apostolicall Bishop ? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, send forth Ministers to teach and instruct the poore Indians in the Christian Religion, they must have at least Apostolicall power to ordain Ministers or Elders in every congregation among them ; and when they have so done, they have power of Visitation where they plant : Nor can they without just cause be thrust out from government without great impiety ; and where they have planted, that is their line or Diocese. Thus I came to see, that of necessity a Diocese, and Bishop Diocesan, is very neere, if not altogether of Divine authority.

I am also of opinion, that it were good for our Ministers to learne how to doe this work from some of our reverend Bishops in *England*, for I feare our Ministers know not how to goe about it. Whether must not some Ministers learne their language ? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expresse one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them [p. 71.] by a forme ? and how can Gods worship be maintayned among ignorant persons without a forme ? I am firme of opinion, that the best of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

From Boston in N.E.

Iulii 28. 1640.

*This Gentleman to whom I wrote, kindly returned me
a wise answer, wherein is this passage :*

TO speak in briefe, I think now that *New-England* is a perfect model and sampler of the state of us here at this time ; for all is out of joynt both in Church and Common-wealth, and when it will be better, God knoweth : To him we must pray for the amendment of it, and that he will not lay on us the merits of our nationall and particular sinnes, the true cause of all these evils.

*Dated out of Somerset-shire,
Aprilis 27. 1641.*

To another, thus :

IN a word or two, we heare of great disturbances in our deare native Countrey ; I am heartily sorry, &c. I beseech you take my briefe opinion ; We here are quite out of the way of right government both in Church and Common-wealth, as I verily think, and as far as I can judge upon better consideration, and some pains taken [p. 72.] in searching after the bottome of some things. Some electorie wayes tend to the overthrow of Kingdomes : No such way for government of Englishmen, as a Monarchie ; of Christians, as by Diocesan Bishops in their line : Better yeeld to many pressures in a Monarchie, then for subjects to destroy, and spoile one another. If I were worthy to advise a word, I should desire you to have a care, and so all your friends, you prejudice not your estate, or posterity, by too much opposing the Regall power : For I verily beleeeve the Kings Majesty hath in generall a good cause touching Episcopacie : My reasons I could better deliver in presence, if haply God give opportunity to see you, or if you require it hereafter, I will be ready to present my thoughts unto you. All this, as I shall

answer before the Lord, without any by-respects. If you were here, I presume you would see more then I can, but I think you would be much of my mind.

From Boston in N. E.

Septemb. 4. 1640.

To another of no meane rank.

Complaining of my sufferings, and shewing the reasons, desiring him to send for me, that I might declare them to his person more effectually.

From Boston in N. E. March, 1640.

[p. 73.] *To another.*

You knew my condition and employment, and how ill it went with me in *England*, by reason of the trouble of our friends, and my own danger thereby. For my outward subsistence here, at this time, God knowes it is but meane; some say it is my owne fault, and that I stand in my owne light, and you, and others may so conceive; but the God of heaven is my witnesse, I have endeavoured in all things to keep a good conscience, though sometimes I have failed; I have endeavoured, laying all by-respects aside, to joyne with the Church here, but cannot yet be satisfyed in divers particulars, whereby I am kept from all place of employment or preferment, as I have had overtures made unto me of, if I would or could yeeld, but hitherto I have not dared to doe it, for good reasons best knowne to our heavenly Witnesse. I must give you a taste.

They hold their Covenant constitutes their Church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them, were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required such confessions, and professions, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people

of the Country remaine out of the Church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this course hold, and is (we feare) of dangerous consequence, a thing not tending to the [p. 74.] propagation of the Gospel in peace: Which, though it have a colour of sanctimony and strictnesse, whereby many well-affected or affectionate people, but weak in sound experience and judgement, are the rather drawn thereunto, and they are in a manner necessitated to it, to maintaine their election of Magistrates and Ministers in their owne way of popular or Aristocraticall government; I dare not (for my part) yeeld unto neither in my own conscience, nor for the credit of those persons with whom I have been educated, and in whose causes I have been seen. A Monarchy is the best government for Englishmen; better to suffer some pressures under that kind of government, then to spoile one another with popular elections. Againe, I cannot yeeld to Lay-Elders, nor that Lay-men should impose hands upon any to the Ministerie, nor that any Minister should renounce his calling to the Ministerie which he received in *England*, as Antichristian: It is a grosse error, and palpable schisme; then our Baptisme is not right, and so there will be no end of separations. Also I beleeeve there cannot be a Church, without a true Minister; nor can any gather themselves together into a Church without a true Minister; nor can they ordain their own Ministers; ordinarily, I meane; what may be done in an extraordinary case, *pro prima vice*, is another question; I hold there ought to be an Apostolicall Bishop, by succession from Christ and his Apostles, superiour in order or degree to his brethren; which Bishop ought to ordain, and [p. 75.] rule with other Presbyters, or alone, but Presbyters cannot without him. And if so be any thing in word or act passed from mee to the contrary hereof, I do professe it was in my ignorance.

Their calling is of Divine authority, or nearest thereunto, else the Church of God could not have subsisted in any tolerable way of peace, through all this by-past time of 1600. yeeres. I feare they know not what they say, that say the contrary: let them come here, they will quickly change their minde, if they study the point, and follow it home; for, besides the keeping of peace and unity, and a pure and able learned Ministry, how can the Gospell be propagated without some speciall Ministers, having the power Apostolicall, to goe forth to convert *Indians* or *Pagans*? If a Pastor, or Minister, or Christian, of any Church shall doe so, what hath he to doe with Infidels? as hee is a Pastor, he is no Pastor to them. Therefore if any are sent to convert, and establish Churches among Infidels, such as are sent are Apostolick Messengers, Bishops or Ministers to them, and ought to be sent with fasting and Prayer, and by imposition of hands of the Presbytery, and having converted Infidels, may plant Churches, and ordain Ministers among them, and afterwards visit them; and is not this Episcopacie, and their line wherein they have gone their Diocesse? These things naturally flow from, and are grounded in the Word, or equity thereof, and meere necessity. Now if all Ministers should ordinarily have this authority, to go forth to these works, [p. 76.] without mission, what quarelling there would be for division of Lines or Dioceses, let the experience of former ages tell, yea of the Apostolique times, wherein were not wanting those that quarellled with Saint *Paul* himselfe, about his Line or rule, 2 *Cor.* 10. Now unto this confusion, tends the opinion, that saith, a Bishop and Presbyter is all one and equall; it is of *Acrius*, it is false, and it is confusion. The reformed Churches and Writers that held so, had little experience of mission to convert & and plant Churches among Infidels. That reformation goes too deep that tends to

pulling downe of Cathedrall Churches, and Bishops houses: Should not Apostolick Bishops, and the chieftest Ministers have houses to dwell in, and Churches to recide and officiate in, whither all the Churches of their Line may send and come together in Councel, or Synod, and so do nothing of great moment without their Bishop, a *Timothy*, or a *Titus*? Again, Baptisme is admission and initiation into the Church; to whom Baptisme is committed, *viz.* Apostles and Apostolick Ministers, they have power of admission, that is, of loosing, and consequently of binding, excommunication or expulsion. Where is now the peoples power in the keyes? are they all Apostles, and Apostolick Ministers? what confusion is this? who can yeeld to it knowingly? I beseech you pardon my zeale, and when you have considered all, pity my condition, and pray for me still. Well I am assured, that master *Prynne* & master *Burton* would never yeeld to these things, especially, [p. 77.] if they had experience of them. It is good for us to see our errours, and acknowledge them, that we may obtain peace in the day of account.

Boston, 13. Oct. 1640.

To another.

Sorry and grieved we are at the heart, to heare of the troublous estate and condition of our native countrey; wee here also meete with our troubles and distresses in outward things, and some in spirituall matters also. Here wants a staple commodity to maintain cloathing to the Colony. And for my own particular, hitherto I have beene much distressed here by reason I cannot yet so clearely understand the Church proceedings, as to yeeld to them, there are therein so many difficult considerations, that they have sometimes bred great confusion in my thoughts. Never since I saw you have I received

the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. I have disputed in writing, though to my great hinderance, in regard of outward things, yet blessed be the Lord, to my better satisfaction at the last. I never intended openly to oppose the godly here in any thing I thought they mistooke, but I was lately taken at advantage, and brought before the Magistrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable answer, I was dismissed with favour, and respect promised me by some of the chiefe for the future. Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and Ministry, and what rigid separations [p. 78.] may tend unto, what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here should remaine unbaptized; considerations which may trouble the wisest among us. Rigid separations never did, nor can propagate the Gospell of Christ, they can do no good, they have done hurt. It is dangerous to found Church government on dark & uncertain interpretations of Prophetically, or other Scriptures; foundations ought to be full of evidence, & demonstration. Blessed be the Lord, now some of the chiefe leaders of the Churches here hold the Churches in *England* true Churches, and your Ministry lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you; yea some there bee of the chiefe among us that conceive the government by godly Bishops superintendent over others to be lawfull. Churches are not perfect in this world. We may not for every disagreement in opinion, or for slender pretended corruptions, separate from the Church: separate so once, and no end of separation.

From Boston in N. E.

Decem. 19. 1640.

To conclude.

Suppose there are foure sorts of Government, which are used in Church, as in Common-wealth; Monarchicall absolute without Lawes, which is tyrannie; Monarchicall bounded by Lawes; Aristocraticall, and Democraticall: Episcopall absolute, which is Popish tyrannie; [p. 79.] Episcopall regulated by just Lawes; Presbyterian, and Congregationall: Which of these will all men like, and how long? Some have well compared the humour of the people in this kind, to a merry relation of an old man and his sonne, passing through the streets of a City, with one horse betweene them: First, the old man rode, then the people found fault with his unkindnesse, in that he did not cause his son to ride with him: then the young man gets up too, now the people say they are both unmercifull to the beast: downe comes the old man, then the young man is unmannerly to ride, and his father walk on foot: at last downe goes the young man also, and leads the horse, then they were both unwise to lead the horse, and neither of them to ride. Well, but alter the inconstant vulgar will; if so, God grant it be for the better. But then consider stories, one alteration follows another; some have altered sixe times, before they were settled againe, and ever the people have paid for it both money and bloud.

Concerning Church-government, what the Presbyterian way is, and how sutable for *Englands* Monarchie, I leave to the pious experienced Divines to set forth, and the Church and State thereof to judge.

And for the Congregationall independent government, whereof I have had some experience, give me leave instead of a better intelligencer thus to present to my deare countrey, now in a time of neede, my impartiall opinion in these confused [p. 80.] papers: And in brief thus: Although it had some small colour in Scripture, and a great pretence of holinesse, yet

no sound ground in the Scripture; Again, if it be neither fit nor possible long to bee continued in *New-England*, as not I alone, but many more eye and eare witnesses doe know, and the learned can and will judge undoubtedly, it must needes be much more unfit and impossible to be brought into *England*, or *Ireland*, or any other populous Nation.

All which upon the whole I humbly submit unto the sacred judgment and determination of holy Church, his royall Majesty, and his Highnesses great and honourable Councel, the high Court of P A R - L I A M E N T.

Imprimatur,
Ioh: Hansley.

F I N I S .

[NOTE. — Lechford's "Plaine Dealing, or Newes from New-England," has become very rare. It has even been asserted that the copy in the possession of the Hon. Francis Baylies is the only one now in this country, excepting that belonging to the very valuable library of Harvard University. It therefore seemed to the Committee particularly deserving of early publication.]

Fac-simile of the Autographs of Sir Henry Vane
and Gov.^r Winthrop.

Massachusetts the 4th day
of the 3^d month. 1636.

Your Loving friends
J. Vane. Gov.^r

J. Winthrop Deputie

Penitents, Litch^g Boston.
Eddy, act.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS TO JOHN WINTHROP ESQR FIRST GOVERNOUR OF CONNECTICUT TO TREAT WITH THE PEQUOTS.

[The following manuscript Letter and Commission directed to John Winthrop Jun. Esq., the first Governor of Connecticut, and signed by Sir Henry Vane, the Governor, and John Winthrop Esq. the Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, were found among the papers of the elder Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut in the year 1809, and were kindly furnished to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society for publication in its Collections, by William T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Con. The Society is also deeply indebted to Mr. Williams for several other manuscripts of interest published in this collection. These papers, it is understood, formerly belonged to the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family.—*Pub. Committee.*]

“Whereas it so falls out by the good Prouidence of God, that the place of your present residence is neare adjoyning unto certaine of the Natiues who are called the Pequots, concerning whom we haue diuers things to enquire and satisfy ourselues in ; our request to you therefore is, and by these presents we do giue you full power, authority, and commission to treat and conferre with the sayd Pequots, in our names according to the instructions to these annexed, as if wee ourselues were present: and to make report backe agayne unto vs of the issue and successe of the whole before the next Generall Court (which, God willing is intended in the beginning of the 7th month). Thus recommending you, and your affayres to the blessing of Allmighty God, wee rest

Your louing freinds

H Vane. Gov^r

Jo: Winthrop Dep^t

Massatuchets the 4th day
Of the 5th month. 1636.”

“Massatuchets The instructions which are re-
 Month: 5th. 4. commended to John Winthrop Jun^r
 1636. Esq^r in his negotiation with the
 Pequots.

“1. To giue notice to the principall Sachem that you haue receaued a commission from vs to demaund a solemne meeting for conference with them in a friendly manner about matters of importance.

“2. In case they slight such a message and refuse to giue you a meeting (at such place as yourself shall apoynt) then you are in our names to returne backe their present, (which you shall receaue from vs) and to acquaint them with all, that we hold ourselues free from any peace or league with them as a people guilty of English blood.

“3. If they consent, and giue you a meeting as afore sayd, that then you lay downe vnto them how unworthily they haue requited our friendship with them; for as much as that they haue broken the very condition of the peace betwixt vs, by the not rendring into our hands the murtherers of Capt Stone, (which we desire you once agayne solemly to require of them), as also in that they so trifled with vs in their present which they made proffer of to vs, as that they did send but part of it, and put it off with this, as to say the old men did neuer consent to the giuing of it; which dealings sauour so much of dishonour and neglect, as that no people that desire friendship should put them in practice.

“4. To let them know first what credible relation hath beene given vs, that some of the cheif of them were actors in the murder of Mr Hamond and the other vpon Long Iland; and since of another Englishman there: and of their late determination to haue seized vpon a Plimouth Barke lying in their harbour for trade; as by the more large descriptions of these things, which we also send vnto you, will more distinctly appear. Of all these things we desire

you to take the relation from their owne mouths, and to informe vs particularly of their seuerall answers: giuing them to vnderstand that it is not the manner of the English to take reuenge of injury vntill the partys that are guilty haue beene called to answer fairely for themselves.

“5. To let them know that if they shall cleare themselves of these matters, we shall not refuse to hearken to any reasonable proposition from them for confirmation of the peace betwixt vs. But if they shall not giue you satisfaction according to these our instructions, or shall bee found guilty of any of the sayd murthers, and will not deliuer the actours in them into our hands, that then (as before you are directed) you returne them the present, and declare to them that we hold ourselues free from any league or peace with them, and shall reuenge the blood of our countrimen as occasion shall serue.

H: Vane Gov^r

Jo: Winthrop Dep^t”

LEIFT LION GARDENER HIS RELATION OF THE PEQUOT
WARRES.

[The original manuscript of this “Relation” and a copy in the handwriting of Gov. Trumbull were furnished to the Publishing Committee by William T. Williams, Esq.; the same gentleman whose kindness is mentioned on page 129 of this volume. The Committee, on account of the difficulty the printer would find in deciphering the original, have followed the orthography of the copy, excepting in the proper names, where they thought it of more importance to adhere to the ancient orthography. Mr. Williams in his interesting letters of July 19 and 23, 1832, addressed to a member of the Committee, has given some few particulars in relation to Lion Gardener; also a description of the battle-ground where the Pequots were destroyed, and of the burial place of Uncas and Miantunnomoh, together with a succinct account of the present condition of the remnant of the ancient and powerful tribes of the Pequots, Mohegans and Narragansets. These portions of the letters are of historical value, and the Committee therefore take the liberty of publishing the following extracts. — *Publishing Committee.*]

“Lion Gardener was sent over by Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook to construct a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, to command it, &c. He was said to be a skilful engineer, and on that account was selected. He had seen some service in the Low Countries under Gen. Fairfax. He came into this Country about the year 1633 or 1634 and erected the fort at Saybrook in Connecticut, which was so named in honour of Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook: but how long he continued to command the fort I do not recollect. He commanded it when Capt. John Mason conquered the Pequots, for Mason in his history, you recollect, says, ‘he, Lt. Gardiner, complimented or entertained him with many big guns,’ on his arrival at the fort after the conquest of the Pequots.

* * * * *

“Gardener continued some time in the command of the fort, but it does not appear when he left it. While he commanded it, he once very narrowly escaped being captured by the Pequots. He had five men with him, one of whom was taken and tortured; the fort was burnt down, and he and his family narrowly escaped being burnt in it. Gardener’s Island, lying in Gardener’s Bay, to which he removed and where he died, was taken possession of by him soon after his coming into this country. You will perceive he has reference to *his* island: it is a very beautiful island of good land, perhaps twenty-five hundred or three thousand acres, with a long sand point of not much value. It now wholly belongs to the family and was until the decease of the last proprietor, Jonathan Gardiner, an entailed estate; but I am told that the entail is now broken. The proprietors have always been called *Lords*.

* * * * *

“In the mouth of Mystic river there is an island, now and always called Mason’s Island from old Capt.

Mason, containing five or six hundred acres. This island he took possession of by right of conquest, and the most of it is now possessed by his descendants. I believe it is the only spot in Connecticut claimed in that way.

* * * * *

“Summer before last I went to the battle-ground on purpose to view it. The spot where the fort stood is in the present town of Groton, Connecticut, on the west side of Mystic river. Sassacus had this fort in the eastern part of his dominions to look after the Narragansetts. The hill is commanding and beautiful though not steep. The land is now owned by Roswell Fish, Esq. of Groton. There are no remains of the fort; Capt. Mason says it was of timber mostly, and of course when he burnt it, it must have been principally consumed. Mr. Fish told me that within his recollection (and he is about sixty) some few Indian arrow-heads and spears have been found on the ground, and also some bullets. The river is at the bottom of the hill, less than half a mile, I should think, from the site of the fort, and perhaps three miles from the head of the little village of Mystic in the town of Stonington, where the small streams that form the river meet the tide water. The river is the dividing line between the towns of Groton and Stonington. Porter's rocks, where Capt. Mason lodged, are near the village, and perhaps two miles above the site of the fort.

“Sassacus had another fort, about two miles west of the one taken by Mason, in the town of Groton, from which the one taken was recruited on the night before the attack. The whole of the shore of Mystic river, which is about six or seven miles from what is called head of Mystic, to its mouth, and particularly the west side, is rough, rugged, and rocky, but particularly pleasant, and filled with dwellings wherever they can be placed, inhabited chiefly by sailors and sea-

men. There is a pretty meeting-house among the
rocks. * * * *

“There is a remnant of the Pequots still existing. They live in the town of Groton, and amount to about forty souls, in all, or perhaps a few more or less; but do not vary much from that amount. They have about eleven hundred acres of poor land reserved to them in Groton, on which they live. They are more mixed than the Mohegans with negro and white blood, yet are a distinct tribe and still retain a hatred to the Mohegans. A short time since, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the tribe together. They are more vicious, and not so decent or so good-looking a people as the Mohegans. This however may be owing to their being more mixed with other blood. It is very rare that there are any intermarriages with either of the tribes to each other, they still, so far as circumstances admit, retaining the old grudge. The most common name among them is Meazen; nearly half call themselves by that surname.

“The Indians formerly called Ninegrate’s men, seem to be now called the Narragansetts, and live principally in Charlestown, Rhode Island. There are perhaps eighty, or more; though I am not so well informed concerning them, as of the Pequots or Mohegans.

“Considerable exertion is making now in favor of the Mohegans. A small, but neat church, has lately been erected by charity for them, and the United States have appropriated nine hundred dollars to build a school-master’s house, and for his salary. The house for the school-master is erected and a school-master hired, who also preaches to the tribe. All of the tribe are anxiously sought out, and the benevolent are trying to bring them all together to their ancient seat. There are about seventy men on their land, or perhaps a few more. They own about three thousand acres of good land in Montville, about

three miles below Norwich landing. The Trading Cove brook is their northern bound ; their eastern is the Thames river. The General Assembly of this State, immediately after the Pequot war was finished, declared, and I think unfortunately, that the name of the Pequots should become extinct ; that the river that used to be called Pequot should be called Thames ; and the place called Pequot should no longer be so called, but its name be changed to New London, in "remembrance," as the records declare, and as the Assembly say, "of the chief city in our dear native country."

"I have visited the ground where the rival chiefs, Uncas and Miantunnomoh, are buried. Uncas is buried in the royal burying ground, so called, which was appropriated to the Uncas family. It is just by the falls in the Yantic river in Norwich city ; a beautiful and romantic spot. Calvin Goddard, Esq. of Norwich, owns the ground, and has (honorably) railed it in, and keeps it appropriated to its use. I saw him a few days since ; he intends to enlarge it, and I hope to have an appropriate stone to mark the place. Miantunnomoh is buried in the east part of Norwich, at a place called Sachem's Plain, from the event of his death ; and is buried on the spot where he was slain. But a few years since a large heap of stones, thrown together by the wandering Indians, according to the custom of their country, and as a melancholy mark of the love the Narragansets had for their fallen chief, lay on his grave : but the despicable cupidity of some people in that vicinity has removed them to make common stone wall, as it saved them the trouble of gathering stones for that purpose. The spot of his sepulture is, however, yet known."

[The original manuscript consists of 12 pages folio. — *Pub. Committee.*]

“ *East Hampton, June 12, 1660.*

“Loving Friends, Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt, my love remembered to you both, these are to inform, that as you desired me when I was with you and Major Mason at Seabrooke two years and an half ago to consider and call to mind the passages of God's Providence at Seabrooke in and about the time of the Pequit [Pequot] War, wherein I have now endeavoured to answer your Desires and having rumaged and found some old papers then written it was a great help to my memory. You know that when I came to you I was an engineer or architect, whereof carpentry is a little part; but you know I could never use all the tools, for although for my necessity, I was forced sometimes to use my shifting chissel and my holdfast, yet you know I could never endure nor abide the smoothing plane; I have sent you a piece of timber scored and fore-hewed unfit to join to any handsome piece of work, but seeing I have done the hardest work, you must get somebody to chip it and to smooth it lest the splinters should prick some men's fingers, for the truth must not be spoken at all times, though to my knowledge I have written nothing but truth, and you may take out or put in what you please, or if you will, may throw it all into the fire; but I think you may let the Governor and Major Mason see it. I have also inserted some additions of things that were done since, that they may be considered together. And thus as I was when I was with you, so I remain still

Your loving friend,

LION GARDENER.

“In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardener, Engineer and Master of works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters

with some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £ 100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely, the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brook,] Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington [Bonighton?], Sir Richard Saltingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire Fenwick, and the rest of their company, [I say] I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence. And so I came from Holland to London, and from thence to New-England, where I was appointed to attend such orders as Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, the present Governor of Conectecott, was to appoint, whether at Pequit [Pequot] river, or Conectecott, and that we should choose a place both for the convenience of a good harbour, and also for capableness and fitness for fortification. But I landing at Boston the latter end of November, the aforesaid Mr. Winthrop had sent before one Lieut. Gibbons, Sergeant Willard, with some carpenters, to take possession of the River's mouth, where they began to build houses against the Spring; we expecting, according to promise, that there would have come from England to us 300 able men, whereof 200 should attend fortification, 50 to till the ground, and 50 to build houses. But our great expectation at the River's mouth, came only to two men, viz. Mr. Fenwick, and his man, who came with Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. Oldham and Thomas Stanton, bringing with them some Otter-skin coats, and Beaver, and skeins of wampum, which the Pequits [Pequots] had sent for a present, because the English had required those Pequits [Pequots] that had killed a Virginean [Virginian], one Capt. Stone, with his Bark's crew, in Conectecott River, for they said they would have their lives and not their presents; then I answered, Seeing you will take Mr. Winthrop to the Bay to see his wife, newly brought to bed of her first child, and

though you say he shall return, yet I know if you make war with these Pequits, he will not come hither again, for I know you will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay, but myself, with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved, for Indian corn is now 12s. per bushel, and we have but three acres planted, and if they will now make war for a Virginian and expose us to the Indians, whose mercies are cruelties, they, I say, they love the Virginians better than us: for, have they stayed these four or five years, and will they begin now, we being so few in the River, and have scarce holes to put our heads in? I pray ask the Magistrates in the Bay if they have forgot what I said to them when I returned from Salem? For Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Haines, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Humfry, Mr. Belingam [Bellingham], Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Nowell;—these entreated me to go with Mr. Humfry and Mr. Peters to view the country, to see how fit it was for fortification. And I told them that Nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any hurt, but one that was near. They asked me who that was, and I said it was Capt. Hunger that threatened them most, for, (said I,) War is like a three-footed Stool, want one foot and down comes all; and these three feet are men, victuals, and munition, therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what will or can be done if war? Therefore I think, said I, it will be best only to fight against Capt. Hunger, and let fortification alone awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service: and they all liked my saying well. Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here about us, and that we hear where the seat of the war will be, may approve of it, and provide for it, for I had but twenty-four in all, men, women, and boys and girls, and not food for them for two months, unless we saved our corn-field, which

could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is two miles from our home. Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Peters promised me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it ; and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the present returned, but full sore against my will. So they three returned to Boston, and two or three days after came an Indian from Pequit, whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English ; he desired that Mr. Steven [Stephen] Winthrop would go to Pequit with an £100 worth of trucking cloth and all other trading ware, for they knew that we had a great cargo of goods of Mr. Pincheon's, and Mr. Steven Winthrop had the disposing of it. And he said that if he would come he might put off all his goods, and the Pequit Sachem would give him two horses that had been there a great while. So I sent the Shallop, with Mr. Steven Winthrop, Sergeant Tille [Tilly], (whom we called afterward Sergeant Kettle, because he put the kettle on his head,) and Thomas Hurlbut and three men more, charging them that they should ride in the middle of the river, and not go ashore until they had done all their trade, and that Mr. Steven Winthrop should stand in the hold of the boat, having their guns by them, and swords by their sides, the other four to be, two in the fore cuddie, and two in aft, being armed in like manner, that so they out of the loop-holes might clear the boat, if they were by the Pequits assaulted ; and that they should let but one canoe come aboard at once, with no more but four Indians in her, and when she had traded then another, and that they should lie no longer there than one day, and at night to go out of the river ; and if they brought the two horses, to take them in at a clear piece of land at the mouth of the River, two of them go ashore to help

the horses in, and the rest stand ready with their guns in their hands, if need were, to defend them from the Pequits, for I durst not trust them. So they went and found but little trade, and they having forgotten what I charged them, Thomas Hurlbut and one more went ashore to boil the kettle, and Thomas Hurlbut stepping into the Sachem's wigwam, not far from the shore, enquiring for the horses, the Indians went out of the wigwam, and Wincumbone, his mother's sister, was then the great Pequit Sachem's wife, who made signs to him that he should be gone, for they would cut off his head; which, when he perceived, he drew his sword and ran to the others, and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indians to the water-side and called them to come ashore, but they immediately set sail and came home, and this caused me to keep watch and ward, for I saw they plotted our destruction. And suddenly after came Capt. Endecott, Capt. Turner, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with a company of soldiers, well fitted, to Seabrook, and made that place their rendezvous or seat of war, and that to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away; but when I had seen their commission I wondered, and made many allegations against the manner of it, but go they did to Pequit, and as they came without acquainting any of us in the River with it, so they went against our will, for I knew that I should lose our corn-field; then I entreated them to hear what I would say to them, which was this: Sirs, Seeing you will go, I pray you, if you don't load your Barks with Pequits, load them with corn, for that is now gathered with them, and dry, ready to put into their barns, and both you and we have need of it, and I will send my shallop and hire this Dutchman's boat, there present, to go with you, and if you cannot attain your end of the Pequits, yet you may

load your barks with corn, which will be welcome to Boston and to me : But they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I, here is three dozen of new bags, you shall have thirty of them, and my shallop to carry them, and six of them my men shall use themselves, for I will with the Dutchmen send twelve men well provided ; and I desired them to divide the men into three parts, viz. two parts to stand without the corn, and to defend the other one third part, that carried the corn to the water-side, till they have loaden what they can. And the men there in arms, when the rest are aboard, shall in order go aboard, the rest that are aboard shall with their arms clear the shore, if the Pequits do assault them in the rear, and then, when the General shall display his colours, all to set sail together. To this motion they all agreed, and I put the three dozen of bags aboard my shallop, and away they went, and demanded the Pequit Sachem to come into parley. But it was returned for answer, that he was from home, but within three hours he would come ; and so from three to six, and thence to nine, there came none. But the Indians came without arms to our men, in great numbers, and they talked with my men, whom they knew ; but in the end, at a word given, they all on a sudden ran away from our men, as they stood in rank and file, and not an Indian more was to be seen : and all this while before, they carried all their stuff away, and thus was that great parley ended. Then they displayed their colours, and beat their drums, burnt some wigwams and some heaps of corn, and my men carried as much aboard as they could, but the army went aboard, leaving my men ashore, which ought to have marched aboard first. But they all set sail, and my men were pursued by the Indians, and they hurt some of the Indians, and two of them came home wounded. The Bay-men killed not a man, save that one Kichomiquim [Cutshamequin], an Indian Sa-

chem of the Bay, killed a Pequit; and thus began the war between the Indians and us in these parts. So my men being come home, and having brought a pretty quantity of corn with them, they informed me (both Dutch and English) of all passages. I was glad of the corn. After this I immediately took men and went to our corn-field, to gather our corn, appointing others to come about with the shallop and fetch it, and left five lusty men in the strong-house, with long guns, which house I had built for the defence of the corn. Now these men not regarding the charge I had given them, three of them went a mile from the house a fowling; and having loaded themselves with fowl they returned. But the Pequits let them pass first, till they had loaded themselves, but at their return they arose out of their ambush, and shot them all three; one of them escaped through the corn, shot through the leg, the other two they tormented. Then the next day I sent the shallop to fetch the five men, and the rest of the corn that was broken down, and they found but three, as is above said, and when they had gotten that they left the rest; and as soon as they were gone a little way from shore, they saw the house on fire. Now so soon as the boat came home, and brought us this bad news, old Mr. Michell was very urgent with me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from the Six-mile Island, but I told him they were too few men, for his four men could but carry the hay aboard, and one must stand in the boat to defend them, and they must have two more at the foot of the Rock, with their guns, to keep the Indians from running down upon them. And in the first place, before they carry any of the cocks of hay, to scour the meadow with their three dogs,—to march all abreast from the lower end up to the Rock, and if they found the meadow clear, then to load their hay; but this was also neglected, for they all went ashore and fell to

carrying off their hay, and the Indians presently rose out of the long grass, and killed three, and took the brother of Mr. Michell, who is the minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive ; and so they served a shallop of his, coming down the river in the Spring, having two men, one whereof they killed at Six-mile Island, the other came down drowned to us ashore at our doors, with an arrow shot into his eye through his head.

In the 22d of February, I went out with ten men, and three dogs, half a mile from the house, to burn the weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land, because we had felled twenty timber-trees, which we were to roll to the water-side to bring home, every man carrying a length of match with brimstone-matches with him to kindle the fire withal. But when we came to the small of the Neck, the weeds burning, I having before this set two sentinels on the small of the Neck, I called to the men that were burning the reeds to come away, but they would not until they had burnt up the rest of their matches. Presently there starts up four Indians out of the fiery reeds, but ran away, I calling to the rest of our men to come away out of the marsh. Then Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlbut, being sentinels, called to me, saying there came a number of Indians out of the other side of the marsh. Then I went to stop them, that they should not get the wood-land ; but Thomas Hurlbut cried out to me that some of the men did not follow me, for Thomas Rumble and Arthur Branch, threw down their two guns and ran away ; then the Indians shot two of them that were in the reeds, and sought to get between us and home, but durst not come before us, but kept us in a half-moon, we retreating and exchanging many a shot, so that Thomas Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh, John Spencer in the back, into his kidneys, myself into the thigh, two more

were shot dead. But in our retreat I kept Hurlbut and Spencer still before us, we defending ourselves with our naked swords, or else they had taken us all alive, so that the two sore wounded men, by our slow retreat, got home with their guns, when our two sound men ran away and left their guns behind them. But when I saw the cowards that left us, I resolved to let them draw lots which of them should be hanged, for the articles did hang up in the hall for them to read, and they knew they had been published long before. But at the intercession of old Mr. Michell, Mr. Higginson [Higginson], and Mr. Pell, I did forbear. Within a few days after, when I had cured myself of my wound, I went out with eight men to get some fowl for our relief, and found the guns that were thrown away, and the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force.

Anthony Dike, master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode-Island in the winter, was sent by Mr. Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode-Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider and prescribe the best way I could to quell these Pequits, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib as a token. A few days after, came Thomas Stanton down the River, and staying for a wind, while he was there came a troop of Indians within musket shot, laying themselves and their arms down behind a little rising hill and two great trees; which I perceiving, called the carpenter whom I had shewed how to charge and level a gun, and that he should put two cartridges of musket bullets into two sakers guns that lay about; and we levelled them against the place, and I told him that he must

look towards me, and when he saw me wave my hat above my head he should give fire to both the guns; then presently came three Indians, creeping out and calling to us to speak with us: and I was glad that Thomas Stanton was there, and I sent six men down by the Garden Pales to look that none should come under the hill behind us; and having placed the rest in places convenient closely, Thomas and I with my sword, pistol and carbine, went ten or twelve pole without the gate to parley with them. And when the six men came to the Garden Pales, at the corner, they found a great number of Indians creeping behind the fort, or betwixt us and home, but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton, Whatsoever they say to you, tell me first, for we will not answer them directly to any thing, for I know not the mind of the rest of the English. So they came forth, calling us nearer to them, and we them nearer to us. But I would not let Thomas go any further than the great stump of a tree, and I stood by him; then they asked who we were, and he answered, Thomas and Lieutenant. But they said he lied, for I was shot with many arrows; and so I was, but my buff coat preserved me, only one hurt me. But when I spake to them they knew my voice, for one of them had dwelt three months with us, but ran away when the Bay-men came first. Then they asked us if we would fight with Niantecut Indians, for they were our friends and came to trade with us. We said we knew not the Indians one from another, and therefore would trade with none. Then they said, Have you fought enough? We said we knew not yet. Then they asked if we did use to kill women and children? We said they should see that hereafter. So they were silent a small space, and then they said, We are Pequits, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away

the horses, cows and hogs. When Thomas Stanton had told me this, he prayed me to shoot that rogue, for, said he, he hath an Englishman's coat on, and saith that he hath killed three, and these other four have their cloathes on their backs. I said, No, it is not the manner of a parley, but have patience and I shall fit them ere they go. Nay, now or never, said he; so when he could get no other answer but this last, I bid him tell them that they should not go to Conectecott, for if they did kill all the men, and take all the rest as they said, it would do them no good, but hurt, for English women are lazy, and can't do their work; horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields, and the hogs their clam-banks, and so undo them: then I pointed to our great house, and bid him tell them there lay twenty pieces of trucking cloth, of Mr. Pincheon's, with hoes, hatchets, and all manner of trade, they were better fight still with us, and so get all that, and then go up the river after they had killed all us. Having heard this, they were mad as dogs, and ran away; then when they came to the place from whence they came, I waved my hat about my head, and the two great guns went off, so that there was a great hubbub amongst them. Then two days after, came down Capt. Mason, and Sergeant Seely, with five men more, to see how it was with us; and whilst they were there, came down a Dutch boat, telling us the Indians had killed fourteen English, for by that boat I had sent up letters to Conectecott, what I heard, and what I thought, and how to prevent that threatened danger, and received back again rather a scoff, than any thanks, for my care and pains. But as I wrote, so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next, or second day after, (as Major Mason well knows,) came down a great many canoes, going down the creek beyond the marsh, before the fort, many of them having white shirts; then I commanded the carpenter

whom I had shewed to level great guns, to put in two round shot into the two sackers, and we levelled them at a certain place, and I stood to bid him give fire, when I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them took off the nose of a great canoe wherein the two maids were, that were taken by the Indians, whom I redeemed and clothed, for the Dutchmen, whom I sent to fetch them, brought them away almost naked from Pequit, they putting on their own linen jackets to cover their nakedness; and though the redemption cost me ten pounds, I am yet to have thanks for my care and charge about them: these things are known to Major Mason.

Then came from the Bay Mr. Tille, with a permit to go up to Harford [Hartford], and coming ashore he saw a paper nailed up over the gate, whereon was written, that no boat or bark should pass the fort, but that they come to an anchor first, that I might see whether they were armed and manned sufficiently, and they were not to land any where after they passed the fort till they came to Wethersfield; and this I did because Mr. Michel had lost a shallop before coming down from Wethersfield, with three men well armed. This Mr. Tille gave me ill language for my presumption, (as he called it,) with other expressions too long here to write. When he had done, I bid him go to his warehouse, which he had built before I came, to fetch his goods from thence, for I would watch no longer over it. So he, knowing nothing, went and found his house burnt, and one of Mr. Plum's with others, and he told me to my face that I had caused it to be done; but Mr. Higginson, Mr. Pell, Thomas Hurlbut and John Green can witness that the same day that our house was burnt at Cornfield-point I went with Mr. Higginson, Mr. Pell, and four men more, broke open a door and took a note of all that was in the house and gave it to Mr. Higginson to keep, and so brought all the goods to

our house, and delivered it all to them again when they came for it, without any penny of charge. Now the very next day after I had taken the goods out, before the sun was quite down, and we all together in the great hall, all them houses were on fire in one instant. The Indians ran away, but I would not follow them. Now when Mr. Tille had received all his goods I said unto him, I thought I had deserved for my honest care both for their bodies and goods of those that passed by here, at the least better language, and am resolved to order such malepert persons as you are ; therefore I wish you and also charge you to observe that which you have read at the gate, 'tis my duty to God, my masters, and my love I bear to you all which is the ground of this, had you but eyes to see it ; but you will not till you feel it. So he went up the river, and when he came down again to his place, which I called Tille's folly, now called Tille's point, in our sight in despite, having a fair wind he came to an anchor, and with one man more went ashore, discharged his gun, and the Indians fell upon him, and killed the other, and carried him alive over the river in our sight, before my shallop could come to them ; for immediately I sent seven men to fetch the Pink down, or else it had been taken and three men more. So they brought her down, and I sent Mr. Higginson and Mr. Pell aboard to take an invoice of all that was in the vessel, that nothing might be lost. Two days after came to me, as I had written to Sir Henerie Vane, then Governor of the Bay, I say came to me Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with twenty lusty men, well armed, to stay with me two months, or 'till something should be done about the Pequits. He came at the charge of my masters. Soon after came down from Harford Maj. Mason, Lieut. Seely, accompanied with Mr. Stone and eighty Englishmen, and eighty Indians, with a commission from Mr. Ludlow

and Mr. Steel, and some others; these came to go fight with the Pequits. But when Capt. Undrill [Underhill] and I had seen their commission, we both said they were not fitted for such a design, and we said to Maj. Mason we wondered he would venture himself, being no better fitted; and he said the Magistrates could not or would not send better; then we said that none of our men should go with them, neither should they go unless we, that were bred soldiers from our youth, could see some likelihood to do better than the Bay-men with their strong commission last year. Then I asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin [Mohegan] Indians, who had but that year come from the Pequits. They said they would trust them, for they could not well go without them for want of guides. Yea, said I, but I will try them before a man of ours shall go with you or them; and I called for Uncas and said unto him, You say you will help Maj. Mason, but I will first see it, therefore send you now twenty men to the Bass river, for there went yesternight six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now dead or alive, and then you shall go with Maj. Mason, else not. So he sent his men who killed four, brought one a traitor to us alive, whose name was Kiswas, and one ran away. And I gave him fifteen yards of trading cloth on my own charge, to give unto his men according to their desert. And having staid there five or six days before we could agree, at last we old soldiers agreed about the way and act, and took twenty insufficient men from the eighty that came from Harford [Hartford] and sent them up again in a shallop, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill] with twenty of the lustiest of our men went in their room, and I furnished them with such things as they wanted, and sent Mr. Pell, the surgeon, with them; and the Lord God blessed their design and way, so that they returned with victory to the glory of God, and honour of our nation, having

slain three hundred, burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners. Then came to me an Indian called Wequash, and I by Mr. Higginson inquired of him, how many of the Pequits were yet alive that had helped to kill Englishmen; and he declared them to Mr. Higginson, and he writ them down, as may appear by his own hand here enclosed, and I did as therein is written. Then three days after the fight came Waian-dance, next brother to the old Sachem of Long Island, and having been recommended to me by Maj. Gibbons, he came to know if we were angry with all Indians. I answered No, but only with such as had killed Englishmen. He asked me whether they that lived upon Long-Island might come to trade with us. I said No, nor we with them, for if I should send my boat to trade for corn, and you have Pequits with you, and if my boat should come into some creek by reason of bad weather, they might kill my men, and I shall think that you of Long Island have done it, and so we may kill all you for the Pequits; but if you will kill all the Pequits that come to you, and send me their heads, then I will give to you as to Weak-wash [Wequash], and you shall have trade with us. Then, said he, I will go to my brother, for he is the great Sachem of all Long Island, and if we may have peace and trade with you, we will give you tribute, as we did the Pequits. Then I said, If you have any Indians that have killed English, you must bring their heads also. He answered, not any one, and said that Gibbons, my brother, would have told you if it had been so; so he went away and did as I had said, and sent me five heads, three and four heads for which I paid them that brought them as I had promised.

Then came Capt. Stoten [Stoughton] with an army of 300 men, from the Bay, to kill the Pequits; but they were fled beyond New Haven to a swamp. I sent Wequash after them, who went by night to spy them out, and the army followed him, and found

them at the great swamp, who killed some and took others, and the rest fled to the Mowhakues [Mohawks], with their Sachem. Then the Mohawks cut off his head and sent it to Harford, for then they all feared us, but now it is otherwise, for they say to our faces that our Commissioners meeting once a year, and speak a great deal, or write a letter, and there's all, for they dare not fight. But before they went to the Great Swamp they sent Thomas Stanton over to Long Island and Shelter Island to find Pequits there, but there was none, for the Sachem Waiandance, that was at Plimoth when the Commissioners were there, and set there last, I say, he had killed so many of the Pequits, and sent their heads to me, that they durst not come there; and he and his men went with the English to the Swamp, and thus the Pequits were quelled at that time. But there was like to be a great broil between Miantonomie [Miantunnomoh] and Unchus [Uncas] who should have the rest of the Pequits, but we mediated between them and pacified them; also Unchus challenged the Narraganset Sachem out to a single combat, but he would not fight without all his men; but they were pacified, though the old grudge remained still, as it doth appear. Thus far I had written in a book, that all men and posterity might know how and why so many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive, only because Kichamokin [Cutshamequin], a Bay Indian, killed one Pequit; and thus far of the Pequit war, which was but a comedy in comparison of the tragedies which hath been here threatened since, and may yet come, if God do not open the eyes, ears, and hearts of some that I think are wilfully deaf and blind, and think because there is no change that the vision fails, and put the evil-threatened day far off, for say they, We are now twenty to one to what we were then, and none dare meddle with us. Oh! wo be to the pride and

security which hath been the ruin of many nations, as woful experience has proved.

But I wonder, and so doth many more with me, that the Bay doth no better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian. The Narragansets that were at Block-Island killed him, and had £50 of gold of his, for I saw it when he had five pieces of me, and put it up into a clout and tied it up all together, when he went away from me to Block Island; but the Narragansets had it and punched holes into it, and put it about their necks for jewels; and afterwards I saw the Dutch have some of it, which they had of the Narragansets at a small rate.

And now I find that to be true which our friend Waiandance told me many years ago, and that was this; that seeing all the plots of the Narragansets were always discovered, he said they would let us alone 'till they had destroyed Uncas, and him, and then they, with the Mowquakes and Mowhakues and the Indians beyond the Dutch, and all the Northern and Eastern Indians, would easily destroy us, man and mother's son. This have I informed the Governors of these parts, but all in vain, for I see they have done as those of Wethersfield, not regarding till they were impelled to it by blood; and thus we may be sure of the fattest of the flock are like to go first, if not altogether, and then it will be too late to read Jer. xxv. — for drink we shall if the Lord be not the more merciful to us for our extreme pride and base security, which cannot but stink before the Lord; and we may expect this, that if there should be war again between England and Holland, our friends at the Dutch and our Dutch Englishmen would prove as true to us now, as they were when the fleet came out of England; but no more of that, a word to the wise is enough.

And now I am old, I would fain die a natural death,

or like a soldier in the field, with honor, and not to have a sharp stake set in the ground, and thrust into my fundament, and to have my skin flayed off by piece-meal, and cut in pieces and bits, and my flesh roasted and thrust down my throat, as these people have done, and I know will be done to the chiefest in the country by hundreds, if God should deliver us into their hands, as justly he may for our sins.

I going over to Meantacut, upon the eastern end of Long Island, upon some occasion that I had there, I found four Narragansets there talking with the Sachem and his old counsellors. I asked an Indian what they were? He said that they were Narragansets, and that one was Miannemo [Miantunnomoh], a Sachem. What came they for? said I. He said he knew not, for they talked secretly; so I departed to another wigwam. Shortly after came the Sachem Waiandance to me and said, Do you know what these came for? No, said I; then he said, They say I must give no more wampum to the English, for they are no Sachems, nor none of their children shall be in their place if they die; and they have no tribute given them; there is but one king in England, who is over them all, and if you would send him 100,000 fathom of wampum, he would not give you a knife for it, nor thank you. And I said to them, Then they will come and kill us all, as they did the Pequits; then they said No, the Pequits gave them wampum and beaver, which they loved so well, but they sent it them again, and killed them because they had killed an Englishman; but you have killed none, therefore give them nothing. Now friend, tell me what I shall say to them, for one of them is a great man. Then said I, Tell them that you must go first to the farther end of Long-Island, and speak with all the rest, and a month hence you will give them an answer. Meantime you may go to Mr. Haines, and he will tell you what to do, and I will write all this now in my book

that I have here ; and so he did, and the Narragansets departed, and this Sachem came to me at my house, and I wrote this matter to Mr. Haines, and he went up with it to Mr. Haines, who forbid him to give any thing to the Narraganset, and writ to me so. — And when they came again they came by my Island, and I knew them to be the same men ; and I told them they might go home again, and I gave them Mr. Haynes his letter for Mr. Williams to read to the Sachem. So they returned back again, for I had said to them, that if they would go to Mantacut I would go likewise with them, and that Long-Island must not give wampum to Narraganset.

A while after this came Miantenomie from Block-Island to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waiandance being not at home ; and instead of receiving presents, which they used to do in their progress, he gave them gifts, calling them brethren and friends, for so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another ; so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly, for you know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkies, and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees ; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved ; therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the Sachems from east to west, both Moquakues and Mohawks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all, at one appointed day ; and therefore I am come to you privately first, because you can persuade the Indians and Sachem to what you will, and I will send over fifty Indians to Block-Island, and thirty to you from thence, and take an hundred of Southampton Indians with an hundred of your own here ; and when you see the three fires that will be

made forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women, and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again. — And our old men thought it was well. So the Sachem came home and had but little talk with them, yet he was told there had been a secret consultation between the old men and Miantenomie, but they told him nothing in three days. So he came over to me and acquainted me with the manner of the Narragansets being there with his men, and asked me what I thought of it; and I told him that the Narraganset Sachem was naught to talk with his men secretly in his absence, and I bid him go home, and told him a way how he might know all, and then he should come and tell me; and so he did, and found all out as is above written, and I sent intelligence of it over to Mr. Haynes and Mr. Eaton; but because my boat was gone from home it was fifteen days before they had any letter, and Miantenomie was gotten home before they had news of it. And the old men, when they saw how I and the Sachem had beguiled them, and that he was come over to me, they sent secretly a canoe over, in a moon-shine night, to Narraganset to tell them all was discovered; so the plot failed, blessed be God, and the plotter, next Spring after, did as Ahab did at Ramoth-Gilead. — So he to Mohegin, and there had his fall.

Two years after this, Ninechratt sent over a captain of his, who acted in every point as the former; him the Sachem took and bound and brought him to me, and I wrote the same to Governor Eaton, and sent an Indian that was my servant and had lived four years with me; him, with nine more, I sent to carry him to New-Haven, and gave them food for ten days. But the wind hindered them at Plum-Island; then they went to Shelter-Island, where the old Sachem dwelt — Waiaundance's elder brother, and in the night

they let him go, only my letter they sent to New-Haven, and thus these two plots was discovered; but now my friend and brother is gone, who will now do the like?

But if the premises be not sufficient to prove Waiandance a true friend to the English, for some may say he did all this out of malice to the Pequits and Narragansets; now I shall prove the like with respect to the Long-Islanders, his own men. For I being at Meantacut, it happened that for an old grudge of a Pequit, who was put to death at Southampton, being known to be a murderer, and for this his friends bear a spite against the English. So as it came to pass at that day I was at Mantacut, a good honest woman was killed by them at Southampton, but it was not known then who did this murder. And the brother of this Sachem was Shinacock Sachem could or would not find it out. At that time Mr. Gosmore and Mr. Howell, being magistrates, sent an Indian to fetch the Sachem thither; and it being in the night, I was laid down when he came, and being a great cry amongst them, upon which all the men gathered together, and the story being told, all of them said the Sachem should not go, for, said they, they will either bind you or kill you, and then us, both men, women and children; therefore let your brother find it out, or let them kill you and us, we will live and die together. So there was a great silence for a while, and then the Sachem said, Now you have all done I will hear what my friend will say, for [he] knows what they will do. So they wakened me as they thought, but I was not asleep, and told me the story, but I made strange of the matter, and said, If the magistrates have sent for you why do you not go? They will bind me or kill me, saith he. I think so, said I, if you have killed the woman, or known of it, and did not reveal it; but you were here and did it not. But was any of your Mantauket

Indians there to-day? They all answered, Not a man these two days, for we have inquired concerning that already. Then said I, Did none of you ever hear any Indian say he would kill English? — No, said they all; then I said, I shall not go home 'till tomorrow, though I thought to have been gone so soon as the moon was up, but I will stay here till you all know it is well with your Sachem; if they bind him, bind me, and if they kill him, kill me. But then you must find out him that did the murder, and all that know of it, them they will have and no more. Then they with a great cry thanked me, and I wrote a small note with the Sachem, that they should not stay him long in their houses, but let him eat and drink and be gone, for he had his way before him. So they did, and that night he found out four that were consenters to it, and knew of it, and brought them to them at Southampton, and they were all hanged at Harford, whereof one of these was a great man among them, commonly called the Blue Sachem.

A further instance of his faithfulness is this; about the Pequit war time one William Hamman [Hammond], of the Bay, killed by a giant-like Indian towards the Dutch. I heard of it, and told Waiaundance that he must kill him or bring him to me; but he said it was not his brother's mind, and he is the great Sachem of all Long-Island, likewise the Indian is a mighty great man, and no man durst meddle with him, and hath many friends. So this rested until he had killed another, one Thomas Farrington. After this the old Sachem died, and I spake to this Sachem again about it, and he answered, He is so cunning, that when he hears that I come that way a hunting, that his friends tell him, and then he is gone. — But I will go at some time when nobody knows of it, and then I will kill him; and so he did — and this was the last act which he did for us, for in the time of a great

mortality among them he died, but it was by poison ; also two thirds of the Indians upon Long-Island died, else the Narragansets had not made such havoc here as they have, and might not help them. — And this I have written chiefly for our own good, that we might consider what danger we are all in, and also to declare to the country that we had found an heathen, yea an Indian, in this respect to parallel the Jewish Mordecai. But now I am at a stand, for all we English would be thought and called Christians ; yet, though I have seen this before spoken, having been these twenty-four years in the mouth of the premises, yet I know not where to find, or whose name to insert, to parallel Ahasuerus lying on his bed and could not sleep, and called for the Chronicles to be read ; and when he heard Mordecai named, said, What hath been done for him ? But who will say as he said, or do answerable to what he did ? But our New-England twelve-penny Chronicle is stuffed with a catalogue of the names of some, as if they had deserved immortal fame ; but the right New-England military worthies are left out for want of room, as Maj. Mason, Capt. Undrill [Underhill], Lieut. Sielly [Seely], &c., who undertook the desperate way and design to Mistick Fort, and killed three hundred, burnt the fort and took many prisoners, though they are not once named. But honest Abraham thought it no shame to name the confederates that helped him to war when he redeemed his brother Lot ; but Uncas of Mistick, and Waiandance, at the Great Swamp and ever since your trusty friend, is forgotten, and for our sakes persecuted to this day with fire and sword, and Ahasuerus of New-England is still asleep, and if there be any like to Ahasuerus, let him remember what glory to God and honor to our nation hath followed their wisdom and valor. Awake ! awake Ahasuerus, if there be any of thy seed or spirit here, and let not Haman destroy us as he hath done our

Mordecai! And although there hath been much blood shed here in these parts among us, God and we know it came not by us. But if all must drink of this cup that is threatened, then shortly the king of Sheshack shall drink last, and tremble and fall when our pain will be past. O that I were in the countries again, that in their but twelve years truce, repaired cities and towns, made strong forts, and prepared all things needful against a time of war like Solomon. I think the soil hath almost infected me, but what they or our enemies will do hereafter I know not. I hope I shall not live so long to hear or see it, for I am old and out of date, else I might be in fear to see and hear that I think ere long will come upon us.

Thus for our tragical story, now to the comedy. When we were all at supper in the great hall, they (the Pequits) gave us alarm to draw us out three times before we could finish our short supper, for we had but little to eat, but you know that I would not go out; the reasons you know.

2ndly. You Robert Chapman, you know that when you and John Bagley were beating samp at the Garden Pales, the sentinels called you to run in, for there was a number of Pequits creeping to you to catch you; I hearing it went up to the Redoubt and put two cross-bar shot into the two guns that lay above, and levelled them at the trees in the middle of the limbs and boughs, and gave order to John Frend and his man to stand with hand-spikes to turn them this or that way, as they should hear the Indians shout, for they should know my shout from theirs for it should be very short. Then I called six men, and the dogs, and went out, running to the place, and keeping all abreast, in sight, close together. And when I saw my time I said, Stand! and called all to me saying, Look on me; and when I hold up my hand, then shout as loud as you can, and

when I hold down my hand, then leave ; and so they did. Then the Indians began a long shout, and then went off the two great guns and tore the limbs of the trees about their ears, so that divers of them were hurt, as may yet appear, for you told me when I was up at Harford this present year, '60, in the month of September, that there is one of them lyeth above Harford, that is fain to creep on all four, and we shouted once or twice more ; but they would not answer us again, so we returned home laughing. Another pretty prank we had with three great doors of ten feet long and four feet broad, being bored full of holes and driven full of long nails, as sharp as awl blades, sharpened by Thomas Hurlbut. — These we placed in certain places where they should come, fearing lest they should come in the night and fire our redoubt or battery, and all the place, for we had seen their footing, where they had been in the night, when they shot at our sentinels, but could not hit them for the boards ; and in a dry time and a dark night they came as they did before, and found the way a little too sharp for them ; and as they skipped from one they trod upon another, and left the nails and doors dyed with their blood, which you know we saw the next morning, laughing at it. — And this I write that young men may learn, if they should meet with such trials as we met with there, and have not opportunity to cut off their enemies ; yet they may, with such pretty pranks, preserve themselves from danger, — for policy is needful in wars as well as strength.

RELATION OF THE PLOTT — INDIAN.

[The following "Relation" is without date or signature. The indorsement is in the handwriting of Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts. The manuscript itself is in another handwriting. It was presented to the Historical Society, by W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Connecticut, July, 1832. It was written in August, and probably in the year 1642. Wequash, who is mentioned on the next page as being dead, died in July, 1642, and the unfortunate and injured Miantunnomoh was killed by Uncas in September, 1643. In addition to this, it may be stated, that at the General Court held in Boston in September, 1642, "the letters and other intelligence" received from Connecticut, in relation to the supposed design of Miantunnomoh, "to draw the Indians into a confederation" against the English, were laid before the Court; that he was summoned to answer to the charge, that he attended, and, after a long investigation, was honorably discharged. He demanded the names of his accusers, but the General Court professed that they did not know them, and it will be seen that their names are not mentioned in the "Relation," and that one of the accusers, in Connecticut, placed Mr. Ludlow under an injunction of secrecy. The date of this paper, then, may be fairly assigned to August, 1642. Probably it was in the possession of Gov. Winthrop at the sitting of the Court in September, 1642. (Vide Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80-83, 130 *et seq.*) *Publishing Committee.*]

A true relation of a Conspiracy of Maantanemo the greate Sachem of the Naragancetts, Soheage or Sequin the Sachem of Matebeseck, & Sasawin or Sequassen the Sachem of Sicaogg, for destruction of the english & generally throughout New England as it hath beene discovered by a Sachem living neere Mr. Ludlowe as also of another Indian of Longe Island to Mr. Eaton of New Haven and of another Indian in the river of Conectecott as followeth—(viz^t.)

About the 20th of this instant August beinge the last day of the weeke towards the eveninge there came the saide Sachem that lives neere Mr. Ludlowe unto the saide Mr. Ludlowe in the field where he was with his hay makers & desired that hee might with Adam his Indian have some privatt talke, upon which the saide Mr. Ludlowe with Adam and the

saide Sachem went by themselves under a bush out of sight where the saide Sachem saide hee was gladd to finde the said Mr. Ludlowe in the fields for hee durst not come to his howse for feare of beinge suspected. And nowe he did intend to reveale a plott that was intended by the aforesaide Sachems, but hee desired a promise that his name might be concealed for if he were knowen it would cost him his life and he should be served as wequash was for beinge soe faithfull to the english, promise was made of concealinge and he related after this manner —

That Maantonemo had lately beene at Longe Island & had procured all the Sachems thereof to be in a Combination of cuttinge off the english & gave to each of them 25 fathom of Wampom, 20 of white & 5 of blacke and all the Sachems hadd accepted thereof & promised assistants & soe hadd all the Sachems upon the maine from the Dutche to the Bay & all the Indian Sachems from the Eastward, And that the chiefe sticklers in the business were the Sachems above mentioned. There were divers objections made at first by the Indians against the possibility of the plott, As that the English were too stronge for them, the answere was by Maantonemo It is true if they did not all joine they should be too weake but if all joine then they should be stronge enough. Then it was saide But these Massachusetts & that waye are full of people & they shall not be able to grapple with them, As for that sayes Maantonemo lett me alone with them if you can deale with the others, uppon this they consented, And therefore nowe the next thinge to be dealt in was howe they might compasse Uncas, for they feared he would not be gayned, & then to gayne the Mohawkes was to be attempted which beinge done all the Indians were as one man. Then it was demanded what was the reason why Maantonemo should plodd against the english beinge soe greate correspond-

ency, Answer was made the reason was because the Narragancetts were guilty of Mr. Oldam's death and they were afraide that the english did beare it in minde & would take a tyme to be revenged, As also about 2 winters since there was some meale cast away uppon an Iland by the Naragancett and the Indians takeing away some of it there was an Englishman alone that reproved them for it & he was presently stabbed by a Naragancett Indian & left for deade, & the english findinge him deade thought he had runn himself against some piked thinge or other & soe came by his death, but he was killed as aforesaide & they were afraide this would be knowen alsoe. And therefore Maantonemo thought it best to begin first to prevent the english as alsoe the saide Maantonemo declared they sawe the english did gett possession of all the best place in the countrey & did drive the Indians awaye & were likely to take awaye the countrey from them, These & such like reasons were the motive causes of the intended conspiracy & the saide Sachem tould the saide Mr. Ludlowe divers reasons howe he should knowe it to be true & wished withall that the english in generall would beleive it to be true & make good provision against it, Then the saide Mr. Ludlowe asked how this designe should be executed, The saide Sachem replied it should be the next winter after this manner every Indian Plantation that was next adjoininge to the english should undertake to doe execution & if there were more english then Indians they should have some forraine Indians assigned to helpe them it should be generally att one tyme after this manner there should come unto the chiefe howses of the english as many Indians by waye of tradeinge as were able to master the saide howse & soe should kill all in the howse & depart & when the chiefe were killed they thought the rest would be soe distracted that they would be easily vanquished, After

this relation as soone as the Sabbath was past the saide Mr. Ludlowe roade to new haven & there intended to take advice with them & soe to proceed to Conectecott, But when he came to new haven & procured Mr. Eaton Mr. Goodier & Mr. Dampport [Davenport] to give him meetinge & opened thinges unto them they presently declared there was an Indian from Longe Iland that had declared the same to them verbatim with this that their Indian said and justified before the Sachems face that it was true & that Maantonemo had given them this token that when the designe should be putt in execution he would kill an Englishman & send his heade & handes to Longe Iland & they should send it abroad amonge the Indians, And that the Indians of Longe Iland should presently kill an Englishman with them & send the heade & the handes to them of Naragancetts & they would send to the Indians abroad & this would be a meanes to knitt them together, And after this conference the next day the saide Mr. Ludlowe jorneyed to Conectecott & there alsoe was another Indian of noate that haveinge received some hurt that he was in danger of death & did nor doth thinke noe other but he shall dye pretended that he could not die before he had revealed some thinge to the english & soe sent for Tho: Staunton & declared the aforesaide matter unto him alsoe to the very same purpose as aforesaide soe that god hath as it were with a threefold testimony confirmed the thinge that the English may easily see it is a truth & soe to be considered of It was alsoe related which is above forgotten that the Massachusetts as Maantonemo saide to the rest of the Indians had of late possessed in the Naragancetts & to beginn to spreade themselves there alsoe that he thought ere longe they should have their Countrey possessed & they should be abridged of their huntinge & fishinge.

or rather they are joynd
together, as Hippocrates his friends, to stand and fall,
to grow & decay, to flourish, & wither, to live & dye—
together. In witness ~~whereof~~ ^{the promise} of xmas jubilee & names.

The 12th day
of the first month
Anno 1638.

John Davenport.
Theophil: Eaton.

Pendleton's Lithography, Boston.

LETTER FROM THE REV. J. DAVENPORT AND GOV. EATON
"TO THE MUCH HONORED THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY AND
ASSISTANTS, &c." OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The following Letter is copied from the original, in the possession of Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., at New Haven. The handwriting of the Letter is that of Mr. Davenport; the superscription that of Gov. Eaton. Mr. Davenport generally, if not always, spells his name with a final *e*.]

"It may please the worthy and much Honored Governor, Deputy & Assistants, &, with them, the present Courte, to take knowledge that our desire of staying within this patent was Reall & strong, if the eye of Gods providence (to whom we have committed our waies especially in so important an enterprise as this, which, we confess, is farr above our Capacities) had guided us to a place convenient for our families, & for our freinds. Which as our words have often expressed, so, we hope, the trueth thereof is sufficiently declared by our almost nine moneths patient wayting in expectac̃on of some opportunity to be offered us, for that end, to our great charge & hindrance, many waies.

"In all which time we have, in many prayers commended the guidance of our apprehensions, judgments, spirits, resoluç̃ons & wayes into the good hand of the onely wise God, whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitac̃ons according to the ends for which he hath brought us into these countryes, & we have considered, as we were able, by his helpe, whatsoever place hath bene propounded to us, being ready to have, with contentment accepted (if by our stay any publick good might be promoted) smaller accommodac̃ons, & upon dearer termes (if they might be moderately commodious) then, we believe, most men, in the same case with us, in all respects, would have done. And whereas

a place for an Inland plantac^on, beyond Watertowne was propounded to us, & pressed with much importunity by some, whose words have the power of a law with us, in any way of God, we did speedily, & seriously deliberate thereupon, it being the subject of the greatest part of a dayes discourse. The conclusion was, that, if the upland should answer the meddow ground in goodnes & desirablenes (whereof yet there is some ground of doubting) yet, considering that a Boate cannot pass from the Bay thither, nearer then 8 or 10 miles distance, & that it is so remote from the Bay, & from any towne, we could not see how our dwelling there would be advantageous to these plantations, or compatible with our conditions, or commodious for our families, or for our freinds.

“Nor can we satisfye ourselves that it is expedient, for ourselves, or for our freinds, that we chuse such a condition, wherein we must be compelled to have our dwelling houses so farr distant from our Farmes, as Boston, or Charlestowne is from that place, few of our freinds being able to beare the charge thereof (whose cases nevertheless we are bound to consider) & some of them that are able not being persuaded that it is lawfull for them to live continually from the greatest part of theyre families, as, in this case, they would be necessitated to doe. The season of the yeare, & other weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full & finall conclusion which we are, at last, come unto, by Gods appointment & direction, we hope in mercy, & have sent letters to Connectacutt for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck from the Natives which may pretend title thereunto. By which Act we are Absolutely, & irrevocably ingaged that way, & we are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly, above our desarts, or expectac^ons, expressed, in your desire of

our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retaine in thanckfull memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumentall, & serviceable for the common good of these plantac̃ons as well as of those; which the Divine providence hath combined together in as strong a bond of Brotherly affection, by the samenes of theyre condition, as Joab & Abishai were, whose severall armyes did mutually strengthen them boath against severall enimyēs — 2 Sam. 10. 9. 10. 11. or rather they are joyned together, as Hippocrates his Twinnes, to stand, & fall, to growe & decay, to flourish, & wither, to live & dye together. In witnes of the premises we subscribe our names.

John Davenporte.
Theoph: Eaton.

The 12th day of the first moneth
Anno 1638 ” [= 12 March 1639].

TALCOTT'S LETTER TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

[A copy of this letter, probably in the handwriting of Talcott, was presented to the Historicl Society by W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Con. *Publishing Committee.*]

[The Letter is superscribed thus:] — “ These for his Excellencye S^r Edmund Andross Kn^t Cap^{tn} Gen^{ll} and Gov^r in cheife of his Ma^{tes} Territory in New England at Boston humbly present.”

“ *Hartford Dec: 5. 1687.*

“ Right Hono^{able} S^r

Being enformed p^r Cap^{tn} Allyn that a letter was sent from Albany by order of Gov^r Dongan's Excellency, with an express for 200 foot Soul^{d^{rs}} and 50 troopers, to be rayased out of this western part of y^e king's territory under your Excellencyes Govⁿ to be

at Albany the latter end of Aprill next, the officers to have money to discharg what shall be necessary for their sould^rs expences. May it pleas yo^r Excellency this motion at this juncture seems to be the product of irritation, if judgment may be given upon the first blush of matters: altho' it is a matter too high for me to give advice, if I had known the grounds of that unhappy rupture that is happened twixt the English and French Governments; yet with leave humbly profer my poor rag'd notions at yo^r Excellencyes feet. Myselfe being a person all together a strang^r to y^e cause of the war, desireing in generall to propose to yo^r Excellency whether it may not be a good expedient to send advice to Gov^r Dongan to move the French Generall for a sussasion of armes, and so a truce for 8 or 9 moneths, that a dispacht may be made to his Ma^{ty} that the crown of England and France may give their just resolves on y^e case; that those poor subjects that are but the skirts of two Christian Nations may not proceed in a War, at their own pleasure, in which if this his Ma^{ty}s territory should be esspoused, may expect great expences, a devastation of o^r plantations, and the effusion of much Christian blood, and the Country brought into poverty, as was o^r case in the last Indian war, in which yo^r Excellency did very honourably and wisely prevent the barbarous heathen from drawing the sword against his Ma^{ty}s subjects in the territory of New York, and then under yo^r governm^t; Wherefore as o^r eyes are upon yo^r Excellency for good conduct and gov'm^t we cannot but beleive you will protect and defend us in all things so far as is just to be done. And that we may not be engaged in a bloody war for y^e may'tey'ing litigious boundaries twixt English and French, (I desire to speake without reflection upon y^e meanest man, much less upon any Gent^m or person of hono^r) for the sake of a bever trade, to be upheild by the point of the sword,

for y^e inriching a few mercenary spirrited men. I haveing formerly been under the sorrowfull circumstances of a sad war with the heathen: makes me y^e more bold with yo^r Excellency: The old proverb being true, the burnt child dreads the fire, and therefore hope I shall be y^e more excusable. I am sorry that I have occasioned this trouble to yo^r patience; beging pardon for my rudeness, shall only desire and pray that the God of Gods, y^e Lord of Lords, the Wonderfull Counciller may be with your Excellencye, in all yo^r weighty affaires, and with yo^r Hono^{abl} Council that all yo^r issues may be peace and safety to o^r N: England Israel.

The post has a letter for yo^r Excellency to y^e same purposce to rayes sould^{rs} there.

Right hono^{rabl} Sr give me leave to subscribe myselfe yo^r Excellencye's most humbly devoted, and faithful Ser^t

John Talcott."

SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

[The following are extracts from the records of the church in Danvers, lately under the care of the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, D. D., deceased, relative to the dissensions which were occasioned in that church by the prosecutions for witchcraft while the church was under the care of the Rev. Samuel Parris, and while it was within the bounds of Salem. They were copied by the Rev. Joseph B. Felt of Hamilton, in 1821, from the records at Dr. Wadsworth's house; and are portions that were not printed by Calef in his 3d Part. As may be seen on a perusal of them, there are some grammatical errors, and a few phrases not easily understood.]

This church was formed the 19th of November, 1689.

"27 March, Sab. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Sacrament day.* — After the common auditory was dismissed, and before the church communion at the Lord's Table, the follow-

ing testimony against the error of our sister, Mary Sibly, who had given direction to my Indian man in an unwarrantable way to find out witches, was read by the Pastor. It is altogether undeniable, that our great and blessed God, for wise and holy ends, hath suffered many persons in several families of this village, to be grievously vexed and tortured in body, and to be deeply tempted to the endangering of the destruction of their souls, and all these amazing feats (well known to many of us) to be done by witchcraft and diabolical operations. It is also well known, that when these calamities first began, which was in my own family, the affliction was several weeks before such hellish operations, as witchcraft, were suspected. Nay, it never brake forth to any considerable light until diabolical means was used, by the making of a cake by my Indian man, who had his direction from this our sister, Mary Sibly; since which apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much mischief hath followed. But by this means (it seems) the Devil hath been raised amongst us, and his rage is vehement and terrible, and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows. But now that this our sister should be instrumental to such distress, is a great grief to myself, and our godly, honored, and reverend neighbours, who have had the knowledge of it. Nevertheless, I do truly hope and believe, that this our sister doth truly fear the Lord, and am well satisfied from her, that what she did, she did it ignorantly, from what she had heard of this nature from other ignorant or worse persons. Yet we are in duty bound to protest against such actions, as being indeed a going to the Devil for help against the Devil, we having no such directions from nature, or God's word; it must, therefore, be, and is accounted by godly Protestants, who write or speak of such matters, as diabolical, and therefore, call this our sister to deep humiliation for what she has done, and all of us

to be watchful against Satan's wiles and devices. Therefore, as we in duty, as a church of Christ, are deeply bound to protest against it, as most directly contrary to the Gospel, yet inasmuch, as this our sister did it in ignorance, as she professeth, and we believe, we can continue her in our holy fellowship upon her serious promise of future better advisedness and caution, and acknowledging, that she is indeed sorrowful for her rashness herein. Brethren; if this be your mind, that this iniquity be thus borne witness against, manifest it by your usual sign of lifting up your hands. — The brethren voted generally. None made any exceptions.

“ Sister Sibly, if you are convinced, that you herein did sinfully, and are sorry for it, let us hear it from your mouth. She did manifest to satisfaction her error and grief for it. Brethren, if herein you have received satisfaction, testify by lifting up your hands. A general vote passed. No exception made.

“ Note. 25 *March*, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. I discoursed said sister in my study about the grand error above said, and also, then read to her what I had written as above to read to the church, and said sister Sibly assented to the same with tears and sorrowful confession.

“ *Sabbath-day*, 14th *Aug.* 1692. The church was stayed after the congregation was dismissed, and the Pastor spoke to the church after this manner. — Brethren, you all have taken notice, that several Sacrament days past, our brother, Peter Cloyes, and Sam. Nurse and his wife, and John Tarbell and his wife, have absented [themselves] from Communion with us at the Lord's Table, yea, have very rarely, except our brother Samuel Nurse, been with us in common public worship ; now it is needful, that the church send some persons to them, to know the reason of their absence.

“ Therefore, if you be so minded, express yourselves. — None objected ; but a general or universal

vote, after some discourse, passed, that Bro. Nathaniel Putman and the two Deacons should join with the Pastor to discourse with the said absenters about it."

"*31st August.* Bro. Tarbell proves sick, unfit for discourse. Bro. Cloyes hard to be found at home, being often with his wife in prison, at Ipswich for witchcraft, and Bro. Nurse and sometimes his wife attend our public meeting, and he the Sacrament. — *11th September.* Upon all which, we choose to wait further.

"*11th September, Lord's day.* Sister Martha Kory, taken into the church 27th April 1690, was after examination upon suspicion of witchcraft, 21st March 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ committed to prison for that fact, and was condemned to the gallows for the same yesterday; and was this day in public, by a general consent, voted to be excommunicated out of the church; and Lieut. Nathaniel Putman and the two Deacons [were] chosen to signify to her, with the Pastor, the mind of the church herein. Accordingly this 14th September 1692, the aforesaid brethren went with the Pastor to her in Salem prison, whom we found very obstinate, justifying herself, and condemning all, that had done any thing to her just discovery or condemnation; whereupon, after a little discourse (for her imperiousness would not suffer much), and after prayer (which she was willing to decline), the dreadful sentence of excommunication was pronounced against her."

"*Sabbath, 5 February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$.* In the evening, the church was stayed, and upon discourse, the Pastor and two deacons, and Bro. Nathaniel Putman, and Bro. John Putman sen., and Bro. Bray Wilkin's wife, [were] chosen by a general vote of the Brotherhood, to discourse with brother Thomas Wilkins, Bro. Samuel Nurse, and Bro. John Tarbell, about their withdrawing of late from the Lord's Table, and public worship of God among us.

7th February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$. The abovesaid brethren, chosen for debate with the abovementioned brethren, met about one o'clock at the Pastor's house; and after prayer, the Pastor applied himself to the three dissenting brethren, telling them, that we were appointed by the church, to inquire into the grounds of their declining religious communion with us of late. After some pause, they each one, one after another, desired further time to consider of our demands. The Pastor replied, You know, brethren, of your dissent, and doubtless, *you* cannot be to seek of the reasons of it. But after some words more, some of us looking upon such pleas needless, others being willing to concede to them, it was concluded, that they should meet us again the 16th inst., and then give in their reasons; and also, if they saw good, to bring their dissenting wives with them, or to leave them to another season, as they pleased, with this proviso, that they acquaint the Pastor timely of it, that he may acquaint the church likewise, that so we may be commissioned to treat with them also, for as yet we were only sent to the brethren, and not to the sisters.

"16th February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$. According to the aforesaid, we, the abovesaid, met again at the Pastor's house, to receive answer from the dissenting brethren abovesaid, as to the reasons of their dissent; when they gave in a paper containing the matter following, viz. — Whereas we, Thomas Wilkins, and John Tarbell, and Samuel Nurse, having a long time gone under the burden of great grievances, by reason of some unwarrantable actings of Mr. Parris, as we esteem them, and were proceeding in an orderly way to obtain satisfaction from him, and had taken some steps thereunto, according to the advice of some neighbouring elders. But obstructive to our proceeding therein, Mr. Parris and some brethren of the church, were appointed by the church, to demand

a reason of us of our withdrawing from communion. The regularity of which, the proceeding, we do not understand, because in this case, we esteem ourselves to be plaintiffs and parties offended, and in an orderly way, seeking satisfaction, tho' hitherto denied. Our answer to the church is, that we esteem ourselves hereby prevented in our duty, which we account a grievance, seeing we were first in prosecution of the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, laid down in Matth. 18 c. 15, 16 vs. Wherefore, if the church give us the liberty and freedom of attending our duty, as according to rule bound, possibly then further trouble may be prevented, or otherwise, the case will necessarily and regularly come before them. But if they deny us the request, we shall, as in duty bound, give the reasons of our proceeding to the church, or any others, when orderly demanded. The paper abovesaid was read to us by Samuel Nurse, they were altogether unwilling to leave it with us; but at length they were prevailed with to let us take a copy of it. I gave it to Dea. Putman, who desired a copy of it, and from his copy, I wrote as abovesaid. These displeased brethren were told, that they did ill to reflect on the church, who, as also the Pastor, were ignorant of their methods; and also, that they should first have spoken with the Pastor himself, before they went to consult neighbouring Elders. But to this last, they pleaded ignorance. So we gave way to their request of proceeding orderly.

"The 7th February last, before the brethren appointed by the church, came, the abovesaid three brethren, John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came to my house, desiring speech with me; so I took them singly into my study, except Thomas Wilkins, for the other two, each of them, had taken up so much time, viz. one an hour at least, and the other more, that before time could be allowed for the other, the appointed breth-

ren came. John Tarbell said, he thought I was guilty of Idolatry, in asking the *afflicted persons*, whom they saw on other *afflicted persons*. He thought it was going to the God of Ekron. Nor did he understand how my oath was safe in court, that such and such, by such and such, were knocked down by their looks, and raised up by their touches.

“And had it not been for me, his mother Nurse might have been still living, and freed from execution ; that I had been the great prosecutor, and that others, wise and learned, who had been as forward as myself, had been sorry for what they had done, and saw their error, and until I did so, he could not join. His brother, Samuel Nurse, for about an hour’s time, had the same objections. I answered them, I did not see yet sufficient grounds to vary my opinion, which was confirmed by known and ancient experience, frequent in such cases, &c. But, however, in matters of debate they must give me my opinion, as I would not quarrel with them for theirs, &c.

“The 8th February, Brother Peter Cloyes came from Boston to me, with the very same objections, whom I answered after the like manner. Some short time after this, the abovesaid four displeased brethren came again desiring to speak with me, and Bro. William Way along with them. I told them, I would go up to my study, asking which would go first ; so Brother Cloyes came up first, bringing Bro. Way and Thomas Wilkins with him, as witnesses to his demand of satisfaction to what he lately objected. I told him, there was but one brother, there should be two, Thomas Wilkins was in this case Peter Cloyes, and Peter Cloyes Thomas Wilkins ; and so I told the rest, when I saw what they aimed at, and advised them to take, according to rule, some other brother or brethren, besides brother Way, or else I could not hear them in the way they aimed at. But

they would urge, that this was enough, and one was sufficient. I answered that Christ's rule was for two or three. So they departed.

"*27th March, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$.* At night Bro. Cloyes, and Bro. Tarbell abovesaid, came to my house together with Mr. Joseph Hutchinson, Sen., and Mr. Joseph Putman, and a little after, William Osburn of Salem, (which three last, it seems, came for witnesses, as Bro. Cloyes owned the 20th April following) and they gave me a paper, not subscribed by any person, but a cut in the place of subscription, where two or three names might be written.

"The contents of the paper were as follows, viz. — The paper had no date neither. — To our pastor and minister, Mr. Samuel Parris of Salem Village, and to some others of the Plantation. We whose names are underwritten, being deeply sensible, that those uncomfortable differences that are amongst us, are very dishonourable to God and a scandal to religion, and very uncomfortable to ourselves, and an ill example to those, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding differences amongst us, we do but gratify the Devil, the grand adversary to our souls. For the removal of which, we have thought meet to proffer our present thoughts to your serious consideration, hoping, that there may be such methods propounded, as may be for the settling and confirming peace and unity amongst us, both at the present and for the future. And our desires are, that such a foundation may be laid for peace and truth; that the gates of hell may not prevail against it. And, in order thereunto, Solomon adviseth to counsel. And our desires are, that a council of elders may be mutually chosen to hear all our grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and to determine where the blameable cause is. And we hope, that their wisdom and prudence may direct us to such a method, as may be for our comfort for both present

and future. When I had read it, I asked them, whom this paper came from. They answered, all the plantation, or a great many of them at least. I demanded, why then did none subscribe it. They said, all in good time.

So I put it up in my pocket. They demanded an answer to it. I told them, I would consider of it.

28th March 1693. The abovesaid brethren, together with the said Hutchinson, came again at night for an answer to the abovesaid paper. I told them, I had not considered of it yet.

14th April 1693. Our displeased brethren, John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came again, bringing with them said Hutchinson and Francis Nurse. After a little while, I went down from my study to them, asking them if they would speak with me. They said, yes, they came to discourse about the paper (abovesaid), they had brought to me. I told them, I had no time to talk, I was this day to preach to a private meeting. Nor was I willing to discourse with them alone; but appoint time and place, and I would meet with them. So we agreed, after our next lecture, to meet at Bro. Nathaniel Putman's.

20th April. After lecture, myself, Captain Putman, Ensign Flint, and the two Deacons, met the four displeased brethren abovesaid at Lieut. Nathaniel Putman's abovesaid, where we found together with them and for them, said Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Israel Porter. After a little while, I told them, to gratify them, I was come to hear what they had to offer. They demanded an answer to the paper abovesaid. Whereupon I pluckt it out of my pocket, and read it openly. They owned that to be the paper. I asked them what they called it; they being to seek a name for it. I told them, I looked upon it as a libel. They then produced a like paper, subscribed by said brethren and divers more, to the num-

ber of forty and two names ; but all seemed to be one and the same hand. I desired the original paper. They said, they knew not where it was. Then it was asked, whether those men wrote their own names. It was answered, yes, or they were written by their order. Then I desired them to subscribe this paper with their hands to it, testifying, that no name was there, but such as had consented thereto. But none would yield to this. Then I told them, we must know what to do. Had I to do with displeased people, or displeased brethren ? They answered, they came as brethren. Then I told them, none but brethren should have been present. They said, they had been with me already, and I refused to give them satisfaction. I answered, I did not understand they had. When they came first, I did not understand their drift, and therefore did not discourse them, as I would have done, had I apprehended they came to reason as such as had taken offence. And when they came the second time, they brought but one brother, viz. William Way, and took others of themselves. Lieut. Putman said, it was not too late yet, now there were several of the brethren present, and they might take any two of them, and discourse with the Pastor. No, they said, they had done it already. Thus much time was spent till just night, and myself and other brethren upon going home. The four displeased brethren agreed to meet me to-morrow morning about an hour after sunrise, with the two Deacons, and Bro. William Way, and Bro. Aaron Way, to discourse the matter, to which I readily assented.

21st April 1693. This morning, we met as above-said at Deacon Ingersoll's. After a little while, I began with prayer. Then brother Nurse read a large scroll of about fifteen articles, as reasons why they withdrew communion from us. Seven of them, I think, were reasons of absenting from public wor-

ship with us, and the other eight, I think, causes of separation from my ministry. I desired to see them, but was denied for a great while. At length, I had liberty to read them myself, upon the promise of returning them to them. After all, I demanded them, or a copy of them. But they would not consent thereto, nor to the desire of the other four indifferent brethren, tho' we urged it by arguments. But the dissenters said, no. They had told me, and that was enough ; and they desired me to call the church, and then I should have all."

[N. B. Thus far Mr. Felt copied verbatim the Rev. Mr. Parris's account of his difficulties ; but, as they are prolix, he made only the following abstract of the residue.]

Sab. 30th April 1693. A church meeting was proposed. *18th May.* It was held. The displeased brethren appeared with their complaints ; but it was voted, that they had proceeded disorderly ; and that the church would hear these brethren, if they would bring their charges in an orderly manner.

[The following is copied verbatim.] *13th October 1693.* "I received a letter from the Rev. Mr. John Higginson, directed to myself and brethren of this church. The sum whereof was, to advise us to join the complainants in calling a council of neighbouring churches, not excepting against any one on either side. Which letter, he writes, was occasioned by another letter, received from Mr. Willard in the name of the elders of Boston, directed to him, and Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Hale, to desire him to persuade us so to do. Communicated the same letter, this day, to sundry of the brethren at a private meeting at Deacon Ingersoll's."

"*14th October 1693.* I received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hale and Mr. Noyes, directed to myself and church, of the same tenor for substance with the abovesaid of Mr. Higginson's, only herein were sev-

eral conditions, on which a council should be chosen, omitted in that.”

[The following are abstracts.] *Sab. 15th October*, Church meeting appointed to consider the advice of the letters, and the petitions of the displeased brethren to General Court, and several remote churches.

19th October 1693. Church met, and agreed to have a mutual council.

23d October 1693. A letter was sent to the Rev. Messrs. Higginson, Noyes, and Hale, stating that the church had agreed to a council. It was signed by Rev. S. Parris, with consent of the brethren of the church.

Salem, June 14th 1694. As there was a difficulty in executing the vote for a mutual council, the following ministers sent advice of the above date to the church by all means to have a council to settle their troubles. John Higginson, James Allen, John Hale, Samuel Willard, Samuel Cheever, Nicholas Noyes (signed on condition that he should not be one of the council), Joseph Gerrish.

September 10th 1694. Similar advice was repeated by five of the preceding ministers, Mr. Noyes's name not subscribed under it.

VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE QUODDY INDIANS ; (Name, PASSAMAQUODDIE ; its meaning, POLLOCK FISH) LOCATED IN PERRY PLEASANT POINT, STATE OF MAINE, ON THE WATERS OF SCHOODAK, ADJOINING THE BRITISH PROVINCES. (PLEASANT POINT in Indian is SEBOIAK. SCHOODAK is an Indian word, and signifies BURNT LAND.)

[Written at my request, and presented to me 22 March, 1828, by the Rev. Elijah Kellogg, Missionary to the Passamaquoddy Indians from the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America.

A. HOLMES.]

	Numbers.	Cold,	Tekayo.
One,	Naiqet.	Daughter,	N'suos.
Two,	Nes.	Dog,	Lunoss.
Three,	Nihi.	Day,	Kissuok.
Four,	Naho.	Death,	Machina.
Five,	Nane.	Ears,	Chalkese.
Six,	Gamatchine.	Evil,	Sikimagailmoqua.
Seven,	Olohegannak.	Bad,	Muchigun.
Eight,	Okmulchine.	Earth or	} Takomiqu.
Nine,	Osquenandake.	Land,	
Ten,	Neqdensk.	Eyes,	N'siscol.
		Flesh,	N'hak.
Air,	Naisaion.	Meat,	Wiyos.
Arm,	Telmagan.	Foot,	Nsit.
Arrow,	Poqu.	Fish,	N'mays.
Bark,	Masqu.	Fire,	Skut.
Bread,	Apan.	Father,	Mitaqus.
Big,	Nukamqun.	Flower,	Posquoswasek.
Great,	Kininaquoqut.	God,	Saisos.
Blood,	Pocagun.	Good,	Kalaowart.
Brother,	Nesiwas.	Husband,	Noskitapaim.
Blue,	Muksaiwennaqut.	Head,	Neneagan.
Black,	Muksaiwayo.	Hand,	Petin.
Bird,	Cipsis.	House,	Wannoji.
Belly,	Nut.	Do.	Kowarm.
Boat,	Cochs.	He,	Wurt.
Child,	Warsis.	His,	Nakum.
Chief,	Sockum.	I,	Nel.
Corn,	Peascomennirl.	Me,	Kunnamie.

Island,	Muniqu.	Star,	Psaisam.
Lake,	Quesepan.	Sky,	Tumogat.
Love,	Mosagine.	Heaven,	Sapaimekek.
Leaf,	Mip.	Skin,	Matoikum.
Little,	Kakask.	Sister,	Poianmoumr.
Small,	Opskiqu.	Sea,	Supoiqu.
Mouth,	N'swone.	Salt,	Sola'wai.
Moon,	Kisos.	She,	Sha.
Man,	Oskitap.	Tree,	Apas.
Mother,	Nikos.	Wood,	Peosuqu.
Mount,	Wach.	Tobacco,	Dumawai.
Hill,	Kjiwach.	Thunder,	Paitakeak.
Metal,	Naxcamaytak.	Tongue,	Nyllal.
No,	Seat.	They, Theirs,	Akum.
Nose,	Niton.	Us,	Yout.
Nation,	N'qutkamikso.	We,	Nel.
People,	Pamaosewen.	Valley,	Warlaiyo.
Plant,	N'takik.	Village,	Cutain.
Herb,	Aikicasik.	Warm,	Kesipetai.
Grass,	Meskigowail.	Hot,	Apallai.
Root,	Wachapke.	Water,	Somaquone.
Rain,	Suklan.	Wind,	Ksromson.
River,	Sepe.	Woman,	Apet.
Red,	Macquaik.	Girl,	Pelsquasis.
Seed,	Asgannymenal.	Wife,	N'wennaisom.
Fruit,	Meynk.	White,	Wapaiyo.
Snow,	Warst.	You,	Kel.
Sun,	Asptaiasait.	Yours,	Kelyot.
Stone,	Panapsqu.	Yes,	Nelek.
Sand,	Toupquan.	Year,	Paimeka'tk.
Son,	N'kos.	Yellow,	Wesoh-wayo.

He,	Showanoes.	Quoddy.
River,	Mcquama,	Quam.
Nut,	Sepe,	Sepe.
Eggs,	Nacan,	Nacan.
House,	Wawale,	Wawal.
	Wigwa.	Wigwam.

Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire. 183

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[Continued from Vol. II. (Third Series,) p. 322.]

Concord, N. H., 10 May, 1830.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I enclose, for the publishing committee of your society, a continuation of sketches of churches and ministers, and will thank you to communicate them when convenient. I am, Sir, with sincere respect,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN FARMER.

REV. DR. HOLMES.

In continuing an account of the Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire, it may be proper, before proceeding to give additional sketches, to make such *corrections* as to those which have already appeared, as have been discovered by more minute investigations, and to offer such *additions* as have become necessary by the lapse of time since the former articles were published. In doing this, the several volumes of the Collections, in which the sketches have appeared, will be referred to in their order, and the towns, requiring corrections and additional notices, will be arranged in the order in which they stand in those volumes.

Vol. VIII. (Second Series.) *Amherst.*

Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, (p. 176.) was born in Stow, Massachusetts, in 1750, and, excepting Rev. Nathaniel Porter, D. D., of Conway, now in his 86th year, and Rev. Jeremiah Shaw, of Moultonborough, in his 83d year, is the oldest settled minister in New Hampshire. The oldest person, now living, who has been in the ministry in this state is the Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, the oldest surviving graduate on the Catalogue of Harvard College, who has nearly completed his 91st year. Rev. Nathan Lord, (now D. D.,) the colleague of Mr. Barnard, was dismissed

from his pastoral office, 22 November, 1828, having been appointed President of Dartmouth College. Rev. Silas Aiken, a native of Bedford, New Hampshire, and who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1825, was ordained the successor of Dr. Lord, 4 March, 1829. Another Congregational church was organized at Amherst, 7 July, 1824, and Rev. Edmund Quincy Sewall, a native of Marblehead, and a graduate at Harvard College in 1815, was installed 26 January, 1825. He was dismissed in the year following, and is now the editor of "The Unitarian Advocate," a religious periodical work published in Boston.

Wilton.

Rev. Thomas Beede, (p. 177.) was dismissed 15 January, 1829, and was succeeded on the 13 January, 1830, by Rev. Stephen A. Barnard, who received his theological education at the school in Cambridge. The church over which he is settled is Unitarian in sentiment. There is a Trinitarian church, which was gathered a short time since.

Lyndeborough.

Rev. John Rand, (p. 177.) was ordained 3 December, 1757, and was dismissed 8 April, 1762, and died at Bedford, New Hampshire, 12 October, 1805, aged 78. A gentleman now living at Amherst informs me, that he was present at his ordination, which, as there was no meeting-house erected in town, was attended in a barn. Rev. Sewall Goodridge, a native of Lunenburg, Massachusetts, was ordained 7 September, 1768, and died 14 March, 1809, aged 65.

Salisbury.

Rev. Thomas Worcester, (p. 178.) who received from Dartmouth College the honorary degree of A. M. in 1806, was dismissed in April, 1823. Mr. Worcester has issued from the press twenty-three publications, the most of them occasional sermons. Several of them have related to the Trinitarian controversy. He was succeeded by Rev. Abijah Cross, 24 March, 1824. Mr. Cross graduated at Dartmouth College in 1821; was dismissed from his pastoral charge, 1 April, 1829.

Mont-Vernon.

Rev. Ebenezer Cheever, (p. 178.) a graduate at Bowdoin College in 1817, succeeded Rev. Stephen Chipin (now D. D. and president of Columbian College at Washington), 8 December, 1819, and was dismissed 8 April, 1823. He was succeeded by Rev. Nathaniel Kingsbury, 5 November, 1823.

Merrimack.

Rev. Jacob Burnap, D. D., (p. 178.) died 26 December, 1821, aged 73. He married a sister of the late Governor Brooks. Two of his sons have been educated at Harvard College, Horatio Gates, who graduated in 1799, and George Washington, who graduated in 1824, and is minister of the Unitarian church in Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Burnap was succeeded by Rev. Stephen Morse, 6 July, 1825, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1821. He was dismissed in July, 1828, and was installed at Troy, New Hampshire, 26 August, 1829.

Vol. IX. *Winchester.*

Rev. Solomon Bennett (p. 367.) was dismissed 25 December, 1823, and was installed in Marlborough in the same county in 1825.

Kingston.

Mr. Choate, (p. 367.) who is said to have been the first preacher at Kingston, was probably Benjamin Choate, who graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was never ordained. Rev. John Turner (p. 368.) was settled at Kingston, 1 January, 1818, and dismissed 1 May, 1823. He was succeeded by Rev. Ora Pearson, who was ordained 7 March, 1827.

Chester.

Rev. Clement Parker (p. 369.) was dismissed 26 October, 1825, and was installed at Shapleigh, Maine, 28 January, 1829.

Vol. X. *Dunstable.*

Rev. Samuel Bird, (p. 55.) on his removal to Connecticut, was installed over the parish of White Haven, 8 October, 1751. He died in 1784, aged 60. Rev. Ebenezer P. Sperry (p. 56.) was dismissed in April, 1819, and was installed at Wenham, in Massachusetts. Rev. Handel G. Nott, a native of Saybrook, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College in 1823, was ordained at Dunstable, 8 November, 1826. Another Congregational church having been formed in Dunstable (at Nashua Village), Rev. Nathaniel Gage, who graduated at Harvard College, 1822, was ordained 27 June, 1827.

Vol. I. (Third Series.) *Concord.*

Rev. Asa M'Farland, D. D. (p. 154.) was dismissed 23 March, 1825, and on the same day, Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, a native of Norwalk, Connecticut, and a graduate at Yale College in 1821, was ordained. Dr. M'Farland died 18 February, 1827, aged 58. His publications amounted to as many as sixteen, of which the View of Heresies, a duodecimo volume of 276 pages, published in 1806, is the largest.

A second Congregational church, consisting of eight members, was formed at the dwelling-house of Hon. W. A. Kent, in Concord, on the 25 February, 1829, and on the same day, Rev. Moses George Thomas, a native of Sterling, Massachusetts, who graduated at Brown University in 1825, was ordained. The sermon was by Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston. The services were attended at the North meeting-house. A new church for the 2d Congregational society was dedicated in November, 1830.

Hampton.

Rev. Seaborn Cotton (p. 300.) was son of John and *Sarah* Cotton. Rev. John Cotton, his son and successor, was born 8 May, 1658. His age therefore was 52, instead of 57. Rev. Ward Cotton died at Plymouth, 27 November, 1768, aged 57.

Hampton-Falls.

Rev. Jacob Abbot (p. 301.) was ordained 15 August, 1798, and was dismissed in 1827.

New-Castle.

Rev. Oliver Noble (p. 303.) was not the same person who was minister of Orford. He graduated, as stated by the Editor in a note, at Yale College, in 1757 (not in 1758), and was installed at New-Castle, 18 August, 1784, (having been previously settled at Newbury, Massachusetts,) and died 15 December, 1792.

Greenland.

Rev. Ephraim Abbot (p. 304.) was dismissed 28 October, 1828, and Rev. Samuel W. Clark, a native of Hancock, New Hampshire, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, was ordained 5 Au-

gust, 1829. Rev. James A. Neal, of Greenland, did not graduate at college.

Durham.

Rev. Federal Burt (p. 306.) graduated at Williams College in 1812, and died much lamented 9 February, 1828, aged 39.

Dover.

Rev. John Pike (p. 306.) was son of Major Robert Pike, many years an Assistant of Massachusetts under the old colony charter, and was born in Salisbury in 1653. He was ordained in August, 1681. Rev. Joseph W. Clary (p. 309.) was dismissed 6 August, 1828, and Rev. Hubbard Winslow, who graduated at Yale College in 1825, was ordained 4 December, 1828.

A new Congregational church was gathered at Dover, 17 February, 1829, and Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, who graduated at Harvard College in 1825, was ordained on the next day after the church was formed.

Rochester.

Rev. Thomas C. Upham (p. 313.) was son of Hon. Nathaniel Upham, who died at Rochester, 10 July, 1829.

Swansey.

Rev. Joshua Chandler (p. 318.) was dismissed in December 1822, and Rev. Ebenezer Colman, who graduated at Brown University in 1815, was ordained 23 May, 1827.

Epping.

Rev. Peter Holt (p. 319.) was dismissed 25 April, 1821, and was installed over the Presbyterian church in Peterborough, 7 March, 1827. Rev. Forrest Jefferds succeeded him at Epping, 25 October, 1826.

Sandown.

Rev. Josiah Cotton (p. 321.) *was* the same who graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was also brother of Rev. Ward Cotton of Hampton. He died 27 May, 1780. Rev. Samuel Collins, who succeeded him, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1775; was ordained 27 December, 1780, and was dismissed 30 April, 1788.

New Ipswich.

Rev. Isaac R. Barbour (p. 321.) was dismissed 20 September, 1826, and was installed at Byfield, Massachusetts, 20 December, 1827. He graduated at Middlebury College in 1819. His successor at New Ipswich was Rev. Charles Walker, a native of Rindge, New Hampshire, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, and was ordained 28 February, 1827.

Epsom.

Rev. John Tucke (p. 322.) was dismissed in 1774, and died 9 February, 1777, at the house of one Deacon Close, in Salem, New York, of the small pox, aged 36 years. Mr. Tucke married Mary Parsons of Rye, 4 March, 1762. She was a daughter of Rev. Samuel Parsons. Rev. Jonathan Curtis was succeeded by Rev. John M. Putnam, 1 November, 1827, a native of Sutton in Massachusetts.

Walpole.

The church in Walpole, organized on the 10 June, 1761, was about the fifty-first in chronological order, gathered in New Hampshire. The first pastor of it, Rev. Jonathan Leavitt, a graduate of Yale College in 1758, was ordained on the same day. He was dismissed in 1763, and, it is believed, was installed at Charlemont, Massachusetts. His successor was Rev. Thomas Fessenden, son of William Fessenden of Cambridge, and father of Thomas G. Fessenden, the well known and respected editor of "The New England Farmer." Mr. Fessenden graduated at Harvard College in 1758; was ordained 7 January, 1767, and died 9 May, 1813, aged 74. He published a work called *The Science of Sanctity*, an octavo volume of 308 pages, which is reviewed in the August number, 1805, of "The Monthly Anthology." Mr. Fessenden received Rev. Pliny Dickinson as his colleague, 6 March, 1805. Mr. Dickinson is a native of Granby, Massachusetts, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1798. Rev. William A. Whitwell, who graduated at Harvard College in 1824, was ordained at Walpole, 3 February, the present year [1830.]

Concord, N. H. 10 May, 1830.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE HON. CHRISTOPHER GORE, OF
WALTHAM, MASS.

CHRISTOPHER GORE was born in Boston, Mass., September 21, in the year 1758. He was descended from respectable parents, and was the youngest of several children.* He received his primary education at the public schools in Boston, and was prepared for college chiefly, if not entirely, at the South Latin School, under the tuition of the justly celebrated Mr. Lovell, who educated for the University, and for public life, many of the best scholars, and some of the most distinguished men, in the state. At the age of thirteen, he entered Harvard College, and was among the youngest in his class ; but, young as he was, his talents were of that high order, his taste for literary pursuits so decided, and his application so judicious, that he acquired and sustained the reputation of a good scholar, at a period, and under circumstances, which prevented many from deriving the expected benefit from a public education. For in his Junior year, the war of our Independence commenced, which created confusion and disorder throughout society, and deranged the plans, and changed the pursuits of many, in every grade and profession. The college buildings being wanted for the army stationed at Cambridge, the students were dispersed for several months. When Mr. Gore returned home, his father was desirous that he should leave college altogether, and enter at once upon the study of medicine, with an eminent practitioner in Boston. But he had no taste for that profession, and was resolved, if possible, to complete his collegiate course ; and therefore repaired to Bradford, in the county of Essex, and studied under the direction, and in the family of the Rev. Mr. Williams, afterwards profes-

* Note A.

sor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College. When the College was removed to Concord, he, with most of the students, repaired thither, and resumed and continued his studies. He was graduated in 1776, with honor, and with a character, that gave promise of future eminence in the world.

Mr. Gore was deservedly popular at college ;— his manners were engaging, his disposition was ingenuous, and his conduct fair and honorable. It is saying much for the integrity of his principles, that he passed the dangerous period of a college life, pure and unstained by vice. Nothing mean, disgraceful, or degrading was ever attached to his youth. It was this amiable character, joined to his social disposition and literary taste, that led him to form an intimacy with several students, which ripened into the strongest friendship in after years, and continued to grow stronger and brighter, and to yield purer satisfaction, to the close of life.*

Mr. Gore left college just at the time when the independence of our country was declared ; and, like many others, who were destined for the peaceful pursuits of professional life, he was animated with the ardent spirit of patriotism, and for a short season joined himself with a number, who cheerfully prepared to endure the hardships and privations of military service, to repel an expected invasion of the enemy in Rhode Island. The invasion did not take place, and the services of those engaged to repel it, of course, were not required.

Mr. Gore soon commenced the study of his profession, in the office and under the direction of the late Judge Lowell, in whose family he resided while a student. That eminent jurist and excellent man soon discerned the worth of his pupil, and repaid his diligence and integrity, and his respect for himself,

* Note B.

by reposing in him, at all times, entire confidence, and manifesting for him the sincerest friendship. Mr. Gore was often heard to speak with the greatest regard of his instructor, and to impute no small share of his success in his profession, to the mutual regard subsisting between them. He had prosecuted his studies with such unremitting ardor and attention, that he was enabled to commence the practice of the law, in his native town, with an ability and confidence, that insured him the most flattering success. He depended upon himself alone, — he had his own fortune to make ;* and his strict attention to business, his faithful application of time and talent, that he might gain a thorough knowledge of his profession, his punctuality in the discharge of the trusts confided to him, and withal his powers of eloquence, his ease and courtesy of manners, soon secured to him, not only patronage, but an eminence in his profession rarely attained at so early an age. Mr. Gore always appeared to derive satisfaction from the recollection of his frequent sacrifices of amusements and society, which have so many allurements for the young, that he might improve all his means and advantages, to secure the great objects he had in view, — reputation as a lawyer, independent support, a character for honor and integrity as a man, and the confidence and approbation of his friends. How well he accomplished these objects, his life has proved.

That Mr. Gore was highly esteemed, by his fellow citizens, at this early period of his public career, not only for his popular talents, but especially as an upright man and a sound politician, who might be safely entrusted with the confidence and dearest interests of the people, no stronger proof can be given, than his being united with those long tried and ardent patriots, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, in

* Note C.

the Convention of this State, which considered and adopted the Constitution of the Federal government.

In the year 1789, Mr. Gore was appointed to the important and responsible office of United States Attorney for the district of Massachusetts. He was the first, who filled this office under the Federal government; and his being selected by President Washington, who seldom, if ever, made an injudicious appointment, was decisive evidence of his legal reputation, and of the estimation in which he was held by his fellow citizens. Owing to the excitement in this part of the country, occasioned by sympathy with the people of France, then in a state of Revolution, — the duties of the office to which Mr. Gore was appointed were arduous and unpleasant; but he performed them all with great ability. And on some occasions, when the public feeling was much irritated, he manifested a degree of firmness and decision, which few could equal, and which, based upon his known integrity of character, enabled him to overcome difficulties, and successfully meet opposition, which had they been encountered with a different temper and less talent, would have produced a far different result.

His character being thus established for ability, for knowledge of commercial law, and faithfulness in the discharge of public duty; Mr. Gore was appointed, by the President, one of the Commissioners under the fourth article of Jay's Treaty, to settle the claims of our citizens, for spoliations upon our commerce. His commission is dated April 1, 1796. He was associated in this commission with men of distinguished worth, the Hon. William Pinkney of Maryland, and Col. Trumbull of Connecticut; but it is no derogation from their worth or ability, to assign the chief place in the commission to Mr. Gore. There were many difficulties to be met and overcome, in investigating the claims which were pre-

sented, which required all the experience, firmness, and perseverance, which few possessed in a greater degree than Mr. Gore, — and all the courtesy, affability, and knowledge of mankind, which were his in a peculiar manner. He was always the main instrument of securing to our citizens large sums of money, about the validity of the claims to which, some of the commission had strong doubts. The argument of Mr. Gore, in support of the claims for captures under the rule of 1756, was most able and elaborate, and no doubt caused their being allowed.

During the continuance of the commission, which was about eight years, Mr. Gore once visited this country, on special business of his own, but shortly afterwards returned to London. He visited the Continent, and spent several months in Paris. While in Europe, Mr. Gore became acquainted with some of the most distinguished men in Great Britain ; carrying letters of introduction from Mr. Jay, he was at once admitted to the highest circles. But his own character, his highly polished manners, and the uncommon ability, with which it was known that he executed his important commission, were the chief and sufficient recommendation to the notice and esteem of men, whom it is an honor to know, and who honor the country to which they belong. By such men Mr. Gore was highly esteemed, and received from them constant proofs of regard.

When Mr. King, who was our minister at the Court of St. James, returned to this country in 1803, he appointed Mr. Gore chargé d'affaires, ; and in this station he exhibited the same talent and fidelity, that marked all his other public proceedings. In 1804, Mr. Gore came home, and was received by his fellow citizens with every demonstration of respect and affectionate regard.*

Upon his return to this country, Mr. Gore resumed the practice of his profession, which he con-

* Note D.

tinued with zeal, activity, and success until the year 1809. He was elected to the Senate of this commonwealth for the county of Suffolk, in 1806 and 1807, and the following year he was chosen Representative from the town of Boston. Party politics ran high at this time, and Mr. Gore was a conspicuous member of the Legislature ; and, from his distinguished worth and talents, he was naturally placed in the van of the party, whose cause he espoused and most ably maintained. No man was better qualified to take the lead in a difficult work ; for, in addition to great political experience, sound judgment, and firmness of principle, he had perfect command of himself, and knew well how to influence and persuade others to an upright and honorable course.

During the political year of 1809 and 1810, Mr. Gore sustained the office of chief magistrate of this commonwealth. For this high and responsible station he had no preference, — it was not of his own seeking. So far from this, it was only at the most urgent entreaties, repeatedly made, by those of his friends, whose opinion he felt bound to respect, and who thought him the most suitable to fill the chair of state at that difficult period, that he consented to be a candidate for the suffrages of the people. And in thus yielding to what he believed his duty, as a good citizen, whose talents and means of usefulness belong to the public, and should be devoted to the public service, Mr. Gore sacrificed, as he well knew he of necessity must, his private feelings, his professional pursuits, to which he was attached and which he deemed it necessary to continue, and his love of retirement and literary ease. But he made the sacrifice with a resolution, which he firmly maintained, to give himself wholly to the important duties of the office, and, while he retained it, to be the governor and chief magistrate of the whole state, and not of a par-

ty. In pursuance of this noble object, he made himself familiar with every subject, that related to the interests and prosperity of the commonwealth, the honor and happiness of the people.* He visited the distant parts of the state while governor, mixed with the different classes of his constituents, as occasions offered, and thus became still better qualified for the station he held. And had it not been, that the passions and prejudices of men were enlisted in the cause they espoused, and that those of opposite political sentiments were resolved to see and act through a prejudiced medium; all men to whom the governor had access, who saw and heard him, would have been won by his courtesy and condescension, his open, undisguised manner towards all whom he met; they would have been convinced, that he was not the Tory, the Monarchist, of whom they had so often read in the public vehicles of slander. But since party-spirit has been allayed, the good sense and candor of all who had any acquaintance with the character of Mr. Gore, however opposed they were to him in public life, oblige them to confess, that he discharged the duties of governor, in the most upright and faithful manner. I have heard some of his former opponents assert, that he was the best governor who had ever presided over the commonwealth; but that fidelity to their party would not allow them to give him their support.

Consistency and integrity were the prominent features of his administration; and never did he, on any occasion, sacrifice them to private views or popular feeling. His love of country, his desire to promote, by all the means in his power, the prosperity and improvement of his fellow citizens, his high sense of honor, his self-respect, placed him far above the intrigues of party; he was ever indignant at the

* Note E.

supposition, that he would stoop to any measure, or sanction any project, to secure popular favor, if, by so doing, he must swerve in the least from the line of the strictest integrity.

At the expiration of the year for which he had been chosen governor, Mr. Gore returned to private life, and did not again resume the practice of his profession. His permanent residence was in Waltham in the vicinity of Boston, where he possessed a large estate, which he highly cultivated and improved. He purchased this estate in the year 1791 and made it his summer residence, until the time before mentioned, when he became a permanent inhabitant of the town.* He paid great attention to agriculture, and spared no expense in adorning his grounds, and in cultivating his fields, for his own and the public benefit. He took a lively interest in all the concerns of the town, faithfully discharged all the duties of a citizen, and secured to himself the respect and confidence of all with whom he had intercourse.

But Mr. Gore was not permitted long to remain in private life. In 1814 he was appointed by Governor Strong to the Senate of the United States, to supply a vacancy which had occurred during the recess of the Legislature ; which appointment was confirmed by the General Court, at its next session. It was with great reluctance that Mr. Gore consented again to engage in public life, and become interested in the jarring politics of the times. But his high regard for Governor Strong, and respect for his opinion, induced him to comply with his urgent request. There were certain measures to be adopted, or subjects to be laid before Congress, which, the Governor thought, demanded all the experience, firmness, and political wisdom of Mr. Gore, rather than any other man. In the Senate, Mr. Gore displayed his usual zeal and

* Note F.

abilities for the honor and welfare of his country. His talents and influence were highly appreciated; perhaps no one ever had more influence in that body, or was more respected by all parties. He continued in the Senate three years, when, the duties of the station becoming too arduous for his health, which had been materially injured by his exertions, he resigned his seat, and did not again enter public life.

Mr. Gore belonged to most of the literary and benevolent institutions in our community. He was early elected a member of the American Academy, and was President of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1806 to 1818. To each of these societies he bequeathed a valuable legacy. In 1816 he was chosen President of the Evangelical Missionary Society in Massachusetts, but resigned the office the following year, on account of ill health.* He was a member of the Middlesex Bible Society and of the Massachusetts Peace Society. He was for several years a vigilant and highly useful Fellow of Harvard College, from which Institution he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in 1809. And as a proof of his attachment to this seminary, and his desire to aid the cause of science and learning, he made the Corporation of the College his residuary legatee. The peculiar value of this bequest is its being free from all conditions, — being left to the sole direction of the governors of the College, to appropriate it as they shall deem best for the promotion of its truest interests; an example which it is hoped others will imitate, who may be disposed to add to the funds and prosperity of this favored seat of learning.

The public character of Mr. Gore may challenge the strictest scrutiny, from its commencement to its close. Few men have been called to higher or more

* Note G.

honorable stations in our country ; and by fewer still, if by any, has he been surpassed in the upright and faithful discharge of the arduous and responsible duties attached to those stations. As a statesman and politician, he was profound and discriminating ; the principles he adopted were formed from a deep and careful study of the constitution of his country ; — they did not grow out of the state of parties, or change of circumstances, or local and sectional interests. Having adopted what he believed the right course in politics, he steadily pursued it, with a single eye to the welfare and honor of his country. You always knew where to find him, for he acted from principle. Political integrity was at the same time his polar star, of which he never lost sight, and his safeguard, amidst the various fluctuations and contending interests, which agitated, and often convulsed society. It is true, that, as a politician, he differed from many distinguished men, with whom he was associated in public life, who were, perhaps, as honest and sincere in their opinions as he was ; but he had the unusual felicity, never to permit a difference of opinion to influence his feelings and conduct, or to view his opponents as enemies. His disposition was so benevolent, he was by nature so affable and courteous, that he maintained his opinions without asperity, and conciliated the good will, and secured the respect of many, whom he could not convince by argument. A virtue this, as rare as it is desirable, in a public character.

As an advocate at the bar, and as a counsellor, Mr. Gore stood among the foremost of the eminent jurists, who have done honor to the State. The ease and elegance of his manners, the nobleness of his person, added to his powers of eloquence, rendered him a favorite and successful member of the bar, which was at the same time adorned with Parsons, Sullivan, Ames, Dexter, and Otis. His clients

justly placed unlimited confidence in his opinions and exertions in their behalf; for they knew, that whatever business he undertook received the undivided efforts of his intelligent and well-stored mind; they had perfect confidence in the fairness and integrity, with which he conducted the business entrusted to him, and were convinced that no mean or mercenary consideration would induce him to barter his reputation, or raise expectations which would not be realized. He was faithful, because he was industrious, in his profession. He never came into court unprepared to manage the cause he had undertaken. It was his uniform practice, from the commencement of his professional labors to their close, and during the whole of his political life, either to sit up very late, or to rise very early in the morning, that he might fully prepare himself for the business of the following day. The company of friends, domestic society, and personal indulgence, were all sacrificed to duty, — to the business in which he was engaged.

Mr. Gore's mind was of the highest order of excellence. He was remarkable, I think, for decision of character, yet without rashness, — his judgment was sound and accurate, and the truths he attained after the most thorough investigation, he developed in a lucid manner. His was a highly cultivated and well disciplined mind. He was an accomplished belles-lettres and classical scholar, — was familiar with the literature of the day, and found much delight in reading the works of ancient poetry and philosophy. Horace was his favorite Latin author, which he read with a critical and discriminating taste. It is to be regretted that he left so few proofs, in print, of his extensive knowledge and sound political wisdom. A few political essays, which appeared in the newspapers, and a pamphlet, published in 1822, entitled, "Remarks on the Censures of the Government of the United States, contained in the Ninth Chapter of

a Book entitled, ‘Europe, by a Citizen of the United States,’ ” — are the only writings of his in print, which have come to my knowledge. These “Remarks” are an able vindication of the conduct of the administrations of Washington and Adams, so far as that conduct was implicated in the censure alluded to, — and they seemed to be demanded from one, who was not only conversant with the administration of our public affairs at that time, but was vested by the government with a high commission, to vindicate the honor of the nation, and assert and defend the claims of its injured citizens, against the pretended rights of Great Britain.

Not less distinguished was Mr. Gore in his private character, as a man in all the relations of social and domestic life. In these relations it is delightful to recollect him, and reflect upon those many graces, which endeared him to his friends, which threw around him a charm that none could resist, and which imperceptibly exerted an influence upon all who sought his acquaintance. He had the happy talent of making every one who was introduced to him, feel at ease, at home, although he were an entire stranger. To the young he was peculiarly kind and condescending ; this disposition, of course, attracted many within his circle, who, while delighted and improved by his discourse, cherished for him the highest respect. The kindness of his feelings and the benevolence of his demeanor were remarkable, in his attention to all classes of society ; in his familiar discourse with all whom he chanced to meet, in his daily pursuits, in his treatment of his dependents, and his attachment and fidelity to his friends.

But the character of Mr. Gore is deserving of regard, and respect, and honorable mention, chiefly, for its moral worth, its uncommon purity and unbending integrity. He was an enemy to vice in every shape ; if he ever expressed indignation at the conduct of

any, it was for its want of moral principle. His standard of virtue and moral rectitude was high ; for it was founded on the unerring principles of truth, as contained in the religion of Jesus Christ. In Christianity he was a firm believer ; he was a Christian in the noblest sense of the word. For while he did not hesitate to avow his sentiments, and in early life attach himself to a society, to which, in the eye of the bigoted many, it was almost a reproach to belong, he made no boast of his profession, took no pains to appear *better than others*, never was illiberal or censorious towards those who chose to pursue another course to heaven. While his health permitted, he was a constant attendant at church, in town and in the country, and paid uniform respect to all the institutions of religion. Mr. Gore not only believed in Christianity, but held in high estimation and reverence the Bible, and used to recommend the study of it to young men, who were just entering life. On this subject I speak with perfect confidence ; for I have often heard him describe the pleasure he derived from reading the works of the great masters of poetry and history of ancient days ; — “ But,” he would add, “ I find no poetry superior to that in the Bible, especially in the book of Job and the Psalms of David, or from reading which, I derive purer satisfaction, — no inspiration so sublime as that which proceeded from the pen of Isaiah, and no morality to be compared with the precepts of Jesus Christ ; ” observing, that whatever books he would recommend to the young, he should advise them to prize the Bible as the most valuable, — that whatever genius or talents a young man might possess, if destitute of moral principle, or practical regard for the eternal rules of virtue, he was destitute of the only certain foundation of honorable distinction, in a moral and religious community. Sentiments similar to these, I believe he expressed, as chairman of the committee, at a public examination of a class in Harvard

College, while he was Governor, — sentiments alike honorable to his head and his heart.

The latter years of Mr. Gore's life were years of infirmity and sickness, and much of the time his sufferings were intense. Yet such was his fortitude and endurance, such the equanimity of his mind, sustained by reflection, philosophy, and religion, that, to a stranger, he seemed not to suffer. His noble person literally bent down with pain and infirmity, he would receive his friends with cheerfulness, and so exert himself to entertain them, that they left him with increased admiration of his intellectual and moral worth. Though unable to attend to his agricultural pursuits to which he was strongly attached, to mingle in society, or even to see company, except his intimate friends; and though suffering hourly the severest pain, he passed much time in his study, and found alleviation from suffering by reading his favorite authors. It was delightful to perceive and to know, that tortured in body, his mind was still bright and clear, shone out in all its greatness and complacency, and, as it were, seemed to play in its triumph over corporal suffering. I have said that Mr. Gore was a Christian; and if years of endurance of severe pains and infirmity, without the least expression of murmur or complaint, — if constant exertions to render those about him pleased and happy, and the exercise of a cheerful, benevolent, and resigned disposition, — if these are evidences of a Christian temper, of true Christian fortitude and patience, then Mr. Gore had a strong claim to this exalted character; and retained it to the last hour of his life, which was closed with serenity, March 1, 1829, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. Well may we apply to his character these lines of the poet, which he delighted to read :

“Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ.”

NOTES.

A.

CHRISTOPHER GORE's father was John Gore, a respectable mechanic, in the town of Boston, who married Frances Pinckney, by whom he had fourteen or fifteen children. Three sons and six daughters lived to be married; the other children died in infancy. Christopher was the youngest of these sons.

B.

Of the many highly valued friends and associates of Mr. Gore, I shall particularly notice but two, whom he loved and valued above others, and for whom he cherished the highest regard through life, — the late Hon. Rufus King of New York, and the Rev. Dr. Freeman of Boston; with the former, and I believe with both, his acquaintance commenced at college. The intimacy subsisting between Mr. Gore and Mr. King, was one of the closest and purest kind. It seemed as if their thoughts and souls were one. Although in distant parts of the country, they maintained a constant correspondence, on all political subjects which interested them in common with their fellow citizens, as well as on their individual and domestic pursuits. They took no important step in public without consulting each other, and were generally decided by the opinion or advice given and received. They were together in Europe, in the public service, — they were together in the Senate of the United States, — nor were they long divided in their death. Mr. King died in May, 1827.

Of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, who still survives to cheer and delight a large circle of devoted friends, and to instruct, by example, an attached congregation, it may not be proper to write as his merit deserves. But, as he was the early and warm friend of Mr. Gore, their names, as their virtues, should ever be mentioned together, with the highest respect. As the firm and consistent minister of the church to which he belonged, Mr. Gore always manifested towards him the sincerest regard; and it was no small consideration with the Pastor, that he had for a counsellor and friend, such a parishioner, in whose talents, judgment, and integrity, he could place the safest confidence. But Mr. Gore

was attached to Dr. Freeman, not merely as his clergyman, but because he possessed all those traits of character, which are congenial to pure and enlightened minds. I have often heard Mr. Gore speak of his friends and of distinguished men, — but never of any as he used to speak of those to whom I have here alluded.

C.

Mr. Gore not only had his own fortune to make, but it devolved on him, principally, after he left college, to attend to the comfort and happiness of his mother, and three unmarried sisters. This additional care became his, in consequence of the absence of his father, (who left Boston and repaired to Halifax, at the commencement of the Revolution, but who returned, and, in 1795, died in Boston.) By his own exertions and industry, Mr. Gore paid his college bills, after he entered on his profession, and was enabled to fulfill all the responsible duties devolving upon him, with honor to himself. In the year 1783, Mr. Gore married Rebecca, daughter of Deacon Edward Payne, of Boston.

D.

On his return to his native town, a public dinner was given to Mr. Gore, by his fellow citizens, in testimony of their high respect for his character, and of their entire confidence in the ability and faithfulness with which he had executed the important commission on which he was sent to London.

E.

In the year 1809, a successful experiment was made in Milton, Massachusetts, of the efficacy of Vaccination, as a preventive of that dreadful scourge of the human race, the Small Pox. Mr. Gore was much interested in the success of the experiment, and, as Governor of the State, gave his aid to all measures for effecting the desirable object. In testimony of their respect for the Governor, and of their gratitude for the interest and influence he had felt and exerted in the cause, the committee on vaccination in Milton, sent him the following card.

“He is slain.”

“*Milton, 25th October, 1809.*

“The twelve individuals, whose names are written on the back of this card, were vaccinated at the town inoculation in July last. They were tested by small-pox inoculation on the 10th inst., and discharged this day from the hospital, after offering to the world, in the presence of the most respectable witnesses,

who honored Milton with their attendance on that occasion, an additional evidence of the never-failing power of that mild preventive, the cow-pock, against small-pox infection ; a blessing great, as it is singular in its kind ; whereby the hearts of man ought to be elevated in praise to the Almighty Giver.

“AMOS HOLBROOK, *Physician.*

OLIVER HOUGHTON, *Chairman*
of the Committee on Vaccination.”

On the reverse, were written these names, viz. — Samuel Alden, Joshua Briggs, Thomas Street Briggs, Benjamin Church Briggs, Martin Briggs, George Briggs, Charles Briggs, Catherine Bent, Susanna Bent, Mary Ann Belcher, Ruth Porter Horton, John Smith. These twelve were the only individuals qualified by the town vote, who expressed a desire of being tested, out of 337 vaccinated at the town inoculation, July, 1809.

F.

Mr. Gore did not gain inhabitancy in Waltham, merely by a residence for a time prescribed, or by paying taxes a certain number of years, as the law may then have been ; but, in a public town meeting, soon after he purchased his estate in Waltham, he requested to be considered and accepted as an inhabitant. By a unanimous vote of the meeting, he was then made an inhabitant, and ever after freely gave his advice and lent his aid to advance the interests and honor of the town. He attended town meeting, when important business was to be transacted, and frequently came from Boston, to put his vote into the ballot-box, on days of election, &c.

G.

On resigning the office of President of the Evangelical Missionary Society, Mr. Gore sent to the Secretary the following letter.

“ *Waltham, September 26, 1817.*

“ My dear Sir,

“ The last year, on receiving your notification of the honor conferred on me by the Society, I was induced to accept the trust, in the hope and expectation, that returning health would enable me to perform its duties.

“ In this hope I have been altogether disappointed ; and however painful the reflection, I have only to remedy the evil, so far as is now in my power, by praying the Society to accept, with my grateful acknowledgments for their kindness, my resignation of the office of President, — assuring them, that nothing would have tempted me to ask their indulgence, but a conviction, that I am

and shall be incapable of executing the duties of this high and respectable station. I should be quite unmindful of the obligations of the trust, were I to persist in attempting to retain the honors of a place, when ill health renders me incompetent to the discharge of its calls.

“Convinced, as I am, of the efficacy of religious and moral education in training youth to happiness and usefulness, and in confirming in persons of more advanced life, habits of virtue, order, and industry; and knowing, as I do, the disinterested and benevolent conduct of the Society in promoting these views; I pray the members to be assured of my earnest disposition to do all within my feeble powers to encourage and advance the purposes of their benevolent institution.

“With unfeigned respect, &c.

C. GORE.”

“*To the Secretary of Evangelical }
Missionary Society.*” }

Extract from a discourse preached to the First Congregational Society in Waltham, March 11, 1829, on the death of the subject of the preceding Memoir.

“My hearers, it has been your and my happiness to know one, who lived with and among us for many years, whose enlarged and powerful mind, whose various and highly cultivated talents rendered him eminently useful in the most important stations in society; — whose amiable and benevolent disposition made him beloved by all, of every class, who were admitted to his acquaintance; — whose truly honorable and upright character gained him the respect and confidence of all; — whose virtues will long be cherished in remembrance, and in the light of whose example we may perceive the path of true honor and greatness. You have, no doubt, already anticipated the application of these remarks, to our late eminent fellow citizen and townsman, the Hon. Mr. Gore, whose recent decease has made a void in society, and in the relations of private life, which cannot easily be filled.

“I deem no apology necessary for deviating from my usual practice, and taking this public notice of the death of Mr. Gore — making his life and character the subject of the present discourse. For, as he was a man to be honored and esteemed while in life, so was he a man, in all respects, to be remembered after his death. He did not ‘live to himself alone, neither will he die to himself.’ Sure I am, that many of our fathers and friends, the contemporaries of Mr. Gore, who worshipped with him at this altar, and who, with him, are now worshippers of God in a purer, holier temple, — could their spirits mingle in the transactions of earth, would accuse me of injustice and want of respect for eminent worth, and ingratitude for repeated

proofs of personal friendship and unreserved confidence, were I to withhold this feeble tribute to his memory. To those of his contemporaries, who have yet a little farther to proceed on the journey of life, it cannot be unwelcome, to be reminded of the services and worth of one, whose life was so full of instruction, and incitement to every laudable work. To the younger part of the society, who knew Mr. Gore only by report, and are strangers to his early history, it must be interesting, to attend to a brief sketch of the life, character, and services of a man, who served his country with fidelity, his friends with the sincerest ardor, and his God with the most unbending integrity." R.

INTRUSION OF THE RHODE-ISLAND PEOPLE UPON THE
INDIAN LANDS.

[Endorsed — "Sept. 13 '69" (= 1669) "Com^{rs} of United Colonys, declaration of y^e Injustice of y^e R. Islanders, in Narrag: affairs."]

[From W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Connecticut.]

"Whereas complaint is made that sundry of his Maj: subjects y^e p^prietors of the Narragansett and Pequotts Country, Contrary to all Justice & Equitie (being lawfully seized of their severall p^prieties) are now dispossessed by the violent intrusions of sundry of Rode Island people, and after all amicable meanes for a redresse they do still p^sist therin, the w^{ch} Lands by his Ma^{ties} Let^s Pattent were put under y^e Jurisdictioⁿ of Conecticott Colony, the Com^{rs} now assembled do declare that this their intrusion is very unjust & unreasonable, & do com^{end} unto their beloved Brethren y^e Gen^l Court of Conecticott, that the Complayntes may be admitted to a full and orderly hereing of their case, and demand made of satisfactioⁿ fro^m those that have soe unreasonably oppressed them, in case that their complaint do appeare to be true, and in case of refusall to submit thereto, and to make reparatioⁿ, that notice thereof

be given to y^e severall Gen^l Courts for their advice to a Just & righteous way for a redresse.—

Simon Bradstreete.

Thomas Danforth.

John Tallcott.

J. Winthrop.

“Whereas much time hath been spent in debateing matters of difference that have arisen among the Coloneys whereby y^e Confederatioⁿ seemes to be Greatly weakened and at p^rsent uselesse, The Com^{rs} of y^e severall Coloneys now assembled do agree to Commend it to y^e severall Gen^l Courts, that against y^e Meeting of y^e next Gen^l Court for ellectioⁿ in y^e Massachusetts Colony some meet p^rsons may be chosen and sent fro^m y^e Colony of Plimmoth & Conecticott inuested wth full power to treat & conclude of such articles as they shall mutually agree upoⁿ for y^e reestablishm^t of y^e confederatioⁿ, between y^e united Coloneys.

Simon Bradstreete.

J. Winthrop.

Thomas Danforth.

John Tallcott.”

[A copy on the Massachusetts files agreed verbatim with the foregoing, except that *Boston* is inserted before “Sept. 13th” and Joseph Winslow’s signature after Simon Bradstreete’s at the close of the 2d document. The following is added, being the doings of Massachusetts on the subject.]

“18. Oct. ’69. This agreement of the Commissioners being read in the Generall Court they doe concurr therewith. The Magistrates have passed this their brethren the deputies hereto consenting.

(signed) Edw. Rawson Sec^r.

The Deputies consent hereto provided nothing be concluded without the approbation of o^r Gen^l Court, o^r Hono^{ed} Magist^r consenting hereto.

(signed) William Torrey — Cleric.

21 October ’69.

Consented to by the Magist^r.

Edw. Rawson, Secret.”

AN
ACCOUNT
OF TWO
VOYAGES
TO
NEW-ENGLAND.

Wherein you have the setting out of a Ship,
With the charges ; The prices of all necessaries for
furnishing a Planter & his Family at his first com-
ing ; A Description of the Country, Natives and
Creatures ; The Government of the Countrey as
it is now possessed by the *English*, &c. A large
Chronological Table of the most remarkable
passages from the first discovering of the Conti-
nent of *America*, to the year 1673.

By *John Josselyn* Gent.

The Second Addition.

Mimner. distich rendred English by Dr. *Heylin*.

*Heart, take thine ease,
Men hard to please
Thou haply might'st offend,
Though one speak ill
Of thee, some will
Say better ; there's an end.*

London Printed for *G. Widdowes* at the *Green Dragon* in *St. Pauls Church-yard*, 1675.

[In the 12mo. volume from which this is printed, the title is preceded by a leaf, on the first page of which is the printer's device, viz. a dragon with the letters G W over it ; and in the middle of the second page is "Licensed by Roger L'estrange, *Novemb.* the 28. 1673." The title-leaf (which is substituted for one cut out, doubtless to give the book the appearance of a second edition) is followed by two leaves, one bearing the dedication, and the other a list of Errata. The Dedication is as follows : "To the Right Honourable, and Most Illustrious the President and Fellows of the Royal Society : The following Account of Two Voyages to New-England, is most humbly presented by the Authour *John Josselyn*." The list of Errata is thus introduced : "To the Reader : *You are desired by the Authour to correct some literal faults, which by reason of the raggedness of the Copy have been committed.* G. Widdow's." The "literal faults" specified in the list (a small part of those that exist) are corrected in this reprint.]

A
RELATION
OF TWO
VOYAGES
TO
New-England.

The first Voyage.

A *NNO* Dom. 1638. *April* the 26th being *Thursday*, I came to *Gravesend* and went aboard the *New Supply*, alias, the *Nicholas* of *London*, a Ship of good force, of 300 Tuns burden, carrying 20 Sacre and Minion, man'd with 48 Sailers, the Master *Robert Taylor*, the Merchant or undertaker Mr. *Edward Tinge*, with 164 Passengers men, women and children.

[p. 2.] At *Gravesend* I began my Journal, from whence we departed on the 26. of *April*, about Six of the clock at night, and went down into the *Hope*.

The 27. being *Fryday*, we set sail out of the *Hope*, and about Nine of the clock at night we came to an Anchor in *Margaret-Road* in three fathom and a half water: by the way we past a States man of war, of 500 Tun, cast away a month before upon the *Goodwin*, nothing remaining visible above water but her main mast top, 16 of her men were drowned, the rest saved by Fishermen.

The 28. we twined into the Downs, where Captain *Clark* one of His Majesties Captains in the

Navy, came aboard of us in the afternoon, and prest two of our Trumpeters. Here we had good store of Flounders from the Fishermen, new taken out of the Sea and living, which being readily gutted, were fry'd while they were warm; me thoughts I never tasted of a delicates Fish in all my life before.

The Third of *May* being *Ascension* day, in the afternoon we weighed out of the *Downs*, the wind at *E.* and ran down into *Dover* Road, and lay by the lee, whilst they sent the Skiffe ashore for one of the Masters mates: by the way we past *Sandwich* in the [p. 3.] *Hope*, *Sandown-Castle*, *Deal*; So we steered away for *Doniesse*, from thence we steered *S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.* for the *Beachie*, about one of the clock at night the wind took us a stayes with a gust, rain, thunder and lightning, and now a Servant of one of the passengers sickned of the small pox.

The Fifth day in the afternoon we Anchored, the *Isle of Wight W.N. W.* 10 leagues off, *Beachie E. N. E.* 8 leagues off, rode in 32 fathom water at low water, at 8 of the clock at night the land over the Needles bore *N. W.* 4 leagues off, we steered *W.* afore the Start, at noon the Boults was *N. W.* by *W.* about $3 \frac{1}{2}$ leagues off, we were becalmed from 7 of the clock in the morning, till 12 of the clock at noon, where we took good store of *Whitings*, and half a score *Gurnets*, this afternoon an infinite number of *Porpisces* shewed themselves above water round about the Ship, as far as we could kenn, the night proved tempestuous with much lightning and thunder.

The Sixth day being *Sunday*, at five of the clock at night the *Lizard* was *N. W.* by *W.* 6 leagues off, and the *Blackhead* which is to the westward of *Falmouth* was *N. W.* about 5 leagues off.

The Seventh day the uttermost part of *Silly* was *N. E.* 12 leagues off, and now we began to sail by the logg.

[p. 4.] The Eighth day, one *Boremans* man a pas-

senger was duck'd at the main yards arm (for being drunk with his Masters strong waters which he stole) thrice, and fire given to two whole Sacree, at that instant. Two mighty Whales we now saw, the one spouted water through two great holes in her head into the Air a great height, and making a great noise with puffing and blowing, the Seamen called her a Soufler; the other was further off, about a league from the Ship, fighting with the Sword-fish, and the Flail-fish, whose stroakes with a fin that growes upon her back like a flail, upon the back of the Whale, we heard with amazement: when presently some more than half as far again we spied a spout from above, it came pouring down like a River of water; So that if they should light in any Ship, she were in danger to presently sunk down into the Sea, and falleth with such an extream violence all whole together as one drop, or as water out of a Vessel, and dured a quarter of an hour, making the Sea to boyle like a pot, and if any Vessel be near, it sucks it in. I saw many of these spouts afterwards at nearer distance. In the afternoon the Mariners struck a Porpisce, called also a *Marsovius* or Sea-hogg, with an harping Iron, and hoisted her aboard, [p. 5.] they cut some of it into thin pieces, and fryed, it tastes like rusty Bacon, or hung Beef, if not worse; but the Liver boiled and soused sometime in Vinegar is more grateful to the pallat. About 8 of the clock at night, a flame settled upon the main mast, it was about the bigness of a great Candle, and is called by our Seamen *St. Elmes* fire, it comes before a storm, and is commonly thought to be a Spirit; if two appear they prognosticate safety: These are known to the learned by the names of *Castor* and *Pollux*, to the *Italians* by *St. Nicholas* and *St. Hermes*, by the *Spaniards* called *Corpos Santos*.

The Ninth day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, we found the head of our main mast close

to the cap twisted and shivered, and we presently after found the fore-top-mast crackt a little above the cap; So they wolloed them both, and about two of the clock in the morning 7 new long Boat oars brake away from our Star-board quarter with a horrid crack.

The Eleventh day, they observed and made the Ship to be in latitude 48 degrees 46 minuts, having a great Sea all night; about 6 of the clock in the morning we spake with Mr *Rupe* in a Ship of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Marcelloes*; and now is *Silly N. E.* by *E.* 34 leagues off; [p. 6.] about 9 of the clock at night we sounded, and had 85 fathom water, small brownish pepperie sand, with a small piece of *Hakes* Tooth, and now we are 45 leagues off the *Lizard*, great Seas all night, and now we see to the *S. W.* six tall Ships, the wind being *S. W.*

The Twelfth day being *Whitsunday*, at prayer-time we found the Ships trine [trim?] a foot by the stern, and also the partie that was sick of the small pox now dyed, whom we buried in the Sea, tying a bullet (as the manner is) to his neck, and another to his leggs, turned him out at a Port-hole, giving fire to a great Gun. In the afternoon one *Martin Jvy* a strippling, servant to Captain *Thomas Cammock* was whipt naked at the Cap-stern, with a Cat with Nine tails, for filching 9 great Lemmons out of the *Chirurgeons* Cabbin, which he eat rinds and all in less than an hours time.

The Thirteenth day we took a Sharke, a great one, and hoisted him aboard with his two Companions (for there is never a Sharke, but hath a mate or two) that is the Pilot-fish or Pilgrim, which lay upon his back close to a long fin; the other fish (somewhat bigger than the Pilot) about two foot long, called a *Remora*, it hath no scales and sticks close to the Sharkes belly. [p. 7.] So the Whale hath the Sea-gudgeon, a small fish for his mate, marching be-

fore him, and guiding him; which I have seen likewise. The Seamen divided the Sharke into quarters, and made more quarter about it than the Purser, when he makes five quarters of an Oxe, and after they had cooked him, he proved very rough Grain'd, not worthy of wholesome preferment; but in the afternoon we took store of *Bonitoes*, or Spanish *Dolphins*, a fish about the size of a large Mackarel, beautified with admirable varietie of glittering colours in the water, and was excellent food.

The Fourteenth day we spake with a *Plimouth* man (about dinner time) bound for *New-found-land*, who having gone up west-ward sprang a leak, and now bore back for *Plimouth*. Now was *Silly* 50 leagues off, and now many of the passengers fall sick of the small Pox and Calenture.

The Sixteenth Mr. *Clarke*, who came out of the *Downs* with us, and was bound for the Isle of *Providence*, one of the summer Islands; the *Spaniards* having taken it a little before, though unknown to *Clarke*, and to Captain *Nathaniel Butler* going Governour, they departed from us the Wind *N. W.* great Seas and stormie winds all night.

[p. 8.] The Seventeenth day, the wind at *N. W.* about 8 of the clock we saw 5 great Ships bound for the *Channel*, which was to the Westward of us, about two leagues off, we thought them to be *Flemmings*; here we expected to have met with Pirates, but were happily deceived.

The One and twentieth day, the wind *S. by W.* great Seas and Wind, in'd our courses, and tryed from 5 of the clock afternoon, till 4 in the morning, the night being very stormie and dark; we lost Mr. *Goodlad* and his Ship, who came out with us, and bound for *Boston* in *New-England*.

The Eight and twentieth day, all this while a very great grown Sea and mighty winds.

June the first day in the afternoon, very thick fog-

gie weather, we sailed by an enchanted Island, saw a great deal of filth and rubbish floating by the Ship, heard *Cawdimawdies*, *Sea-gulls* and *Crowes*, (Birds that always frequent the shoar) but could see nothing by reason of the mist: towards Sunset, when we were past the Island, it cleared up.

The Fourteenth day of *June*, very foggie weather, we sailed by an Island of Ice (which lay on the Star-board side) three leagues in length mountain high, in form of [p. 9.] land, with Bayes and Capes like high clift land, and a River pouring off it into the Sea. We saw likewise two or three Foxes, or Devils skipping upon it. These Islands of Ice are congealed in the North, and brought down in the spring-time with the Current to the banks on this side *New-found-land*, and there stopt, where they dissolve at last to water; by that time we had sailed half way by it, we met with a *French* Pickeroon. Here it was as cold as in the middle of *January* in *England*, and so continued till we were some leagues beyond it.

The Sixteenth day we sounded, and found 35 fathom water, upon the bank of *New-found-land*, we cast out our hooks for Cod-fish, thick foggie weather, the Codd being taken on a Sunday morning, the Sectaries aboard threw those their servants took into the Sea again, although they wanted fresh victuals, but the Sailers were not so nice, amongst many that were taken, we had some that were wasted Fish, & it is observable and very strange, that fishes bodies do grow slender with age, their Tails and Heads retaining their former bigness; Fish of all Creatures have generally the biggest heads, and the first part that begins to taint in a fish is the head.

The Nineteenth day, Captain *Thomas Cammock* [p. 10.] (a near kinsman of the Earl of *Warwicks*) now had another lad *Thomas Jones*, that dyed of the small pox at eight of the clock at night.

The Twentieth day, we saw a great number of

Sea-bats, or Owles, called also flying fish, they are about the bigness of a Whiting, with four tinsel wings, with which they fly as long as they are wet, when pursued by other fishes. Here likewise we saw many Grandpisces or Herring-hogs, hunting the scholes of Herrings, in the afternoon we saw a great fish called the *vehuella* or Sword fish, having a long, strong and sharp fin like a Sword-blade on the top of his head, with which he pierced our Ship, and broke it off with striving to get loose, one of our Sailers dived and brought it aboard.

The One and twentieth day, we met with two *Bristow* men bound for *New-England*, and now we are 100 and 75 leagues off *Cape-Sable*, the sandy *Cape*, for so *Sable* in French signifieth, off of which lyeth the Isle of *Sable*, which is beyond *New-found-land*, where they take the *Amphibious* Creature, the *Walrus*, *Mors*, or *Sea-Horse*.

The Two and twentieth, another passenger dyed of a Consumption. Now we passed by the Southern part of *New-found-land*, [p. 11.] within sight of it; the Southern part of *New-found-land* is said to be not above 600 leagues from *England*.

The Six and twentieth day, Capt. *Thomas Cammock* went aboard of a Barke of 300 Tuns, laden with Island Wine, and but 7 men in her, and never a Gun, bound for *Richmonds* Island, set out by Mr. *Trelaney* of *Plimouth*, exceeding hot weather now.

The Eight and twentieth, one of Mr. *Edward Ting's* the undertakers men now dyed of the Phthisick.

The Nine and twentieth day, sounded at night, and found 120 fathome water, the head of the Ship struck against a rock; At 4 of the clock we descryed two sail bound for *New-found-land*, and so for the *Streights*, they told us of a general Earth-quake in *New-England*, of the Birth of a Monster at *Boston*, in the *Massachusetts-Bay* a mortality, and now we are two leagues off *Cape Ann*.

The Thirtieth day proved stormie, and having lost the sight of the Land, we saw none untill the morning; doubtfully discovering the Coast, fearing the Lee-shore all night we bore out to Sea.

July the first day, we sounded at 8 of the clock at night, and found 93 fathome water, descried land.

The Third day, we Anchored in the *Bay* of [p. 12.] *Massachusetts* before *Boston*. Mr. *Tinges* other man now dyed of the small pox.

The Tenth day, I went a shore upon *Noddles* Island to Mr. *Samuel Maverick* (for my passage) the only hospitable man in all the Countrey, giving entertainment to all Comers *gratis*.

Now before I proceed any further, it will not be Impertinent to give the intending planter some Instructions for the furnishing of himself with things necessary, and for undertaking the Transport of his Family, or any others.

To which end observe, that a Ship of 150 Tuns, with 2 Decks and a half, and 26 men, with 12 pieces of Ordnance, the charge will amount *per* moneth, with the Mariners, to 120 pound *per* moneth. It is better to let the Owners undertake for the Victualing of the Mariners, and their pay for Wages, and the Transporter only to take care of the passengers.

The common proportion of Victuals for the Sea to a Mess, being 4 men, is as followeth;

Two pieces of Beef, of 3 pound and $\frac{1}{4}$ *per* piece.

Four pound of *Bread*.

One pint $\frac{1}{2}$ of *Pease*.

[p. 13.] Four Gallons of *Bear*, with *Mustard* and *Vinegar* for three flesh dayes in the week.

For four fish dayes, to each mess *per* day.

Two pieces of *Codd* or *Habberdine*, making three pieces of a fish.

One quarter of a pound of *Butter*.

Four pound of *Bread*.

Three quarters of a pound of *Cheese*.

Bear as before.

Oatmeal per day, for 50 men, Gallon 1. and so proportionable for more or fewer.

Thus you see the Ships provision, is *Beef* or *Porke*, *Fish*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, *Pease*, *Pottage*, *Watergruel*, *Bisket*, and six shilling *Bear*.

For private fresh provision, you may carry with you (in case you, or any of yours should be sick at Sea) Conserves of *Roses*, *Clove-Gilliflowers*, *Wormwood*, *Green-Ginger*, *Burnt-Wine*, English *Spirits*, *Prunes* to stew, *Raisons* of the *Sun*, *Currence*, *Sugar*, *Nutmeg*, *Mace*, *Cinnamon*, *Pepper* and *Ginger*, *White Bisket*, or *Spanish rusk*, *Eggs*, *Rice*, *juice of Lemmons* well put up to cure, or prevent the Scurvy. Small *Skillets*, *Pipkins*, *Porrengers*, and small *Frying pans*.

To prevent or take away Sea sickness, Conserve of *Wormwood* is very proper, but these following *Troches* I prefer before it.

First make paste of *Sugar* and *Gum-Dracagant* mixed together, then mix therewith [p. 14.] a reasonable quantitie of the powder of *Cinnamon* and *Ginger*, and if you please a little *Musk* also, and make it up into Roules of several fashions, which you may gild, of this when you are troubled in your Stomach, take and eat a quantity according to discretion.

Apparel for one man, and after the rate for more.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One Hatt	0	3	0
One <i>Monmouth</i> Cap	0	1	10
Three falling bands	0	1	3
Three Shirts	0	7	6
One Wastcoat	0	2	6
One suit of Frize	0	19	0

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One suit of Cloth	0	15	0
One suit of Canvas	0	7	6
Three pair of <i>Irish</i> Stockins	0	5	0
Four pair of Shoos	0	8	0
One pair of Canvas Sheets	0	8	0
Seven ells of course Canvas to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw	0	5	0
One course Rug at Sea for two men			
<i>Sum Total.</i>	4	0	0

[p. 15] *Victuals for a whole year to be carried out of
England for one man, and so for more after the rate.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Eight bushels of <i>Meal</i>	2	0	0
Two bushels of <i>Pease</i> at three shillings a bushel	0	6	0
Two bushels of <i>Oatmeal</i> , at four and six pence the bushel			
One Gallon of <i>Aqua vitæ</i>	0	2	6
One Gallon of <i>Oyl</i>	0	3	6
Two Gallons of <i>Vinegar</i>	0	2	0

Note.

Of *Sugar* and *Spice*, 8 pound make the stone, 13 stone and an half, *i. e.* 100 pound maketh the hundred, but your best way is to buy your *Sugar* there, for it is cheapest, but for *Spice* you must carry it over with you.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Hogshead of <i>English</i> Beef will cost	5	0	0
A Hogshead of <i>Irish</i> Beef will cost	2	10	0
A Barrel of <i>Oatmeal</i>	0	13	0
A Hogshead of <i>Aqua vitæ</i> will cost	4	0	0
A Hogshead of <i>Vinegar</i>	1	0	0
A bushel of <i>Mustard-seed</i>	0	6	0

[p. 16.] A *Kental* of fish, Cod or Habberdine is 112 pound, will cost if it be merchantable fish, Two or three and thirty Rials a *Kental*, if it be refuse you may have it for 10 or 11 shillings a *Kental*.

Wooden Ware.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A pair of Bellows	0	2	6
A Skoope	0	0	9
A pair of Wheels for a Cart, if you buy } them in the Countrey, they will cost } 3 or 4 pound	0	14	0
Wheelbarrow you may have there, in } <i>England</i> they cost	0	6	0
A great pail in <i>England</i> will cost	0	0	10
A Boat called a Canow, will cost in the } Countrey (with a pair of Paddles) if it } be a good one	3	0	0
A short Oake ladder in <i>England</i> will } cost but	0	0	10
A Plough	0	3	9
An Axletree	0	0	8
A Cart	0	10	0
For a casting shovel	0	0	10
For a shovel	0	0	6
For a Sack	0	2	4
For a Lanthorn	0	1	3
For Tobacco pipes short steels, and great boulders pence and 16 pence the grose.	14		
[p. 17.] For clipping an hundred sheep in } <i>England</i>	0	4	6
For winding the Wool	0	0	8
For washing them	0	2	0
For one Garnish of Peuter	2	0	0

Prizes of Iron Ware.

*Arms for one man, but if half of your men
have Armour it is sufficient, so that all
have pieces and swords.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One Armour compleat, light	0	17	0
One long piece five foot, or five and a } half near Musket bore	1	2	0
One Sword	0	5	0
One Bandaleer	0	1	6
One Belt	0	1	0
Twenty pound of powder	0	18	0
Sixty pound of shot or lead, pistol and } Goose shot	0	5	0

*Tools for a Family of Six persons, and so
after the rate for more.*

Five broad howes at two shillings a piece	0	10	0
Five narrow howes at 16 pence a piece	0	6	8
[p. 18.] Five felling Axes at 18 pence a piece	0	7	6
Two steel hand-sawes at 16 pence the piece	0	2	8
Two hand-sawes at 5 shillings a piece	0	10	0
One whip saw, set and filed with box	0	10	0
A file and wrest	0	0	10
Two Hammers 12 pence a piece	0	2	0
Three shovels 18 pence a piece shod	0	4	6
Two spades 18 pence a piece	0	3	0
Two Augars	0	1	0
Two broad Axes at 3 shillings 8 pence a } piece	0	7	4
Six Chissels	0	3	0
Three Gimblets	0	0	6
Two Hatchets One and twenty pence a } piece	0	3	6
Two froues to cleave pail at 18 pence a } piece	0	3	0

Two hand-bills at 20 pence a piece	0	3	4
Nails of all sorts to be valued	2	0	0
Two pick-Axes	0	3	0
Three Locks, and 3 pair of Fetters	0	5	10
Two Currie Combs	0	0	11
For a Brand to brand Beasts with	0	0	6
For a Chain and lock for a Boat	0	2	2
For a Coulter weighing 10 pound	0	3	4
For a Hand-vise	0	2	6
[p. 19.] For a Pitchfork	0	1	4
For one hundred weight of Spikes			
Nails and pins 120, to the hundred	2	5	0
For a share	0	2	11

Houshold Implements for a Family of six persons, and so for more or less after the rate.

One Iron Pot	0	7	0
For one great Copper Kettle	2	0	0
For a small Kettle	0	10	0
For a lesser Kettle	0	6	0
For one large Frying-pan	0	2	6
For a small Frying-pan	0	1	8
For a brass Morter	0	3	0
For a Spit	0	2	0
For one Grid-Iron	0	1	0
For two Skillets	0	5	0
Platters, dishes, & spoons of wood	0	4	0
For Sugar, Spice and fruits at Sea for } six men	0	12	10

The freight will be for one man half a Tun.

Having refreshed my self for a day or two upon *Noddles-Island*, I crossed the Bay in a small Boat to *Boston*, which then was rather a Village, than a Town, there being not [p. 20.] above Twenty or thirty houses; and presenting my respects to Mr. *Winthorpe* the

Governour, and to Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher of *Boston* Church, to whom I delivered from Mr. *Francis Quarles* the poet, the Translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, and 137. Psalms into *English* Meeter, for his approbation, being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with, I returned in the Evening to my lodging.

The Twelfth day of *July*, after I had taken my leave of Mr. *Maverick*, and some other Gentlemen, I took Boat for the Eastern parts of the Countrey, and arrived at *Black point* in the Province of *Main*, which is 150 miles from *Boston*, the Fourteenth day, which makes my voyage 11 weeks and odd dayes.

The Countrey all along as I sailed, being no other than a meer Wilderness, here and there by the Sea-side a few scattered plantations, with as few houses.

About the Tenth of *August*, I hapned to walk into the Woods, not far from the Sea-side, and falling upon a piece of ground over-grown with bushes, called there black Currence, but differing from our Garden Currence, they being ripe and hanging in lovely bunches; I set up my piece against a stately Oake, with a resolution to fill my belly, [p. 21.] being near half a mile from the house; of a sudden I heard a hollow thumping noise upon the Rocks approaching towards me, which made me presently to recover my piece, which I had no sooner cock'd, than a great and grim over-grown she-Wolf appears, at whom I shot, and finding her Gor-belly stufed with flesh newly taken in, I began presently to suspect that she had fallen foul upon our Goats, which were then valued (our she Goats) at Five pound a Goat; Therefore to make further discovery, I descended (it being low water) upon the Sea sands, with an intent to walk round about a neck of land where the Goats usually kept. I had not gone far before I found the footing of two Wolves, and one Goat betwixt them, whom they had driven into a hollow, betwixt two Rocks, hither I

followed their footing, and perceiving by the Crowes, that there was the place of slaughter, I hung my piece upon my back, and upon all four clambered up to the top of the Rock, where I made ready my piece and shot at the dog Wolf, who was feeding upon the remainder of the Goat, which was only the fore shoulders, head and horns, the rest being devoured by the she-Wolf, even to the very hair of the Goat: and it is very observable, that when [p. 22.] the Wolves have kill'd a Beast, or a Hog, not a Dog-Wolf amongst them offers to eat any of it, till the she-Wolves have filled their paunches.

The Twenty fourth of *September*, being Munday about 4 of the clock in the afternoon, a fearful storm of wind began to rage, called a *Hurricane*. *It is an impetuous wind that goes commonly about the Compass in the space of 24 hours, it began from the W. N. W.* and continued till next morning, the greatest mischief it did us, was the wracking of our Shallop, and the blowing down of many tall Trees, in some places a mile together.

December the Tenth, happened an Eclipse of the Moon at 8 of the clock at night, it continued till after 11, as near as we could guess; in old *England* it began after midnight, and continued till 4 of the clock in the morning; *if Seamen would make observation of the time, either of the beginning or ending of the Eclipse, or total darkness of Sun and Moon in all places where they shall happen to be, and confer their observations to some Artist, hereby the longitude of all places might be certainly known, which are now very uncertainly reported to us.*

1639. *May*, which fell out to be extream hot and foggie, about the middle of *May* I kill'd [p. 23.] within a stones throw of our house, above four score Snakes, some of them as big as the small of my leg, black of colour, and three yards long, with a sharp horn on the tip of their tail two inches in length.

June the Six and twentieth day, very stormie, Lightning and Thunder. I heard now two of the greatest and fearfulest thunder-claps that ever were heard, I am confident. At this time we had some neighbouring Gentlemen in our house, who came to welcome me into the Countrey; where amongst variety of discourse they told me of a young Lyon (not long before) kill'd at *Piscataway* by an *Indian*; of a Sea-Serpent or Snake, that lay quailed up like a Cable upon a Rock at *Cape-Ann*: a Boat passing by with *English* aboard, and two *Indians*, they would have shot the *Serpent*, but the *Indians* dissuaded them, saying, that if he were not kill'd out-right, they would be all in danger of their lives.

One Mr. *Mittin* related of a *Triton* or *Mereman* which he saw in *Casco-bay*, the Gentleman was a great Foulger, and used to goe out with a small Boat or Canow, and fetching a compass about a small Island, (there being many small Islands in the Bay) for the advantage of a shot, was encountred [p. 24.] with a *Triton*, who laying his hands upon the side of the Canow, had one of them chopt off with a Hatchet by Mr. *Mittin*, which was in all respects like the hand of a man, the *Triton* presently sunk, dying the water with his purple blood, and was no more seen. The next story was told by Mr. *Foxwell*, now living in the province of *Main*, who having been to the Eastward in a Shallop, as far as *Cape-Ann* a Waggon in his return was overtaken by the night, and fearing to land upon the barbarous shore, he put off a little further to Sea; about midnight they were wakened with a loud voice from the shore, calling upon *Foxwell*, *Foxwell* come a shore, two or three times: upon the Sands they saw a great fire, and Men and Women hand in hand dancing round about it in a ring, after an hour or two they vanished, and as soon as the day appeared, *Foxwell* puts into a small *Cove*, it being about three quarters floud, and traces along the

shore, where he found the footing of Men, Women and Children shod with shoes; and an infinite number of brands-ends thrown up by the water, but neither *Indian* nor *English* could he meet with on the shore, nor in the woods; these with many other stories they told me, the credit whereof I will neither impeach nor inforce, but shall [p. 25.] satisfie my self, and I hope the Reader hereof, with the saying of a wise, learned and honourable Knight, *that there are many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Stanes.*

September the Sixth day, one Mr. *John Hickford* the Son of Mr. *Hickford* a Linnen-Draper in *Cheapside*, having been sometime in the province of *Main*, and now determined to return for *England*, sold and kill'd his stock of Cattle and Hoggs, one great Sow he had which he made great account of, but being very fat, and not suspecting that she was with pig, he caused her to be kill'd, and they found 25 pigs within her belly; verifying the old proverb, As fruitful as a white sow. And now we were told of a sow in *Virginia* that brought forth six pigs; their fore-parts Lyons, their hinder-parts hogs. *I have read that at Bruxels, Anno 1564. a sow brought forth six pigs, the first whereof (for the last in generating is always in bruit beasts the first brought forth) had the head, face, arms and legs of a man, but the whole trunck of the body from the neck, was of a swine, a sodomitical monster is more like the mother than the father in the organs of the vegetative soul.*

The Three and twentieth, I left *Black-point*, and came to *Richmonds* Island about [p. 26.] three leagues to the Eastward, where Mr. *Tralanie* kept a fishing, Mr. *John Winter* a grave and discreet man was his Agent, and imployer of 60 men upon that design.

The Four and twentieth day being *Munday*, I went aboard the *Fellowship* of 100 and 70 Tuns a Flemish bottom, the Master *George Luxon* of *Bitti-*

ford in *Devonshire*, several of my friends came to bid me farewell, among the rest Captain *Thomas Wannernton* who drank to me a pint of kill-devil *alias* Rhum at a draught, at 6 of the clock in the morning we weighed Anchor, and set sail for the *Massachusetts-bay*.

The Seven and twentieth day being *Fryday*, we Anchored in the afternoon in the *Massachusetts-bay* before *Boston*. Next day I went aboard of Mr. *Hinderson*, Master of a ship of 500 Tuns, and Captain *Jackson* in the *Queen of Bohemia* a privateer, and from thence I went ashore to *Boston*, where I refreshed my self at an Ordinary. Next morning I was invited to a fishermans house somewhat lower within the *Bay*, and was there presented by his wife with a handful of small Pearl, but none of them bored nor orient. From thence I crost the Bay to *Charlestown*, where at one *Longs* Ordinary I met with Captain *Jackson* and others, walking on the back side we spied a rattle [p.27.] Snake a yard and a half long, and as thick in the middle as the small of a mans leg, on the belly yellow, her back spotted with black, russet, yellow and green, placed like scales, at her tail she had a rattle which is nothing but a hollow shelly buffiness joyned, look how many years old she is, so many rattles she hath in her tail, her neck seemed to be no bigger than ones Thumb; yet she swallowed a live Chicken, as big as one they give 4 pence for in *England*, presently as we were looking on. In the afternoon I returned to our Ship, being no sooner aboard but we had the sight of an *Indian-Pinnace* sailing by us made of *Birch-bark*, sewed together with the roots of *spruse* and white *Cedar* (drawn out into threads) with a deck, and trimmed with sails top and top gallant very sumptuously.

The Thirtieth day of *September*, I went ashore upon *Noddles-Island*, where when I was come to Mr. *Mavericks* he would not let me go aboard no

more, until the Ship was ready to set sail; the next day a grave and sober person described the Monster to me, that was born at *Boston* of one Mrs. *Dyer* a great Sectarie, *the Nine and twentieth of June, it was (it should seem) without a head, but having horns like a Beast, and ears, scales on a rough skin like a fish* [p. 28.] *called a Thornback, legs and claws like a Hawke, and in other respects as a woman-child.*

The Second of *October*, about 9 of the clock in the morning, Mr. *Mavericks* Negro woman came to my chamber window, and in her own Countrey language and tune sang very loud and shril, going out to her, she used a great deal of respect towards me, and willingly would have expressed her grief in *English*; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment, whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to intreat him in her behalf, for that I understood before, that she had been a Queen in her own Countrey, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her by another Negro who was her maid. Mr. *Maverick* was desirous to have a breed of Negroes, and therefore seeing she would not yield by perswasions to company with a Negro young man he had in his house; he commanded him will'd she nill'd she to go to bed to her, which was no sooner done but she kickt him out again, this she took in high disdain beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief. In the afternoon I walked into the Woods on the back side of the house, and happening into a fine [p. 29.] broad walk (which was a sledg-way) I wandered till I chanc't to spye a fruit as I thought like a pine Apple plated with scales, it was as big as the crown of a Womans hat; I made bold to step unto it, with an intent to have gathered it, no sooner had I toucht it, but hundreds of Wasps were about me; at last I cleared my self from them, being stung only by one upon the upper lip, glad I was that I scaped so well; But by

that time I was come into the house my lip was swell'd so extreemly, that they hardly knew me but by my Garments.

The Tenth of *October*, I went aboard and we fell down to *Nantascot*, here Mr. *Davies* (Mr. *Hicks* the Apothecarie in *Fleet-streets* Son-in-law) dyed of the Phthisick aboard on a Sunday in the afternoon. The next day Mr *Luxon* our Master having been ashore upon the Governours Island gave me half a score very fair Pippins which he brought from thence, there being not one Apple-tree, nor Pear planted yet in no part of the Countrey, but upon that Island.

The Fifteenth day, we set sail from *Nantascot*.

The Sixteenth day Mr. *Robert Foster*, one of our passengers Preached aboard upon [p. 30.] the 113 Psalm; *The Lord shall preserve thy going out, & thy coming in*; The Sectaries began to quarrel with him, especially Mr. *Vincent Potter*, he who was afterwards questioned for a Regicide.

The Seventeenth day, towards Sun-set a Lanner settled upon our main Mast-top, when it was dark I hired one of the Sailers to fetch her down, and I brought her into *England* with much ado, being fain to feed her with hard Eggs. After this day we had very cold weather at Sea, our deck in a morning ore-spread with hoarie frost, and dangling Isickles hung upon the Ropes. *Some say the Sea is hotter in winter than in summer; but I did not find it so.*

November the Fifth day, about three of the clock in the afternoon, the Mariners observed the rising of a little black cloud in the *N. W.* which increasing apace, made them prepare against a coming storm, the wind in short time grew to boisterous, bringing after us a huge grown Sea, at 5 of the clock it was pitchie dark.

*And the bitter storm augments ; the wild winds wage
War from all parts ; and joyn with the Seas rage.*
[p. 31.] *The sad clouds sink in showers ; you would
have thought,*
*That high-swoln seas even unto Heaven had wrought ;
And Heaven to Seas descended : no star shown ;
Blind night in darkness, tempests, and her own
Dread terrours lost ; yet this dire lightning turns
To more fear'd light ; the Sea with lightning Burns
The Pilot knew not what to chuse or fly,
Art stood amaz'd in Ambiguity.*

The storm augmenting still, the next day about 4 of the clock afternoon we lost our Rudder, and with that our hopes, so necessary a part it is, that a ship without it, is like a wild horse without a bridle ; yet *Aristotle* that *Eagle-ey'd Philosopher* could not give a reason, why so small a thing as a *Helm* should rule the ship.

[p. 32.] The Seventh day at night, the wind began to dye away, the next day we had leasure to repair our breaches ; it continued calm till the 13 day, and all the while we saw many dead bodies of men and women floating by us.

The Four and twentieth, we arrived before *Bittiford*, having past before under *Lundee-Island*.

[p. 33.] **The Second**
VOYAGE.

I Have heard of a certain Merchant in the west of *England*, who after many great losses, walking upon the Sea-bank in a calm Sun-shining day ; observing the smoothness of the Sea, coming in with a chequered or dimpled wave : Ah (quoth he) thou flattering Element, many a time thou hast inticed me to throw my self and my fortunes into thy Arms ; but thou hast hitherto proved treacherous ; thinking to find thee a Mother of encrease, I have found thee to be the Mother of mischief and wickedness ; yea the Father of prodigies ; therefore, being now secure, I will trust thee no more : But mark this mans resolution a while after, *periculum maris spes lucri superat*. So fared it with me, that having escaped the dangers of one voyage, must needs put on a resolution for a second, wherein I plowed many a churlish billow [p. 34.] with little or no advantage, but rather to my loss and detriment. In the setting down whereof I purpose not to insist in a methodical way, but according to my quality, in a plain and brief relation as I have done already ; for I perceive, if I used all the Art that possibly I could, it would be difficult to please all, for all mens eyes, ears, faith, judgement, are not of a size. There be a sort of stagnant stinking spirits, who, like flies, lye sucking at the botches of carnal pleasures, and never travelled so much Sea, as is between *Heth-ferry*, and *Lyon-Key* ; yet notwithstanding, (sitting in the Chair of the scornful over their whiffs and draughts of intoxication) will desperately censure the relations of the greatest Travel-

lers. It was a good *proviso* of a learned man, never to report wonders, for in so doing, of the greatest he will be sure not to be believed, but laughed at, which certainly bewraies their ignorance and want of discretion. Of Fools and Mad-men then I shall take no care, I will not invite these in the least to honour me with a glance from their supercilious eyes; but rather advise them to keep their inspection for their fine-tongu'd Romances, and playes. This homely piece, I protest ingenuously, is prepared for such only who well know how to make use of their [p. 35.] charitable constructions towards works of this nature, to whom I submit my self in all my faculties, and proceed in my second voyage.

Anno 1663. May the Three and twentieth, I went down to *Gravesend*, it being *Saturday* I lay ashore till *Monday* the fifth, about 11 a clock at night, I went aboard the *Society* belonging to *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* a Colony of *English* in *New-England*, of 200 and 20 Tun, carrying 16 Iron Guns most unserviceable, man'd with 33 sailers, and 77 passengers, men, women and children.

The Six and twentieth day, about 6 of the clock in the morning we weighed Anchor, and fell down with the tide three or four miles below *Gravesend*.

The Seven and twentieth in the afternoon, we weighed Anchor and came into the *Hope* before *Deal-Castle*, here we were wind bound till

The 30 day, we set sail out of the *Downs*, being *Saturday* about 9 of the clock in the morning, about 4 of the clock in the afternoon we came up with *Beachy* by *W.* at *Nore*.

The One and thirtieth at 4 of the clock in the morning we came up with the Isle of *Wight*, at 4 of the clock in the afternoon [p. 36.] we had *Portland* N. N. W. of us, 6 leagues off, the wind being then at *N. W.* by *N.* at 5 of the clock we came to *Dartmouth*, the wind *W. S. W.*

June the first day, being *Monday* about 4 of the clock *Plimouth* was about 9 leagues off, our course *W. S. W.* the Start bore North distant about 6 leagues from whence our reckonings began; the wind now *E. N. E.* a fair gale.

The second day the *Lizard* bore *N. N. W.* in the latitude 51. 300 leagues from *Cape-Cod* in *New England*, our course *W.* and by *S.* One of our passengers now dyed of a Consumption.

The Fifth day we steered *S. W.* observed and found the ship in latitude 47 degrees, and 44 minutes.

The Tenth day observed and found the ship in latitude 49 degrees, and 24 minutes.

The Five and twentieth day, about 3 of the clock in the morning we discovered land, about 6 of the clock *Flowers*, so called from abundance of flowers, and *Corvo* from a multitude of *Crowes*; two of the *Azores* or western Islands, in the *Atlantique Ocean* not above 250 leagues from *Lisbon* bore *N. W.* of us some 3 leagues off, we steered away *W.* by *W.* observed and found *Flowers* to be in the Southern part in latitude 39 [p. 37.] degrees 13 minutes, we descried a Village and a small Church or Chappel seated in a pleasant valley to the Easter-side of the Island, the whole Island is rockie and mountainous about 8 miles in compass, stored with Corn, Wine and Goats, and inhabited by outlaw'd *Portingals*, the Town they call *Santa Cruz*. *Corvo* is not far from this, I supposed two or three leagues, a meer mountain, and very high and steep on all sides, cloathed with tall wood on the very top, uninhabited, but the *Flow-reans* here keep some number of Goats.

The Seven and twentieth day, 30 leagues to the westward of these Islands we met with a small Vessel stoln from *Jamaico*, but 10 men in her, and those of several nations, *English, French, Scotch, Dutch* almost famish'd, having been out as they told us, by reason of calms, three moneths, bound for *Holland*.

July the sixth, calm now for two or three dayes, our men went out to swim, some hoisted the *Shallop* out and took divers Turtles, there being an infinite number of them all over the Sea as far as we could ken, and a man may ken at Sea in a clear Air 20 miles, they floated upon the top of the water being a sleep, and driving gently upon them with the *Shallop*, of a sudden [p. 38.] they took hold of their hinder legs and lifted them into the boat, if they be not very nimble they awake and presently dive under water; when they were brought aboard they sob'd and wept exceedingly, continuing to do so till the next day that we killed them, by chopping off their heads, and having taken off their shells (that on their back being fairest, is called a Gally patch) we opened the body and took out three hearts in one case, and (which was more strange) we perceived motion in the hearts ten hours after they were taken out. I have observed in *England* in my youthful dayes the like in the heart of a *Pike*, and the heart of a *Frog*, which will leap and skip as nimbly as the *Frog* used to do when it was alive from whom it was taken. Likewise the heart of a *Pig* will stir after it is exenterated. Being at a friends house in *Cambridg-shire*, the Cook-maid making ready to slaughter a *Pig*, she put the hinder parts between her legs as the usual manner is, and taking the snout in her left hand with a long knife she stuck the *Pig* and cut the small end of the heart almost in two, letting it bleed as long as any bloud came forth, then throwing of it into a Kettle of boyling water, the *Pig* swom twice round about the kettle, when taking of it out to [p. 39.] the dresser she rub'd it with powdered *Rozen* and stript off the hair, and as she was cutting off the hinder pettito, the *Pig* lifts up his head with open mouth, as if it would have bitten: well, the belly was cut up, and the entrails drawn out, and the heart laid upon the board, which notwithstanding the wound it received

had motion in it, above four hours after ; there were several of the Family by, with my self, and we could not otherwayes conclude but that the *Pig* was bewitched ; but this by the way. Of the Sea Turtles there be five sorts, first the Trunck-turtle which is biggest, Secondly, the Loggerhead-turtle. Thirdly, the Hawk-bill-turtle, which with its bill will bite horribly. Fourthly, the Green-turtle which is best for food, it is affirmed that the feeding upon this Turtle for a twelve moneth, forbearing all other kind of food will cure absolutely Consumptions, and the great pox ; They are a very delicate food, and their Eggs are very wholesome and restorative, it is an *Amphibious* Creature going ashore, the male throws the female on her back when he couples with her, which is termed cooting, their Eggs grown to perfection the female goes ashore again and making a hole in the Sand, there layes her Eggs which are numerous, I have seen a peck [p. 40.] of Eggs taken out of one Turtle ; when they have laid they cover the hole again with sand, and return to the Sea never looking after her Eggs, which hatching in the sand and coming to some strength break out and repair to the Sea. Having fill'd our bellies with Turtles and Bonito's, called *Spanish* Dolphins excellently well cooked both of them, the wind blowing fair.

The Eighth day we spread our sails and went on our voyage, after a while we met with abundance of Sea-weeds called Gulf-weed coming out of the Bay of *Mexico*, and firr-trees floating on the Sea, observed and found the Ship to be in 39 degrees and 49 minuts.

The Fifteenth day we took a young Sharke about three foot long, which being drest and dished by a young Merchant a passenger happened to be very good fish, having very white flesh in flakes like Codd but delicately curl'd, the back-bone which is perfectly round, joynted with short joynts, the space

between not above a quarter of an inch thick, separated they make fine Table-men, being wrought on both sides with curious works.

The One and twentieth thick hasie weather.

The Five and twentieth we met with a [p. 41.] *Plimouth* man come from *St. Malloes* in *France*, 10 weeks out, laden with cloath, fruit, and honey, bound for *Boston* in *New-England*.

The Six and twentieth we had sight of land.

The Seven and twentieth we Anchored at *Nantascot*, in the afternoon I went aboard of a *Ketch*, with some other of our passengers, in hope to get to *Boston* that night; but the Master of the *Ketch* would not consent.

The Eight and twentieth being *Tuesday*, in the morning about 5 of the clock he lent us his *Shallop* and three of his men, who brought us to the western end of the town where we landed, and having gratified the men, we repaired to an Ordinary (for so they call their Taverns there) where we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madera-wine, and store of plum-cake, about ten of the clock I went about my Affairs.

Before I pursue my Voyage to an end, I shall give you to understand what Countrie *New-England* is. *New-England* is that part of *America*, which together with *Virginia*, *Mary land*, and *Nova-scotia* were by the *Indians* called (by one name) *Wingadacoa*, after the discovery by Sir *Walter* [p. 42.] *Rawleigh* they were named *Virginia*, and so remained untill King *James* divided the Countrey into Provinces. *New-England* then is all that tract of land that lyes between the Northerly latitudes of 40 and 46, that is from *De-la-ware-Bay* to *New-found-land*, some will have it to be in latitude from 41 to 45, in King *Jame's* Letters Patents to the Council of *Plimouth* in *Devonshire* from 40 to 48 of the same latitude, it is judged to be an Island, surrounded on the North with the spacious

River of *Canada*, on the South with *Mahegan* or *Hudsons* River, having their rise, as it is thought, from two great lakes not far off one another, the Sea lyes East and South from the land, and is very deep, some say that the depth of the Sea being measured with line and plummet, seldom exceeds two or three miles, except in some places near the *Swevian*-shores, and about *Pontus*, observed by *Pliny*. Sir *Francis Drake* threw out 7 Hogsheads of line near *Porto-bello* and found no bottom, but whether this be true or no, or that they were deceived by the Currants carrying away their lead and line, this is certainly true, that there is more Sea in the Western than the Eastern *Hemisphere*, on the shore in more places than one at spring-tides, that is at the full or new of the moon, [p. 43.] the Sea riseth 18 foot perpendicular, the reason of this great flow of waters I refer to the learned, onely by the way I shall acquaint you with two reasons for the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; the one delivered in Common conference, the other in a Sermon at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts-Bay* by an eminent man; The first was, *that God and his spirit moving upon the waters caused the motion*; the other, *that the spirit of the waters gathered the waters together; as the spirit of Christ gathered souls*.

The shore is *Rockie*, with high cliffs, having a multitude of considerable Harbours; many of which are capacious enough for a Navy of 500 sail, one of a thousand, the Countrie within *Rockie* and mountainous, full of tall wood, one stately mountain there is surmounting the rest, about four score mile from the Sea: The description of it you have in my rarities of *New-England*, between the mountains are many ample rich and pregnant valleys as ever eye beheld, beset on each side with variety of goodly Trees, the grass man-high unmowed, uneaten and uselessly withering; within these valleys are spa-

cious lakes or ponds well stored with Fish and Beavers; the original of all the great Rivers in the Countrie, of which there are many with lesser [p. 44.] streams (wherein are an infinite of fish) manifesting the goodness of the soil which is black, red-clay, gravel, sand, loom, and very deep in some places, as in the valleys and swamps, which are low grounds and bottoms infinitely thick set with Trees and Bushes of all sorts for the most part, others having no other shrub or Tree growing, but spruce, under the shades whereof you may freely walk two or three mile together; being goodly large Trees, and convenient for masts and sail-yards. The whole Countrie produceth springs in abundance replenished with excellent waters, having all the properties ascribed to the best in the world.

*Swift is't in pace, light poiz'd, to look in clear,
And quick in boiling (which esteemed were)
Such qualities, as rightly understood
Withouten these no water could be good.*

One Spring there is, at Black-point in the Province of Main, coming out of muddy-clay that will colour a spade, as if hatcht with silver, it is purgative and cures scabs and Itch, &c.

The mountains and Rocky Hills are richly furnished with mines of Lead, Silver, [p. 45.] Copper, Tin, and divers sorts of minerals, branching out even to their summits, where in small Crannies you may meet with threds of perfect silver; yet have the *English* no maw to open any of them, whether out of ignorance or fear of bringing a forraign Enemy upon them, or (like the dog in the manger) to keep their Sovereign from partaking of the benefits, who certainly may claim an interest in them as his due, being eminently a gift proceeding from divine bounty to him; no person can pretend interest in Gold, Silver, or Copper by the law of Na-

Isa. 45. 3.

tions, but the Sovereign Prince ; but the subjects of our King have a right to mines discovered in their own Lands and inheritances ; So as that every tenth Tun of such Oar is to be paid to the proprietors of such lands, and not to the state, if it be not a mine-Royal: if it prove to be a mine-Royal, every fifth Tun of all such Oar as shall hold Gold or Silver worth refining, is to be rendered to the King. *The learned Judges of our Kingdom have long since concluded, that although the Gold or Silver contained in the base mettals of a mine in the land of a Subject, be of less value than the baser mettall ; yet if the Gold or Silver do countervail the charge of refining it, or be more worth than the base mettall spent [p. 46.] in refining it, that then it is a mine Royal, and as well the base mettall as the Gold and Silver in it belongs by prerogative to the Crown.*

The stones in the Countrey are for the most *mettle*-stone, free-stone, pebble, slate, none that will run to lime, of which they have great want, of the slate you may make Tables easie to be split to the thickness of an inch, or thicker if you please, and long enough for a dozen men to sit at. Pretious stones there are too, but if you desire to know further of them, see the Rarities of *New-England* ; onely let me add this observation by the way, that Crystal set in the Sun taketh fire, and setteth dry Tow or brown Paper on fire held to it. There is likewise a sort of glittering sand, which is altogether as good as the glassie powder brought from the *Indies* to dry up Ink on paper newly written. The climate is reasonably temperate, hotter in Summer, and colder in Winter than with us, agrees with our Constitutions better than *hotter Climates, these are limbecks to our bodies, forraign heat will extract the inward and adventitious heat consume the natural, so much more heat any man receives outwardly from the heat of the Sun so much more wants he the same inwardly*, which is one reason

why [p. 47.] they are able to receive more and larger draughts of Brandy, & the like strong spirits than in England without offence. *Cold is less tolerable than heat, this is a friend to nature, that an enemy. Many are of opinion that the greatest enemies of life, consisting of heat and moisture, is cold and dryness; the extremity of cold is more easie to be endured than extremity of heat; the violent sharpness of winter, than the fiery raging of Summer. To conclude, they are both bad, too much heat brings a hot Feaver, too much cold diminisheth the flesh, withers the face, hollowes the eyes, quencheth natural heat, peebleth the hair, and procureth baldness.*

Astronomers have taken special knowledge of the number of 1024 of the principal apparent noted Stars of all the rest, besides the 7 Planets, and the 12 Signs, and it is agreed upon that there are more Stars under the Northern-pole, than under the Southern, the number of Stars under both poles are innumerable to us; but not to the Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, who calleth them all by their names. *Isai. 40. Levate in excelsum oculos vestros & videte quis creavit hæc? quis educit in numero militiam eorum & omnia suis nominibus vocat?* In January 1668. two Suns appeared and two Moons. The year before was published the Suns prerogative, vindicated by [p. 48.] *Alexander Nowel* a young student at *Harvard-Colledge* in the *Massachusetts Colony*, which was as followeth.

Mathematicians have that priviledge above other Philosophers, that their foundations are so founded upon, and proved by demonstration, that reason volens nolens must approve of them, when they are once viewed by the eye of the intellect, ipso facto it grants a probatum est; if upon those foundations he raises famous Architectures, which are inseparably joynted in, and joynted to their ground-works, yet are not their Elements of such vast extensions, as to have their di-

mensions adequated with the machine of the primum mobile, and so include the Fabrick of created beings; but there are sphears above the sphear of their Activity, and Orbs placed above the reach of their Instruments, which will non-plus the most acute inquisitors, at least in reference to an accurate scrutiny: hence dissentions about Celestial bodies, whether the planets have any natural light, has been a question, proving that they borrow their light from the Sun: he being the primitive, they derivatives; he the Augmentum primum, they Orta, who though they have light in se, yet not ex se. This assertion is not expugned by Geocentricks who produce sense and Antiquity to support their suppositions; nor oppugned by Heliocentricks, [p. 49.] who deduce their Hypothesis from reason, and new observations: for, quicquid in ambitu alicujus circuli actu diffusum, comprehenditur, id in centro ejusdem continetur potentia collectum. Should I put the question to the vote, questionless the major part of modern Astronomers would carry it affirmatively; but a testimony being Inartificialis Argumentum, I shall found my position upon a more Artificial Basis. As for the multiplication of Eclipses which some fear, it's needless, for the extent of the Cone of the earths shadow (à centro terræ) being 250 Semidiameters, it cannot reach Mars; Venus and Mercury never oppose the Sun. It has been observed by the help of Optick Tubes, that Venus has divers faces, according to her diverse position to the Sun. Some affirm the same of Mercury, but he's not so liable to observation, being seldom clear of the radiancy of the Sun. The superior Planets being above the Sun, turn the same side to the Sun, as they do to us. Venus and Mars are more lucid in their Parhelion, than in their Aphelion. The Telescope may convince us of this truth; Evincit enim crassa, opaca & dissimilium plane partium corpora, planetas esse. Lastly God made the Sun and Moon, the two greater lights (though not the greater lucid

bodies) that the Moons light is adventitious, follows from her invisibilitie [p. 50.] in a central Eclipse : hence the other planets are destitute of native light ; nam à majore ad minus valet consequentia negativè.

In the year 1664. a Star or Comet appeared in *New-England* in *December* in the *South-East*, rising constantly about one of the clock in the morning, carrying the tail lower and lower till it came into the *West*, and then bare it directly before it ; the Star it self was of a duskish red, the tail of the colour of *via lactea*, or the milkie way. A fortnight after it appeared again rising higher near the *Nadir* or point over our heads, of the same form and colour, of which hear the former Scholar.

Comets (say Naturalists) proceed from natural causes, but they oft preceed preternatural effects. That they have been Antecedents to strange consequents is an universal truth, and proved by particulars, viz. That which hung over Hierusalem before its extirpation by Vespasian, that vertical to Germany, before those bloody Wars &c. So that experience Attests, and reason Assents, that they have served for sad Prologues to Tragical Epilogues. For the future, preludiums to what events they'l prove, may be proved by consequence, if they han't suffered a privation of their powerful Energie. Dr. Ward to salve Contests, distinguishes between Cometaïdæ, which are [p. 51.] Sublunary exhalations, and Cometa, which are heavenly bodies, coeuous with the Stars ; the cause of the inequality of whose motion, is their Apoge and Periges. Concerning the height of the late Comets Orb, because of the deficiency of Instruments, here's pars deficiens. As for its motion December 10. 'twas about the middle of Virgo. Jan. 24. 26 deg. Aries. Some observe that Comets commonly follow a Conjunction of the superiour planets. Astronomers attribute much to the predominancy of that planet which rules it, which they judge by the Colour ; a dull leaden colour, claims Saturn for his Lord

bright, Jupiter; Red, Mars; Golden, Sol; Yellow, Venus; variable, Mercury; pale, Luna. Also to the Aspects it receives from other planets, the sign it is in, and the house of the Heavens in which it first was. Hence some may judge a scheme of the Heavens necessary, but unless Calculated for its certain rise (which is uncertain) it's adjudged by the judicious, superfluous. Some put much trust or virtue in the tail, terming it the Ignomon, &c. But that is probable of all, which has been observed of some, that it's always opposite to the Sun; hence when the Sun is at the Meridian of the Antipodes it turns, &c. Which Regiomont observed of that in 1475. and Keckerman of that in 1607. Longomontanus observes of that in 1618. that its first [p.52.] appearance was vertical to Germany and went Northward, so its effect began there, and made the like progress: it's rational, that as a cause, it should operate most powerfully on those in whose Zenith it is, as the meridional Altitude; nor is it irrational, that as a sign, it should presage somewhat to all those, in whose Horizon it appears; for in reason, Relata se mutuo inferunt, hence signum infers signatum, and the signifier implies a signified. Diverse desire to be certified of the event; but he is wise that knowes it. Some presume prophetically to specificate from generals truths; others desperately deny generals and all; of all whom it's a truth, Incidunt in Scyllam, &c. Noble Ticho concludes, (with whom I conclude) that it's not rational particularly to determine the sequel; for should any, it would be only in a contingent Axiom, and proceed from fancie; therefore of no necessary consequence, and would produce only opinion.

A friend of mine shewed me a small Treatise written and printed in the Massachusetts-Bay by B. D. Intituled *An Astronomical description of the late Comet, or Blazing-Star, as it appeared in New-England in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and the beginning of the Twelfth moneth, 1664. printed at Cambridge by Sam-*

uel Green 1665. An ingenious piece, but because I could not perswade [p. 53.] my friend to part with it, I took out some short notes being straitned in time, which are as followes.

Comets are distinguished in respect of their figure, according to the divers aspects of the Sun, into *Barbate*, *Caudate*, and *Crinite*. 1. When the stream like a beard goes before the body. 2. When the stream followes the body. 3. When the stream goes right up into the Heavens.

A Comet is said to be Vertical to any people, when the body of the Comet passeth over their heads.

The light of the Comet alters and varies according to the diverse Aspects of the Sun enlightening it.

Some took notice of it in the beginning of *November*.

In *Anno Dom.* 1668. *July* the Fifteenth happened an Eclipse of the moon from 9 of the clock at night, till after 11, digits 9, and 35 minutes.

In *November* following appeared a Star between the horns of the Moon in the midst.

In *Anno Dom.* 1669. about the middle of *June* at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, appeared a Rain-bow reverst, and at night about 10 of the clock we had a *Lunar* Rain-bow.

[p.54.] The *Indians* so far as I could perceive have but little knowledge of the Stars and Planets, observing the Sun and Moon only, the dividers of time into dayes and years: they being nearer to the Equinoc-tial-line by 10 degrees, have their dayes and nights more equally divided, being in Summer two hours shorter, in Winter two hours longer than they are in *England*. The 11 of *June* the Sun riseth at 4 and 26 minutes, and setteth at 7 & 34 minutes: in *December*, the 13 the shortest day, the Sun riseth at 7 and 35 minutes, and setteth at 4 and 27 minutes.

Mid-*March* their Spring begins, in *April* they have

Rain and Thunder; So again at *Michaelmas*, about which season they have either before *Michaelmas* or after outrageous storms of Wind and Rain. It's observable that there is no part of the World, which hath not some certain times of outrageous storms. We have upon our Coast in *England* a *Michaelmas* flaw, that seldom fails: in the *West-Indies* in *August* and *September* the forcible *North*-wind, which though some call *Tuffins* or *Hurricanes* we must distinguish, for a right *Hurricane* is (as I have said before) an impetuous wind that goes about the Compass in the space of 24 hours, in such a storm the Lord *Willoughby* [p. 55.] of *Parham* Governour of the *Barbadoes* was cast away, going with a Fleet to recover St. *Christophers* from the *French*, *Anno Dom.* 1666. *July*. Cold weather begins with the middle of *November*, the winter's perpetually freezing, insomuch that their Rivers and salt-Bayes are frozen over and passable for Men, Horse, Oxen and Carts: *Æquore cum gelido zephyrus fert xenia Cymbo*. The *North-west* wind is the sharpest wind in the Countrie. In *England* most of the cold winds and weathers come from the Sea, and those seats that are nearest the Sea-coasts in *England* are accounted unwholsome, but not so in *New-England*, for in the extremity of winter the *North-East* and *South*-wind coming from the Sea produceth warm weather, only the *North-West*-wind coming over land from the white mountains (which are alwayes (except in *August*) covered with snow) is the cause of extream cold weather, alwayes accompanied with deep snowes and bitter frosts, the snow for the most part four and six foot deep, which melting on the superficies with the heat of the Sun, (for the most part shining out clearly every day) and freezing again in the night makes a crust upon the snow sufficient to bear a man walking with snowshoes upon it. And at this [p. 56.] season the *Indians* go forth on hunting of Dear and Moose twenty, thirty,

forty miles up into the Countrie. Their Summer is hot and dry proper for their *Indian Wheat*; which thrives best in a hot and dry season, the skie for the most part Summer and Winter very clear and serene; if they see a little black cloud in the *North-West*, no bigger than a man may cover with his Hat, they expect a following storm, the cloud in short time spreading round about the Horizon accompanied with violent gusts of wind, rain, and many times lightning and terrible thunder. In all Countries they have observations how the weather will fall out, and these rules following are observable in *New-England*. If the Moon look bright and fair, look for fair weather, also the appearing of one Rainbow after a storm, is a known sign of fair weather; if mists come down from the Hills, or descend from the Heavens, and settle in the valleys, they promise fair hot weather; mists in the Evening shew a fair hot day on the morrow: the like when mists rise from waters in the Evening. The obscuring of the smaller Stars is a certain sign of Tempests approaching; the oft changing of the wind is also a fore-runner of a storm; the resounding of the Sea from the shore, and murmuring of [p. 57.] the winds in the woods without apparent wind, sheweth wind to follow: shooting of the Stars (as they call it) is an usual sign of wind from that quarter the Star came from. . So look whether the resounding of the Sea upon the shore be on the *East* or *West* side of the dwelling, out of that quarter will the wind proceed the next day. The redness of the sky in the morning, is a token of winds, or rain or both; if the Circles that appear about the Sun be red and broken, they portend wind; if thick and dark, wind, snow and rain; the like may be said of the Circles about the moon. If two rain-bowes appear, they are a sign of rain; If the Sun or Moon look pale, look for rain; if a dark cloud be at Sun-rising, in which the Sun soon after is hid, it will dissolve it, and rain will fol-

low; *nebula ascendens indicat imbres, nebula descendens serenitatem*. If the Sun seem greater in the *East* than in the *West* about Sun-setting, and that there appears a black cloud, you may expect rain that night, or the day following.

*Serò rubens Cælum cras indicat esse serenum,
Sed si manè rubet venturos indicat Imbres.*

[p. 58.] To conclude; if the white hills look clear and conspicuous, it is a sign of fair weather; if black and cloudy, of rain; if yellow, it is a certain sign of snow shortly to ensue.

In *Anno Dom. 1667. March*, appeared a sign in the Heaven in the form of a Sphear, pointing directly to the *West*: and in the year following on the third day of *April* being *Friday*, there was a terrible Earthquake, before that a very great one in 1638. and another in 58 and in 166 $\frac{2}{3}$. *January 26, 27, & 28.* (which was the year before I came thither) there were Earthquakes 6 or 7 times in the space of three dayes. Earthquakes are frequent in the Countrie; some suppose that the white mountains were first raised by Earthquakes, they are hollow as may be guessed by the resounding of the rain upon the level on the top. The *Indians* told us of a River whose course was not only stopt by an Earthquake in 1668. (as near as I can remember) but the whole River swallowed up. And I have heard it reported from credible persons, that (whilst I was there in the Countrie) there happened a terrible Earthquake amongst the *French*, rending a huge Rock asunder even to the center, wherein was a vast hollow of an immeasurable depth, out of which came many infernal Spirits. I shall [p. 59.] conclude this discourse of Earthquakes, with that which came from the Pen of our Royal Martyr King *Charles the First*; *A storm at Sea wants not its terrour, but an Earthquake, shaking the very foundation*

of all, the World hath nothing more of horror. And now I come to the plants of the Countrey.

The plants in *New-England* for the variety, number, beauty, and vertues, may stand in Competition with the plants of any Countrey in Europe. *Johnson* hath added to *Gerard's* Herbal 300. and *Parkinson* mentioneth many more; had they been in *New-England* they might have found 1000 at least never heard of nor seen by any *Englishman* before: 'Tis true, the Countrey hath no *Bonerets*, or *Tartarlambs*, no glittering coloured *Tuleps*; but here you have the *American Mary-Gold*, the *Earth-nut* bearing a princely Flower, the beautiful leaved *Pirola*, the honied *Colibry*, &c. They are generally of (some-what) a more masculine vertue, than any of the same species in *England*, but not in so terrible a degree, as to be mischievous or ineffectual to our *English* bodies. *It is affirmed by some that no forraign Drugg or Simple can be so proper to Englishmen as their own, for the quantity of Opium which Turks do safely take will kill four Englishmen, and that which will [p. 60.] save their wounds within a day, will not recure an Englishman in three.* To which I answer that it is custom that brings the *Turks* to the familiar use of *Opium*. You may have heard of a *Taylor* in *Kent*, who being afflicted with want of sleep ventured upon *Opium*, taking at first a grain, and increasing of it till it came to an ounce, which quantitie he took as familiarly as a *Turk*, without any harm, more than that he could not sleep without it. The *English* in *New-England* take white *Hellebore*, which operates as fairly with them, as with the *Indians*, who steeping of it in water sometime, give it to young lads gathered together a purpose to drink, if it come up they force them to drink again their vomit, (which they save in a Birchen-dish) till it stayes with them, & he that gets the victory of it is made Captain of the other lads for that year. There is a plant likewise, called

for want of a name *Clownes wound wort*, by the *English*, though it be not the same, that will heal a green wound in 24 hours, if a wise man have the ordering of it. Thus much for the general, I shall now begin to discover unto you the plants more particularly, and I shall first begin with Trees, and of them, first with such as are called in Scripture Trees of God, that is great Trees, [p. 61.] that grow of themselves without planting. Psal. 104. 16, 17. *Satiantur arbores Jehovæ, cedri Libani quas plantavit; (ubi aviculæ nidificent) abietes domicilia ciconiæ.* The Herons take great delight to sit basking upon the tops of these Trees. And I shall not be over large in any, having written of them in my Treatise of the rarities of *New-England*, to which I refer you.

The *Oake* I have given you an account of, and the kinds; I shall add the ordering of Red-*Oake* for Wainscot. When they have cut it down and clear'd it from the branches, they pitch the body of the Tree in a muddy place in a River, with the head downward for some time, afterwards they draw it out, and when it is seasoned sufficiently, they saw it into boards for Wainscot, and it will branch out into curious works.

There is an admirable rare Creature in shape like a *Buck*, with Horns, of a gummy substance, which I have often found in the fall of the leaf upon the ground amongst the withered leaves; a living Creature I cannot call it; having only the sign of a mouth and eyes: seldom or never shall you meet with any of them whole, but the head and horns, or the hinder parts, broken off from the rest; the *Indians* call them Tree *Bucks*, and have a superstitious saying (for I believe [p. 62.] they never see any of them living) that if they can see a Tree-*Buck* walking upon the branches of an *Oake* when they go out in a morning to hunt, they shall have good luck that day. What they are good for I know not, but certainly there is

some more than ordinary vertue in them. It is true that nothing in nature is superfluous, and we have the Scripture to back it, that God created nothing in vain. The like creatures they *have at the Barbadoes which they call Negroes heads, found in the Sands, about two inches long, with forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and part of the neck, they are alwayes found loose in the Sands without any root, it is as black as Jet, but whence it comes they know not. I have read likewise, that in the Canaries or Fortunate-Islands, there is found a certain Creature, which Boys bring home from the mountains as oft as they would, and named them Tudesquels or little Germans: for they were dry'd dead Carcases, almost three footed, which any boy did easily carry in one of the palms of his hand, and they were of an humane shape; but the whole dead Carcase was clearly like unto Parchment, and their bones were flexible, as it were gristles: against the Sun, also, their bowels and intestines were seen. Surely (saith my Author) the destroyed race of the Pigmies was there.* There is [p. 63.] also many times found upon the leaves of the *Oake* a Creature like a *Frog*, being as thin as a leaf, and transparent, as yellow as Gold, with little fiery red eyes, the *English* call them Tree-frogs or Tree-toads (but of Tree-toads I shall have occasion to speak in another place) they are said to be venomous, but may be safely used, being admirable to stop womens over-flowing courses hung about their necks in a Taffetie bag.

Captain Smith writes that in New-England there growes a certain berry called Kermes, worth 10 shillings a pound, and had been formerly sold for 30 or 40 shillings a pound, which may yearly be gathered in good quantity. I have sought for this berry, he speaks of, as a man should seek for a needle in a bottle of Hay, but could never light upon it; unless that kind of Solomon-seal called by the English Treacle-berry be it. Gerard our famous Herbalist

writes that they grow upon a little Tree called Scarlet-Oake, the leaves have one sharp prickle at the end of it; it beareth small Acorns: But the grain or berry growes out of the woody branches, like an excrescence of the substance of the Oake-Apple, and of the bigness of Pease, at first white, when ripe of an Ash-colour, which ingenders little Maggots, which when it begins [p. 64.] to have wings are put into a bag and boulded up and down till dead, and then made up into lumps, the Maggot as most do deem is Cutchenele; So that Chermes is Cutchenele: the berries dye scarlet. Mr. George Sands in his *Travels* saith (much to the same purpose) that scarlet dye growes like a blister on the leaf of the Holy Oake, a little shrub yet producing Acorns, being gathered they rub out of it a certain red dust, that converteth after a while into worms, which they kill with Wine, when they begin to quicken. See farther concerning Treacle-berries and Cutchinele in the rarities of New-England.

The Pine-Tree challengeth the next place, and that sort which is called Board-pine is the principal, it is a stately large Tree, very tall, and sometimes two or three fadom about: of the body the *English* make large *Canows* of 20 foot long, and two foot and a half over, hollowing of them with an Adds, and shaping of the outside like a Boat. Some conceive that the wood called *Gopher* in Scripture, of which *Noah* made the Ark, was no other than Pine, *Gen.* 6. 14. The bark thereof is good for Ulcers in tender persons that refuse sharp medicines. The inner bark of young board-pine cut small and stampt and boiled in a Gallon of water is a very sovereign medicine for burn [p. 65.] or scald, washing the sore with some of the decoction, and then laying on the bark stampt very soft: or for frozen limbs, to take out the fire and to heal them, take the bark of Board-pine-Tree, cut it small and stamp it and boil it in a gallon of water to Gelly, wash the sore with the liquor, stamp

the bark again till it be very soft and bind it on. The Turpentine is excellent to heal wounds and cuts, and hath all the properties of *Venice* Turpentine, the Rosen is as good as Frankincense, and the powder of the dried leaves generateth flesh; the distilled water of the green Cones taketh away wrinkles in the face being laid on with cloths.

The Firr-tree is a large Tree too, but seldom so big as the Pine, the bark is smooth, with knobs or blisters, in which lyeth clear liquid Turpentine very good to be put into salves and oyntments, the leaves or Cones boiled in Beer are good for the Scurvie, the young buds are excellent to put into Epithemes for Warts and Corns, the Rosen is altogether as good as Frankincense; out of this Tree the Poleakers draw Pitch and Tarr; the manner I shall give you, for that it may (with many other things contained in this Treatise) be beneficial to my Countrymen, either there already seated, or that [p. 66.] may happen to go thither hereafter. Out of the fattest wood changed into Torch-wood, which is a disease in that Tree, they draw Tarr, first a place must be paved with stone or the like, a little higher in the middle, about which there must be made gutters, into which the liquor falls, then out from them other gutters are to be drawn, by which it may be received, then is it put into barrels. The place thus prepared, the cloven wood must be set upright, then must it be covered with a great number of firr and pitch bowes; and on every part all about with much lome and sods of earth, and great heed must be taken, lest there be any cleft or chink remaining, only a hole left in the top of the furnace, through which the fire may be put in, and the flame and smoak to pass out: when the fire burneth, the Pitch or Tarr runneth forth first thin and then thicker; of which when it is boiled is made Pitch: the powder of dried Pitch is used to generate flesh in wounds and sores. The knots of this

Tree and fat-pine are used by the *English* instead of Candles, and it will burn a long time, but it makes the people pale.

The Spruce-tree I have given you an account of in my *New-England* rarities. In the North east of *Scotland* upon the banks [p. 67.] of *Lough-argick*, there hath been formerly of these Trees 28 handful about at the Root, and their bodies mounted to 90 foot of height, bearing at the length 20 inches diameter. At *Pascataway* there is now a Spruce-tree brought down to the water-side by our Mass-men of an incredible bigness, and so long that no Skipper durst ever yet adventure to ship it, but there it lyes and Rots.

The Hemlock-tree is a kind of spruce or pine; the bark boiled and stamp't till it be very soft is excellent for to heal wounds, and so is the Turpentine thereof, and the Turpentine that issueth from the Cones of the Larch-tree, (which comes nearest of any to the right Turpentine) is singularly good to heal wounds, and to draw out the malice (or Thorn, as *Helmont* phrases is) of any Ach, rubbing the place therewith, and strowing upon it the powder of *Sage*-leaves.

The white Cedar is a stately Tree, and is taken by some to be *Tamarisk*, this Tree the *English* saw into boards to floor their Rooms, for which purpose it is excellent, long lasting, and wears very smooth and white; likewise they make shingles to cover their houses with instead of tyle, it will never warp. This Tree, the Oak and the [p. 68.] Larch-tree are best for building. Groundsels made of Larch-tree will never rot, and the longer it lyes the harder it growes, that you may almost drive a nail into a bar of Iron as easily as into that. Oh, that my Countreymen might obtain that blessing with their buildings, which *Esay* prophesied to the *Jewes* in the 65 Chapter and 22 verse. *Non ædificabunt & alius inhabitabit, non plantabunt & alius comedet: sed ut sunt dies Arboris,*

dies erunt populi mei, & opus manuum suarum deterent electi mei.

The Sassafras-tree is no great Tree, I have met with some as big as my middle, the rind is tawny and upon that a thin colour of Ashes, the inner part is white, of an excellent smell like Fennel, of a sweet tast with some bitterness; the leaves are like Fig-leaves of a dark green. A decoction of the Roots and bark thereof sweetned with Sugar, and drunk in the morning fasting will open the body and procure a stool or two, it is good for the Scurvie taken some time together, and laying upon the legs the green leaves of white *Hellebore*. They give it to Cows that have newly calved to make them cast their Cleanings. This tree growes not beyond *Black-point* East-ward: it is observed, that there is no province but produces Trees and plants not growing in other Regions.

[p. 69.] *Non omnis fert omnia tellus.*

The Walnut which is divers, some bearing square nuts, others like ours, but smaller: there is likewise black Walnut of precious use for Tables, Cabinets and the like. The Walnut-tree is the toughest wood in the Countrey, and therefore made use of for Hoops and Bowes, there being no Yew there growing; In *England* they made their Bowes usually of Witch Hasel, Ash, Yew, the best of outlandish Elm, but the *Indians* make theirs of Walnut.

The Line-tree with long nuts, the other kind I could never find: the wood of this Tree, Laurel, Rhamnus, Holly and Ivy are accounted for woods that cause fire by attrition; Laurel and Ivy are not growing in *New-England*: the *Indians* will rub two sear'd sticks of any sort of wood, and kindle a fire with them presently.

The Maple-tree, on the boughs of this Tree I have

often found a jellied substance like *Jewes-Ears*, which I found upon tryal to be as good for sore throats &c.

The Birch-tree is of two kinds, ordinary Birch, and black Birch, many of these Trees are stript of their bark by the *Indians*, who make of it their Canows, Kettles, [p. 70.] and Birchen-dishes: there is an excrescence growing out of the body of the Tree called spunck, or dead mens Caps, it growes at the Roots of Ash, or Beech, or Elm; but the best is that which growes upon the black Birch, this boiled and beaten, and then dried in an Oven maketh excellent Touch-wood, and Balls to play with.

Alder, of which wood there is abundance in the wet swamps: the bark thereof with the yolke of an Egg is good for a strain; an *Indian* bruising of his knee, chew'd the bark of Alder fasting and laid it to, which quickly helped him. The wives of our West-Country English make a drink with the seeds of Alder, giving it to their Children troubled with the *Alloes*. I have talk'd with many of them, but could never apprehend what disease it should be they so name, these Trees are called by some Sullinges.

The *Indians* tell of a Tree that growes far up in the land, that is as big as an Oake, that will cure the falling-sickness infallibly, what part thereof they use, Bark, Wood, leaves or fruit, I could never learn; they promised often to bring of it to me, but did not. I have seen a stately Tree growing here and there in valleys, not like to any Trees in Europe, having a smooth bark of [p. 71.] a dark brown colour, the leaves like great Maple, in *England* called Sycamor, but larger, it may be this is the Tree they brag of.

Thus much concerning Trees, now I shall present to your view the Shrubs; and first of the Sumach Shrub, which as I have told you in *New-Englands* rarities, differeth from all the kinds set down in our *English* Herbals; the root dyeth wool or cloth red-

dish, the decoction of the leaves in wine drunk, is good for all Fluxes of the belly in man or woman, the whites, &c. For galled places stamp the leaves with honey, and apply it, nothing so soon healeth a wound in the head as Sumach stamp't and applyed once in three dayes, the powder strewed in stayeth the bleeding of wounds: the seed of Sumach pounded and mixt with honey, healeth the Hemorrhoids, the gum put into a hollow tooth asswageth the pain, the bark or berries in the fall of the leaf, is as good as galls to make Ink of.

Elder in *New-England* is shrubbie, & dies once in two years: there is a sort of dwarf-Elder that growes by the Sea-side that hath a red pith, the berries of both are smaller than *English-Elder*, not round but corner'd, neither of them smell so strong as ours.

Juniper growes for the most part by the Sea-side, it bears abundance of skie-coloured [p.72.] berries fed upon by Partridges, and hath a woodie root, which induceth me to believe that the plant mention'd in Job 30. 4. *Qui decerpébant herbas è salsilagine cum stirpibus: etiam radices Juniperorum cibo erant illis*, was our *Indian* plant *Cassava*. They write that *Juniper*-coals preserve fire longest of any, keeping fire a whole year without supply, yet the *Indian* never burns of it.

Sweet fern, see the rarities of *New England*, the tops and nucaments of sweet fern boiled in water or milk and drunk helpeth all manner of Fluxes, being boiled in water it makes an excellent liquor for Inck.

Current-bushes are of two kinds red and black, the black currents which are larger than the red smell like cats piss, yet are reasonable pleasant in eating.

The Gooseberry-bush, the berry of which is called Grosers or thorn Grapes, grow all over the Countrey, the berry is but small, of a red or purple colour when ripe.

There is a small shrub which is very common, growing sometimes to the height of Elder, bearing a berry like in shape to the fruit of the white thorn, of a pale yellow colour at first, then red, when it is ripe of a deep purple, of a delicate Aromatical tast, somewhat stiptick : to conclude, [p. 73] alwayes observe this rule in taking or refusing unknown fruit : if you find them eaten of the fowl or beast, you may boldly venture to eat of them, otherwise do not touch them.

Maze, otherwise called *Turkie-wheat*, or rather *Indian-wheat*, because it came first from thence ; the leaves boiled and drunk helpeth pain in the back ; of the stalks when they are green you may make *Beverage*, as they do with *Calamels*, or Sugar-canes. The raw Corn chewed ripens felons or Cats hairs, or you may lay Samp to it : The *Indians* before it be thorow ripe eat of it parched. Certainly the parched Corn that *Abigail* brought to *David* was of this kind of grain, 1 Sam. 25. 18. *The Jewes manner was (as it is delivered to us by a learned devine) first to parch their Corn, then they fryed it, and lastly they boiled it to a paste, and then tempered it with water, Cheese-Curds, Honey and Eggs, this they carried drye with them to the camp, and so wet the Cakes in Wine or milk ; such was the pulse too of Africa.*

French-beans, or rather *American* beans, the Herbalists call them kidney beans from their shape and effects, for they strengthen the kidneys, they are variegated much, some being bigger a great deal than others ; some [p. 74] white, black, red, yellow blew, spotted ; besides your *Bonivis* and *Calavances* and the kidney-bean, that is proper to *Ronoake*, but these are brought into the Countrey, the other are natural to the climate. So the *Mexico* pompion, which is flat and deeply camphered, the flesh laid to, asswageth pain of the eyes. The water-melon is pro-

per to the Countrie, the flesh of it is of a flesh colour, a rare cooler of Feavers, and excellent against the stone. *Pomum spinosum* and *palma Christi* too growes not here, unless planted, brought from *Peru*; the later is thought to be the plant, that shaded Jonah the Prophet, Jonas 4. 6. *Paraverat enim Jehova Deus ricinum qui ascenderet supra Jonam, ut esset umbra super caput ejus ereptura eum à malo ipsius; lætabaturque Jonas de ricino illo lætitia magna.* *Ricinum*, that is *palma Christi*, called also *cucurbita*, and therefore translated a Gourd.

Tobacco, or *Tabacca* so called from *Tabaco* or *Tabago*, one of the *Caribbe*-Islands about 50 *English* miles from *Trinidad*. The right name, according to *Monardus*, is *picielte*, as others will *petum*, *nicotian* from *Nicot*, a Portingal, to whom it was presented for a raritie in *Anno Dom.* 1559. by one that brought it from *Florida*. Great contest there is about the time when it was first [p. 75] brought into *England*, some will have Sir *John Hawkins* the first, others Sir *Francis Drake's* Mariners; others again say that one Mr. *Lane* imployed by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* brought it first into England; all conclude that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* brought it first in use. *It is observed that no one kind of forraign Commodity yieldeth greater advantage to the pi blick than Tobacco, it is generally made the complement of our entertainments, and hath made more slaves than Mahomet.* There is three sorts of it *Marchantable*, the first horse Tobacco, having a broad long leaf piked at the end; the second round pointed Tobacco; third sweet scented Tobacco. These are made up into Cane, leaf or ball; there is little of it planted in *New-England*, neither have they learned the right way of curing of it. It is sowed in *April* upon a bed of rich mould sifted, they make a bed about three yards long, or more according to the ground they intend to plant, and a yard and a half over; this they tread down hard, then

they sow their seed upon it as thick as may be, and sift fine earth upon it, then tread it down again as hard as possible they can, when it hath gotten four or six leaves, they remove it into the planting ground ; when it begins to bud towards flowring, they crop off the [p. 76] top, for the Flower drawes away the strength of the leaf. For the rest I refer you to the Planter, being not willing to discover their mysteries. The *Indians* in *New England* use a small round leaved Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen Poke. *It is odious to the English.* The *vertues of Tobacco* are these, it helps digestion, the Gout, the Tooth-Ach, prevents infection by scents, it heats the cold, and cools them that sweat, feedeth the hungry, spent spirits restoreth, purgeth the stomach, killeth nits and lice ; the juice of the green leaf healeth green wounds, although poysoned ; the Syrup for many diseases, the smook for the Phthisick, cough of the lungs, distillations of Rheume, and all diseases of a cold and moist cause, good for all bodies cold and moist taken upon an emptie stomach, taken upon a full stomach it precipitates digestion, immoderately taken it dryeth the body, enflameth the bloud, hurteth the brain, weakens the eyes and the sinews.

White *Hellebore* is used for the Scurvie by the *English*. A friend of mine gave them first a purge, then conserve of Bear-berries, then fumed their leggs with vinegar, sprinkled upon a piece of mill-stone made hot, and applied to the sores white *Hellebore* leaves ; drink made of *Orpine* and *sorrel* were given likewise with it, and [p. 77.] Sea-scurvie-grass. To kill lice, boil the roots of *Hellebore* in milk, and anoint the hair of the head therewith or other places.

Mandrake, is a very rare plant, the *Indians* know it not, it is found in the woods about *Pascataway*, they do in plain terms stink, therefore *Reubens* Flowers that he brought home were not *Mandrakes*,

Gen. 30. 14, 15, 16. *They are rendered in the Latine* Amabiles flores, *the same word say our Divines is used in* Canticles, 7.13. Amabiles istos flores, edentes odorem, & secundum ostia nostra omnes pretiosos fructus, recentes simul ac veteres, dilecte mi, repono tibi. *So that the right translation is, Reuben brought home amiable and sweet smelling Flowers, this in the Canticles (say they) expounding the other.*

Calamus Aromaticus, or the sweet smelling reed, it Flowers in *July*; see *New-Englands* rarities.

Sarsaparilla or roughbind-weed (as some describe it) the leaves and whole bind set with thorns, of this there is store growing upon the banks of Ponds. See the rarities of *New-England*. The leaves of the *Sarsaparilla* there described pounded with Hogs grease and boiled to an unguent, is excellent in the curing of wounds.

Live for ever, it is a kind of *Cud-weed*, [p. 78.] flourisheth all summer long till cold weather comes in, it growes now plentifully in our *English* Gardens, it is good for cough of the lungs, and to cleanse the breast taken as you do Tobacco; and for pain in the head the decoction, or the juice strained and drunk in Bear, Wine, or Aqua vitæ, killeth worms. The Fishermen when they want Tobacco take this herb being cut and dried.

Lysimachus or Loose-strife: there are several kinds, but the most noted is the yellow *Lysimachus* of *Virginia*, the root is longish and white, as thick as ones thumb, the stalkes of an overworn colour, and a little hairie, the middle vein of the leaf whitish, the Flower yellow and like Primroses, and therefore called Tree-primrose, growes upon seedie vessels &c. The first year it growes not up to a stalke, but sends up many large leaves handsomely lying one upon another, Rose fashion, flowers in *June*, the seed is ripe in *August*, this as I have said is taken by the *English* for Scabious.

St. John's wort, it preserveth Cheese made up in it, at Sea.

Spurge or Wolfes milch there are several sorts.

Avens, or herb-bennet; you have an account of it in *New-Englands* rarities, but one [p. 79.] thing more I shall add, that you may plainly perceive a more masculine quality in the plants growing in *New-England*. A neighbour of mine in Hay-time, having overheated himself, and melted his grease, with striving to outmowe another man, fell dangerously sick, not being able to turn himself in his bed, his stomach gon, and his heart fainting ever and anon; to whom I administred the decoction of *Avens*-Roots and leaves in water and wine, sweetning it with Syrup of Clove-Gilliflowers, in one weeks time it recovered him, so that he was able to perform his daily work, being a poor planter or husbandman as we call them.

Red-Lilly growes all over the Countrey amongst the bushes. Mr. Johnson upon Gerard takes the Tulip to be the Lilly of the field mentioned by our Saviour, Matth. 6. 28, 29. *Ac de vestitu quid solliciti estis? discite quomodo lilia agrorum augescant: non fatigantur, neque nent, sed dico vobis, ne Solomonem quidem cum universa gloria sic amictum fuisse ut unum ex istis.* Solomon in all his Royalty was not like one of them. His reasons are, first from the shape, like a lilly; The second, because those places where our Saviour was conversant they grow wild in the fields. Third, the infinite variety of the [p. 80.] colours. The fourth and last reason, the wondrous beauty and mixture of these Flowers.

Water-lillys; the black roots dried and pulverized, are wondrous effectual in the stopping of all manner of fluxes of the belly, drunk with wine or water.

Herba-paris, one berry, herb true love, or four-leaved night-shade, the leaves are good to be laid upon hot tumours.

Umbilicus veneris, or *New-England* daisie, it is good for hot humours, *Erisipelas*, St. *Anthony's* fire, all inflammations.

Glass-wort, a little quantity of this plant you may take for the Dropsie, but be very careful that you take not too much, for it worketh impetuously.

Water-plantane, called in *New-England* water Suck-leaves and Scurvie-leaves, you must lay them whole to the leggs to draw out water between the skin and the flesh.

Rosa-solis, Sun-dew, moor-grass, this plant I have seen more of, than ever I saw in my whole life before in *England*, a man may gather upon some marish grounds an incredible quantity in a short time; towards the middle of *June* it is in its season, for then its spear is shot out to its length, of which they take hold and pull the whole plant up by the roots from the moss with ease.

[p. 81.] *Amber-greese* I take to be a Mushroom, see the rarities of *New-England*. *Monardus* writeth that *Amber-greese* riseth out of a certain clammy and bituminous earth under the Seas, and by the Seaside, the billows casting up part of it a land, and fish devour the rest. Some say it is the seed of a Whale, others, that it springeth from fountains as pitch doth, which fishes swallow down; the air congealeth it. And sometimes it is found in the crevices and corners of Rocks.

Fuss-balls, *Mullipuffes* called by the Fishermen Wolves-farts, are to be found plentifully, and those bigger by much than any I have seen in *England*.

Coraline there is infinite store of it cast upon the shore and another plant that is more spinie, of a Red colour, and as hard as Corral. *Coraline* laid to the gout easeth the pain.

Sea Oake or wreath, or Sea-weed, the black pouches of Oar-weed dried and pulverized, and

drunk with White-wine, is an excellent remedy for the stone.

I will finish this part of my relation concerning plants, with an admirable plant for the curing and taking away of Corns, which many times sore troubleth the Traveller: it is not above a handful high; the little branches are woodie, the leaves like [p. 82.] the leaves of Box, but broader and much thicker, hard, and of a deep grass-green colour; this bruised or champ't in the mouth and laid upon the Corn will take it away clean in one night. And observe all *Indian Trees* and plants, their Roots are but of small depth, and so they must be set.

Of Beasts of the earth there be scarce 120 several kinds, and not much more of the Fowls of the Air, is the opinion of some Naturalists; there are not many kinds of Beasts in *New-England*, they may be divided into Beasts of the Chase of the stinking foot, as *Roes*, *Foxes*, *Jaccals*, *Wolves*, *Wild-cats*, *Raccons*, *Porcupines*, *Squncks*, *Musquashes*, *Squirrels*, *Sables*, and *Mattrises*; and Beasts of the Chase of the sweet foot, *Buck*, *Red Dear*, *Rain-Deer*, *Elke*, *Marouse*, *Maccarib*, *Bear*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Marten*, *Hare*.

The *Roe* a kind of Deer, and the fleetest Beast upon earth is here to be found, and is good venison, but not over fat.

The *Fox*, the male is called a dog-fox. the female a bitch-fox, they go a clicketing the beginning of the spring, and bring forth their Cubs in *May* and *June*. There are two or three kinds of them; one a great yellow *Fox*, another grey, who will climb up into Trees; the black *Fox* is of much esteem. *Foxes* and *Wolves* are usually hunted [p. 83.] in *England* from *Holy-Rood* day, till the *Annunciation*. In *New-England* they make best sport in the depth of winter: they lay a sledg-load of Cods-heads on the other side of a paled fence

when the moon shines, and about nine or ten of the clock the *Foxes* come to it, sometimes two or three, or half a dozen, and more; these they shoot, and by that time they have cased them, there will be as many; So they continue shooting and killing of *Foxes* as long as the moon shineth: I have known half a score kill'd in one night. Their pisles are bonie like a doggs, their fat liquified and put into the ears easeth the pain, their tails or bushes are very fair ones and of good use, but their skins are so thin (yet thick set with deep furr) that they will hardly hold the dressing.

Jaccals there be in abundance, which is a Creature much like a *Fox*, but smaller, they are very frequent in *Palæstina*, or the *Holy-Land*.

The *Wolf* seeketh his mate and goes a clicketing at the same season with *Foxes*, and bring forth their whelps as they do, but their kennels are under thick bushes by great Trees in remote places by the swamps, he is to be hunted as the *Fox* from *Holy-rood* day till the *Annunciation*. But there [p. 84.] they have a quicker way to destroy them. See *New-Englands* rarities. They commonly go in routs, a rout of *Wolves* is 12 or more, sometimes by couples. In 1664. we found a *Wolf* asleep in a small dry swamp under an Oake, a great mastiff which we had with us seized upon him, and held him till we had put a rope about his neck, by which we brought him home, and tying of him to a stake we bated him with smaller Doggs, and had excellent sport; but his hinder legg being broken, they knockt out his brains. Sometime before this we had an excellent course after a single *Wolf* upon the hard sands by the Sea-side at low water for a mile or two, at last we lost our doggs, it being (as the *Lancashire* people phrase it) twi-light, that is almost dark, and went beyond them, for a mastiff-bitch had seized upon the *Wolf* being gotten into the Sea, and there held

him till one went in and led him out, the bitch keeping her hold till they had tyed his leggs, and so carried him home like a Calf upon a staff between two men; being brought into the house they unbound him and set him upon his leggs, he not offering in the least to bite, or so much as to shew his teeth, but clapping his stern betwixt his leggs, and leering towards the door would willingly have had his liberty, [p. 85.] but they served him as they did the other, knockt his brains out, for our doggs were not then in a condition to bate him; their eyes shine by night as a Lanthorn: the Fangs of a *Wolf* hung about childrens necks keep them from frightening, and are very good to rub their gums with when they are breeding of Teeth, the gall of a *Wolf* is Sovereign for swelling of the sinews; the fiants or dung of a *Wolf* drunk with white-wine helpeth the *Collick*.

The *Wild-cat*, *Lusern*, or *luceret*, or Ounce as some call it, is not inferiour to Lamb, their grease is very sovereign for lameness upon taking cold.

The *Racoon* or *Rattoon* is of two sorts, gray *Rattoons*, and black *Rattoons*, their grease is sovereign for wounds with bruises, aches, streins, bruises; and to anoint after broken bones and dislocations.

The *Squnck* is almost as big as a *Racoon*, perfect black and white or pye-bald, with a bush-tail like a *Fox*, an offensive Carion; the Urine of this Creature is of so strong a scent, that if it light upon any thing, there is no abiding of it, it will make a man smell, though he were of *Alexanders* complexion; and so sharp if he do but whisk his bush which he pisseth upon in the face of a dogg hunting of him, and that [p. 86.] any of it light in his eyes it will make him almost mad with the smart thereof.

The *Musquashes* is a small Beast that lives in shallow ponds, where they build them houses of earth and sticks in shape like mole-hills, and feed upon *Calamus Aromaticus*: in *May* they scent very

strong of Muske ; their furr is of no great esteem ; their stones wrapt up in Cotton-wool will continue a long time, and are good to lay amongst cloths to give them a grateful smell.

The *Squirril*, of which there are three sorts, the mouse squirril, the gray squirril, and the flying-squirril, called by the *Indian Assapanick*. The mouse-squirril is hardly so big as a Rat, streak'd on both sides with black and red streaks, they are mischevous vermine destroying abundance of Corn both in the field and in the house, where they will gnaw holes into Chests, and tear clothes both linnen and wollen, and are notable nut-gatherers in *August* ; when hasel and filbert nuts are ripe you may see upon every Nut-tree as many mouse-squirrels as leaves ; So that the nuts are gone in a trice, which they convey to their Drays or Nests. The gray squirril is pretty large, almost as big as a Conie, and are very good meat : in some parts of the Countrey there are many of them. The flying squirril is so called, [p. 87.] because (his skin being loose and large) he spreadeth it on both sides like wings when he passeth from one Tree to another at great distance. I cannot call it flying nor leaping, for it is both.

The *Mattrise* is a Creature whose head and fore-parts is shaped somewhat like a Lyons, not altogether so big as a house-cat, they are innumerable up in the Countrey, and are esteemed good furr.

The *Sable* is much of the size of a *Muttrise* perfect black, but what store there is of them I cannot tell, I never saw but two of them in Eight years space.

The *Martin* is as ours are in *England*, but blacker, they breed in holes which they make in the earth like Conies, and are innumerable, their skins or furr are in much request.

The *Buck*, *Stag*, and *Rain-Deer* are Creatures

that will live in the coldest climates, here they are innumerable, bringing forth three *Fawns* or *Calves* at a time, which they hide a mile asunder to prevent their destruction by the *Wolves*, wild-*Cats*, *Bears*, and *Mequans*: when they are in season they will be very fat; there are but few slain by the *English*.

The *Indians* who shoot them, and take of them with toys, bring them in [p. 88.] with their suet, and the bones that grow upon *Stags-Hearts*.

The *Moose* or *Elke* is a Creature, or rather if you will a Monster of superfluity; a full grown *Moose* is many times bigger than an *English* Oxe, their horns as I have said elsewhere, very big (and brancht out into palms) the tips whereof are sometimes found to be two fathom asunder, (a fathom [p. 89.] is six feet from the tip of one finger to the tip of the other, that is four cubits,) and in height from the toe of the fore-foot, to the pitch of the shoulder twelve foot, both which hath been taken by some of my *sceptique* Readers to be monstrous lyes. If you consider the breadth that the beast carrieth, and the magnitude of the horns, you will be easily induced to contribute your belief.

What would you say, if I should tell you that in *Green-land* there are *Does* that have as large horns as *Bucks*, their brow Antlers growing downwards beyond their *Musles*, and broad at the end where-with they scrape away the snow to the grass, it being impossible for them otherwayes to live in those cold Countries; the head of one of these *Does* was sometime since nailed upon a sign-post in *Charter-house-lane*, and these following verses written upon a board underneath it.

*Like a Bucks-head I stand in open view,
And yet am none; nay, wonder not, 'tis true;
The living Beast that these fair horns did owe
Well known to many, was a Green-land Doe.*

*The proverb old is here fulfill'd in me,
That every like is not the same you see.*

And for their height since I came into *England* I have read Dr. *Scroderns* his Chymical dispensatory translated into *English* by Dr. *Rowland*, where he writes *that when he lived in Finland under Gustavus Horn, he saw an Elke that was killed and presented to Gustavus his Mother, seventeen spans high.* Law you now Sirs of the Gibing crue, if you have any skill in mensuration, tell me what difference there is between Seventeen spans and twelve foot. There are certain transcendentia in every Creature, which are the indelible Characters of God, and which discover God; There's a prudential for you, as *John Rhodes* the Fisherman used to say to his mate, *Kitt Lux.* But to go on with the *Moose*; they are accounted a kind of Deer, and have three *Calves* at a time, which they hide a mile asunder too, as other Deer do, their skins make excellent Coats for Martial men, their sinews which are as [p. 90.] big as a mans finger are of perdurable toughness and much used by the *Indians*, the bone that growes upon their heart is an excellent Cordial, their blood is as thick as an *Asses* or *Bulls* who have the thickest blood of all others, a man the thinnest. To what age they live I know not, certainly a long time in their proper climate. *Some particular living Creatures cannot live in every particular place or region, especially with the same joy and felicity as it did where it was first bred, for the certain agreement of nature that is between the place and the thing bred in that place: As appeareth by Elephants, which being translated and brought out of the Second or Third Climate, though they may live, yet will they never ingender or bring forth young.* So for plants, Birds, &c. Of both these Creatures, some few there have been brought into *England*, but did not long continue.

Sir *R. Baker* in his Chronicle tells us of an *Elephant* in *Henry* the Thirds Reign, which he saith was the first that was ever seen there, which as it seems is an error, unless he restrain it to the *Norman's* time. For Mr. *Speed* writeth that *Claudius Drusus* Emperour of *Rome* brought in the First in his Army; the bones of which digg'd up since are taken for Gyants bones. As for the *Moose* the first that was seen in *England*, [p. 91.] was in King *Charles* the First Reign; thus much for these magnals amongst the Creatures of God to be wondered at, the next beast to be mentioned is

The *Maurouse*, which is somewhat like a *Moose*, but his horns are but small, and himself about the size of a *Stag*, these are the Deer that the flat-footed *Wolves* hunt after.

The *Maccarib* is a Creature not found that ever I heard yet, but upon *Cape-Sable* near to the *French* plantations.

The *Bear* when he goes to mate is a terrible Creature, they bring forth their Cubs in *March*, hunted with doggs they take a Tree where they shoot them, when he is fat he is excellent Venison, which is in *Acorn* time, and in winter, but then there is none dares to attempt to kill him but the *Indian*. He makes his Denn amongst thick Bushes, thrusting in here and there store of *Moss*, which being covered with snow and melting in the day time with heat of the Sun, in the night is frozen into a thick coat of Ice; the mouth of his Den is very narrow, here they lye single, never two in a Den all winter. The *Indian* as soon as he finds them, creeps in upon all four, seizes with his left hand upon the neck of the sleeping *Bear*, drags him to the mouth of [p. 92.] the Den, where with a club or small hatchet in his right hand he knocks out his brains before he can open his eyes to see his enemy. But sometimes they are too quick for the *Indians*, as one amongst them called black *Robin* lighting

upon a male *Bear* had a piece of his buttock torn off before he could fetch his blow: their grease is very sovereign. One Mr. *Purchase* cured himself of the *Sciatica* with *Bears*-grease, keeping some of it continually in his groine. It is good too for swell'd Cheeks upon cold, for Rupture of the hands in winter, for limbs taken suddenly with *Sciatica*, *Gout*, or other diseases that cannot stand upright nor go, bed-rid; it must be well chaft in, and the same cloth laid on still; it prevents the shedding of the hair occasioned by the coldness of winters weather; and the yard of a *Bear* which as a *Doggs* or *Foxes* is bonie, is good for to expell Gravel out of the kidneys and bladder, as I was there told by Mr. *Abraham Philater* a *Jersey-man*.

The *Beaver* or Pound-dog is an amphibious Creature, lives upon the land as well as in the water. I suppose they feed upon fish, but am sure that the Bark of Trees is also their food; there is an old proverbial saying, *sic me jubes quotidie, ut fiber salicem*: you love me as the *Beaver* doth the willow; [p. 93.] who eateth the Bark and killeth the Tree. They will be tame, witness the *Beaver* that not long since was kept at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and would run up and down the streets, returning home without a call. Their skins are highly valued, and their stones are good for the palsie, trembling, and numbness of the hands, boiling of them in Oyl of *Spike*, and anointing the sinews in the neck. If you take of *Castorium* two drams, of womans hair one dram, and with a little Rozen of the *Pine-Tree* make it up into pills as big as Filberts and perfume a woman in a fit of the mother with one at a time laid upon coals under her nostrils, it will recover her out of her fit. The grease of a *Beaver* is good for the Nerves, Convulsions, Epilepsies, Apoplexies &c. The tail as I have said in another Treatise,

is very fat and of a masculine vertue, as good as *Eringo's* or *Satyrion-Roots*.

The *Otter* or *River-Dog* is Amphibious too, he hunteth for his kind in the spring, and bringeth forth his whelps as the *Beaver* doth, they are generally black, and very numerous, they are hunted in *England* from *Shrovetide* untill *Midsummer*, but in *New-England* they take them when they can. The skin of an *Otter* is worth Ten Shillings, and [p. 94.] the Gloves made thereof are the best fortification for the hands against wet weather that can be thought of, the furr is excellent for muffs, and is almost as dear as *Beaver*, the Grease of an *Otter* will make fish turn up their bellies, and is of rare use for many things.

The *Hare*, I have no more to write of them than that they kindle in hollow Trees. What else concerns him, or any of the fore-mentioned Creatures you have in my *New-Englands* rarities, to which I refer you.

The *Porcupine* likewise I have treated of, only this I forgot to acquaint you with, that they lay Eggs, and are good meat.

The last kind of Beasts are they that are begot by equivocal generation, as *Mules* and several others, that when the Beasts were brought by the Almighty Creator to *Adam*, who gave them names, were not then in *rerum natura*. Of these there are not many known in *New-England*. I know but of one, and that is the *Indian* dog begotten betwixt a *Wolf* and a *Fox*, or between a *Fox* and a *Wolf*, which they made use of, taming of them, and bringing of them up to hunt with, but since the *English* came amongst them they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their webbs.

[p. 95.] Of birds there are not many more than 120 kinds as our Naturalists have conjectured, but

I think they are deceived ; they are divided into land-birds and water-birds, the land birds again into birds of prey, birds for meat, singing-birds and others.

The *Pilhannaw* is the King of Birds of prey in *New-England*, some take him to be a kind of *Eagle*, others for the *Indian-Ruck* the biggest Bird that is, except the *Ostrich*. One Mr. *Hilton* living at *Pascataway*, had the hap to kill one of them : being by the Sea-side he perceived a great shadow over his head, the Sun shining out clear, casting up his eyes he saw a monstrous Bird soaring aloft in the air, and of a sudden all the *Ducks* and *Geese*, (there being then a great many) dived under water, nothing of them appearing but their heads. Mr. *Hilton* having made readie his piece, shot and brought her down to the ground, how he disposed of her I know not, but had he taken her alive & sent her over into *England*, neither *Bartholomew* nor *Sturbridge-Fair* could have produced such another sight.

Hawkes there are of several kinds, as *Goshawkes*, *Falcons*, *Laniers*, *Sparrow-hawkes*, and a little black *hawke* highly prized by the *Indians* who wear them on their [p. 96.] heads, and is accounted of worth sufficient to ransom a *Sagamour* : they are so strangely couragious and hardie, that nothing flyeth in the Air that they will not bind with. I have seen them tower so high, that they have been so small that scarcely could they be taken by the eye. *Hawkes* grease is very good for sore eyes.

The *Osprey* I have treated of. There is a small Ash-colour Bird that is shaped like a *Hawke* with talons and beak that falleth upon *Crowes*, mounting up into the Air after them, and will beat them till they make them cry.

The *Vulture* or *Geire*, which is spoken of in *Levit.* 11. 14. and called a *Gripe*, their skins are good to line doublets with, and the bone of their head hung about the neck helpeth the head-ach.

The *Gripe*; see *New-Englands* rarities, and for the *Turkie*-buzzard.

The *Owl* the most flagging Bird that is, of which there are three sorts, a great grey *Owl* with ears, a little grey *Owl*, and a white *Owl*, which is no bigger than a *Thrush*. *Plinie* writes that the brains of an *Owl* asswageth the pain & inflammation in the lap of the ear. And that Eggs of an *Owl* put into the liquour that a top-sot useth to be drunk with, will make him loath drunkenness [p. 97.] everafter. But now peradventure some will say, what doth this man mean to bring *Owls* to *Athens*? verily Sirs I presume to say, had I brought over of the little white *Owls* they would have been acceptable, they are good mousers, and pretty Birds to look upon: the *Athenians*, no question are better imployed than to take notice of my *Owls*, poor ragged Birds they are and want those glistening golden Feathers that *Draiton's Owl* is adorned with, yet they are somewhat of that nature; if an *Athenian* chance in this season of divertisement to cast an eye upon them I shall be glad, but more glad if he vouchsafe to prune and correct their feathers, which I confess are discomposed for want of Art; plain Birds they are, and fit for none but plain men to manage. Sirs do not mistake me, there's no man living honours an *Athenian* more than I do, especially where I perceive great abilities concomiting with goodness of nature: A good nature (saith Mr. *Perkins*) is the Character of God, and God is the father of learning, knowledge, and every good gift, and hath condescended to become a School-master to us poor mortals, furnishing of us with Philosophy, Historie, Divinity by his holy Scriptures, which if we diligently learn and practise, we shall in [p. 98.] time be brought into his Heavenly Academy, where we shall have fulness and perfection of knowledge eternally. But there are a Generation of men and women in this prophane age that despise Gods learn-

ing and his Ushers to the *Athenians*, choosing to wallow in the pleasures of sin for a season. I shall conclude this excursion, with that which a Poet writ sometime since, and then return to the trimming of my *Owl*.

*Say thou pour'st them Wheat,
And they would Acorns eat ;
'Twere simple fury in thee still to wast
Thy self, on them that have no tast ;
No, give them draff their fill,
Husks, Grains and swill ;
They that love Lees and leave the lustie Wine,
Envy them not, their palats with the Swine.*

The *Raven* is here numerous and *Crowes*, but *Rooks*, *Danes*, *Popinjaes*, *Megpies* there be none, It is observed that the female of all Birds of prey and *Ravin* is ever bigger than the male, more venturous, hardy, and watchful: but such Birds as do not live by prey and *Ravin*, the male is more large than the female. So much for Birds of prey, the next are Birds for the dish, and the first of these is,

[p. 99.] The *Turkie*, which is in *New-England* a very large Bird, they breed twice or thrice in a year, if you would preserve the young *Chickens* alive, you must give them no water, for if they come to have their fill of water they will drop away strangely, and you will never be able to rear any of them: they are excellent meat, especially a *Turkie-Capon* beyond that, for which Eight shillings was given, their Eggs are very wholesome and restore decayed nature exceedingly. But the *French* say they breed the Leprosie; the *Indesses* make Coats of *Turkie*-feathers woven for their Children.

The *Partridge* is larger than ours, white flesht, but very dry, they are indeed a sort of *Partridges* called *Grooses*.

The *Pidgeon*, of which there are millions of millions, I have seen a flight of *Pidgeons* in the spring, and at *Michaelmas* when they return back to the Southward for four or five miles, that to my thinking had neither beginning nor ending, length nor breadth, and so thick that I could see no Sun, they joyn Nest to Nest, and Tree to Tree by their Nests many miles together in *Pine-Trees*. But of late they are much diminished, the *English* taking them with Nets. I have bought at *Boston* a dozen of *Pidgeons* ready pull'd and garbidgd for three pence [p. 100.] *Ring-Doves* they say are there too, but I could never see any.

The *Snow-Bird* is like a *Chaf-Finch*, go in flocks and are good meat.

The singing Birds are *Thrushes* with red breasts which will be very fat and are good meat, so are the *Thressels*, *Filladies* are small singing Birds, *Ninmurders* little yellow Birds. *New-England* Nightingales painted with orient colours, black, white, blew, yellow, green and scarlet, and sing sweetly, *Wood-larks*, *Wrens*, *Swallows*, who will sit upon Trees, and *Starlings* black as *Ravens* with scarlet pinions; other sorts of Birds there are, as the *Troculus*, *Wag-tail*, or *Dish-water*, which is here of a brown colour, *Tit-mouse* two or three sorts, the *Dunneck* or hedge-*Sparrow* who is starke naked in his winter nest. The golden or yellow hammer, a Bird about the bigness of a *Thrush* that is all over as red as bloud, *Wood-Peckers* of two or three sorts, gloriously set out with variety of glittering colours. The *Colibry*, *Viemalin*, or rising or walking Bird, an Emblem of the Resurrection, and the wonder of little Birds.

The water-fowl are these that follow, *Hookers* or wild-*Swans*, *Cranes*, *Geese* of three sorts, grey, white, and the brant *Goose*, the first and last are best meat, the white are [p. 101.] lean and tough and live a long time; whereupon the proverb, Older than a

white *Grosc* ; of the skins of the necks of grey *Geese* with their Bills the *Indians* makes Mantles and Coverlets sowing them together and they shew prettily. There be four sorts of *Ducks*, a black *Duck*, a brown *Duck* like our wild *Ducks*, a grey *Duck*, and a great black and white *Duck*, these frequent Rivers and Ponds ; but of *Ducks* there be many more sorts, as *Hounds*, old *Wives*, *Murres*, *Doies*, *Shell-drakes*, *Shoulers* or *Shoflers*, *Widgeons*, *Simps*, *Teal*, Blew wing'd, and green wing'd Divers or *Didapers*, or *Dipchicks*, *Fenduck*, *Duckers* or *Moorhens*, *Coots*, *Pochards*, a water-fowl like a *Duck*, *Plungeons*, a kind of water-fowl with a long reddish Bill, *Puets*, *Plovers*, *Smethes*, *Wilmites*, a kind of *Teal*, *Godwits*, *Humilities*, *Knottes*, *Red-Shankes*, *Wobbles*, *Loones*, *Gulls*, white *Gulls*, or *Sea-Cobbs*, *Caudemandies*, *Hérons*, grey *Bitterns*, *Ox-eyes*, *Birds* called *Oxen* and *Keen*, *Petterels*, *Kingsfishers*, which breed in the spring in holes in the Sea-bank, being unapt to propagate in Summer, by reason of the driness of their bodies, which becomes more moist when their pores are closed by cold. Most of these Fowls and Birds are eatable. There are little Birds that frequent the Sea-shore in flocks called *Sanderlins*, [p. 102.] they are about the bigness of a *Sparrow*, and in the fall of the leaf will be all fat ; when I was first in the Countrie the *English* cut them into small pieces to put into their Puddings instead of suet, I have known twelve score and above kill'd at two shots. I have not done yet, we must not forget the *Cormorant*, *Shape* or *Sharke* ; though I cannot commend them to our curious palats, the *Indians* will eat them when they are fley'd, they take them prettily, they roost in the night upon some Rock that lyes out in the Sea, thither the *Indian* goes in his *Birch-Canow* when the Moon shines clear, and when he is come almost to it, he lets his *Canow* drive on of it self, when he is come under the Rock he shoves his Boat along till he

come just under the *Cormorants* watchman, the rest being asleep, and so soundly do sleep that they will snore like so many Piggs; the *Indian* thrusts up his hand of a sudden, grasping the watchman so hard round about his neck that he cannot cry out; as soon as he hath him in his *Canow* he wrings off his head, and making his *Canow* fast, he clambreth to the top of the Rock, where walking softly he takes them up as he pleaseth, still wringing off their heads; when he hath slain as many as his *Canow* can carry, he gives a shout [p. 103.] which awakens the surviving *Cormorants*, who are gone in an instant.

The next Creatures that you are to take notice of, are they that live in the Element of water. *Pliny* reckons them to be of 177 kinds, but certainly if it be true that there is no Beast upon Earth, which hath not his like in the Sea, and which (perhaps) is not in some part parallel'd in the plants of the Earth; we may by a diligent search find out many more: of the same opinion is the Poet, who saith that it is

*Affirm'd by some that what on Earth we find,
The Sea can parallell in shape and kind,*

Divine *Dubertus* goes further.

*You Divine wits of elder dayes, from whom
The deep invention of rare works hath come,
Took you not pattern of our chiefest Toolles
Out of the lap of Thetis, Lakes, and Pools?
Which partly in the Waves, part on the edges
Of craggy Rocks, among their ragged sedges,
Bring forth abundance of Pins, Spincers, spokes,
Pikes, piercers, needles, mallets, pipes & yokes,
Oars, sails & swords, saws, wedges, razors, rammers,
Plumes, cornets, knives, wheels, vices, horns and
hammers.*

[p. 104.] Psalm 104. 25, 26. *In ipso mari magno & spatioso, illic reptilia sunt atque innumera animalia parva cum magnis. Illic naves ambulant; balæna quam formasti ludendo in eo.*

And as the females amongst Beasts and Birds of prey for form and beautie surpass the males, so do they especially amongst fishes; and those I intend to treat of, I shall divide into salt-water fish, and fresh-water fish.

The Sea that *Piscina mirabilis* affords us the greatest number, of which I shall begin first with the Whale a regal fish, as all fishes of extraordinary size are accounted, of these there are (as I have said in another place) seven kinds, the Ambergreese *Whale* the chiefest. *Anno Dom.* 1668 the 17 of *July* there was one of them thrown up on the shore between *Winter-harbour* and *Cape-porpus* about eight mile from the place where I lived, that was five and fifty foot long. They are Creatures of a vast magnitude and strength. The Royal Psalmist, in the 148 psalm, and the 7 verse, *makes mention of them. Laudate Jehovam terrestria; Cete (Dracones as some translate it) & omnes abyssi. And Moses in his history of Job, Job, 41. 1. An extrahas balænam hamo, &c.* [p. 105.] *Whereby the subtlety of the Devil is shewed, as also, the greatness and brutishness of the Devil by the Elephant, in the 10 verse of the foregoing Chapter. In the book of Jonas prophecies we read of a great fish, Jonah 1.17. Pararat autem Jehova piscem magnum, qui obsorberet Jonam. But whether this were a Whale or not is questioned by some. In the head (saith Mr. Parkinson the Herbalist) of one only sort of Whale-fish is found that which is called sperma Cæti, it lyes in a hole therein, as it were a Well, taken out and prest that the oyl, may come out, the substance is that we use for sperma Cæti, and hath little or no smell, the oyl smells strong. See the rarities of New-England.*

The *Sea-hare* is as big as *Grampus* or *Herrin-hog*, and as white as a sheet; There hath been of them in *Black-point-Harbour*, & some way up the river, but we could never take any of them, several have shot slugs at them, but lost their labour.

The *Sturgeon* is a Regal fish too, I have seen of them that have been sixteen foot in length: of their sounds they make *Isinglass*, which melted in the mouth is excellent to seal letters.

Sharkes there are infinite store, who tear the Fishermens nets to their great loss and hinderance; they are of two sorts, one flat [p. 106.] headed, the other long snouted, the pretious stone in their heads (soveraign for the stone in a man) so much coveted by the travelling Chirurgeon is nought else but the brains of the flat-headed *Sharke*. With these we may joyn the Dog-fish or Thorn-hound, who hath two long sharp prickles on his back.

The *Sea-horse* or *Morse* is a kind of monster-fish numerous about the Isle of *Sables*, i. e. The sandy Isle. An Amphibious Creature kill'd for their Teeth and Oyl, never brings forth more than two at a birth; as also doth the Soil and Manate or Cow-fish which is supposed to be the Sea-monster spoken of by *Jeremy*, *Lament.* 4. 3. *Etiam phocæ præbent mammam, lactant catulos suos; So the Latins render it, phoca a Sea-Calf or Soil.*

The small *Sword-fish* is very good meat, the *Sea-bat* or *Sea-owl* a kind of flying fish.

Negroes or *Sea-Devils* a very ugly fish, having a black scale, there are three sorts of them, one a hideous fish, another about two foot long; of these I have seen store in *Black-point Harbour* in the water, but never attempted to take any of them.

Squids a soft fish somewhat like a cudgel, their horns like a *Snails*, which sometimes are found to be of an incredible length, [p. 107.] this fish is much used for bait to catch a *Cod*, *Hacke*, *Polluck*, and the like Sea-fish.

The *Dolphin*, *Bonito*, or *Dozado*, the ashes of their teeth mixed with honey, is good to assuage the pain of breeding teeth in Children.

The *Sea-bream*, *Dorado* or *Amber-fish*, they follow ships as doth the *Dolphin*, and are good meat.

The *Mackerel*, of which there is choicfull plenty all summer long, in the spring they are ordinarily 18 inches long, afterwards there is none taken but what are smaller.

The *Liver-fish* like a *Whiting*.

The *Herrin* which are numerous, they take of them all summer long. In *Anno Dom.* 1670. they were driven into *Black-point* Harbour by other great fish that prey upon them so near the shore, that they threw themselves (it being high water) upon dry land in such infinite numbers that we might have gone up half way the leg amongst them for near a quarter of a mile. We used to qualifie a pickled *Herrin* by boiling of him in milk.

The *Alewife* is like a *Herrin*, but has a bigger bellie therefore called an *Alewife*, they come in the end of *April* into fresh [p. 108.] Rivers and Ponds; there hath been taken in two hours time by two men without any Weyre at all, saving a few stones to stop the passage of the River, above ten thousand. The *Italian* hath a proverb, that he that hath seen one miracle will easily believe another; but this relation far from a miracle will peranter meet, instead of a belief with an Adulterate construction from those that are somewhat akin to St. *Peters* mockers, such as deny the last judgment. I have known in *England* 9 score and 16 *Pikes* and *Pickrel* taken with three Angles between the hours of three and ten in the morning, in the River *Ouse* in the Isle of *Ely*, three quarters of a yard long above half of them; they make red *Alewives* after the same manner as they do *herrins* and are as good.

The *Basse* is a salt water fish too, but most an

end taken in Rivers where they spawn, there hath been 3000 *Basse* taken at a set, one writes that the fat in the bone of a *Basses* head is his braines which is a lye.

The *Salmon* likewise is a Sea-fish, but as the *Basse* comes into Rivers to spawn, a *Salmon* the first year is a *Salmon-smelt*; The second a *Mort*; The third a *Spraid*; The fourth a *Soar*; The fifth a *Sorrel*; The sixth [p. 109.] a *forket-tail*; and the seventh year a *Salmon*. There are another sort of *Salmon* frequent in those parts called white *Salmons*.

Capeling is a small fish like a smelt.

The *Turtle* or *Tortoise* is of two sorts *Sea-Turtles* and *land-Turtles*: of *Sea-Turtles* there are five sorts, of *land-Turtles* three sorts, one of which is a right *land-turtle* that seldom or never goes into the water, the other two being the *River-Turtle*, and the *pond-Turtle*: there are many of these in the brooke *Chyson* in the *Holy Land*. The ashes of a *Sea-Turtle* mixt with oyl or *Bears-grease* causeth hair to grow: the shell of a *land-Turtle* burnt and the ashes dissolved in wine and oyl to an unguent healeth chaps and sores of the feet: the flesh burnt and the ashes mixt with wine and oyl healeth sore legs: the ashes of the burnt shell and the whites of eggs compounded together healeth chaps in womens nipples; and the head pulverized with it prevents the falling of the hair, and will heal the Hemorrhoids, first washing of them with white-wine, and then strewing on the powder.

Lobster, which some say is at first a *whelk*, I have seen a *Lobster* that weighed twenty pound, they cast their shell-coats in the spring, and so do *Crabs*; having underneath a thin red skin which growes thicker and [p. 110.] hard in short time. The *Indians* feed much upon this fish, some they rost, and some they dry as they do *Lampres* and *Oysters* which are delicate breakfast meat so ordered, the *Oysters* are long shell'd, I have had of them nine inches long

from the joynt to the toe, containing an *Oyster* like those the Latines called *Tridacuan* that were to be cut into three pieces before they could get them into their mouths, very fat and sweet.

The *Muscle* is of two sorts, *Sea-muscles* in which they find Pearl and river-*muscles*. *Sea-muscles* dried and pulverized and laid upon the sores of the *Piles* and *hemorrhoids* with oyl will perfectly cure them.

The *Whore* is a shell-fish, the shells are called whores-eggs, being fine round white shells, in shape like a *Mexico* pompion, but no bigger than a good large Hens-egg; they are wrought down the sides with little knobs and holes very prettily, but are but thin and brittle.

The *Perrivig* is a shell-fish that lyeth in the Sands flat and round as a shovel-board piece and very little thicker; these at a little hole in the middle of the shell thrust out a cap of hair, but upon the least motion of any danger it drawes it in again.

Trouts there be good store in every brook, ordinarily two and twenty inches [p. 111.] long, their grease is good for the *Piles* and *clifts*.

The *Eal* is of two sorts, salt-water *Eals* and fresh-water *Eals*, these again are distinguished into yellow bellied *Eals* and silver bellied *Eals*; I never eat better *Eals* in no part of the world that I have been in, than are here. They that have no mind or leasure to take them, may buy of an *Indian* half a dozen silver bellied *Eals* as big as those we usually give 8 pence or 12 pence a piece for at *London*, for three pence or a groat. There is several wayes of cooking them, some love them roasted, others baked, and many will have them fryed; but they please my palate best when they are boiled, a common way it is to boil them in half water, half wine with the bottom of a manchet, a fagot of Parsley, and a little winter savory, when they are boiled they take them

out and break the bread in the broth, and put to it three or four spoonfuls of yest, and a piece of sweet butter, this they pour to their *Eals* laid upon sippets and so serve it up. I fancie my way better which is this, after the *Eals* are fley'd and washt I fill their bellies with Nutmeg grated and Cloves a little bruised, and sow them up with a needle and thred, then I stick a Clove here and there in their sides about an inch asunder, [p. 112.] making holes for them with a bodkin, this done I wind them up in a wreath and put them into a kettle with half water and half white wine vinegar, so much as will rise four fingers above the *Eals*, in midst of the *Eals* I put the bottom of a penny white loaf, and a fagot of these herbs following, Parsley one handful, a little sweet Marjoram, Peniroyal and Savory, a branch of Rosemary, bind them up with a thred, and when they are boiled enough take out the *Eals* and pull out the threds that their bellies were sowed up with, turn out the Nutmeg and Cloves, put the *Eals* in a dish with butter and vinegar upon a chafing-dish with coals to keep warm, then put into the broth three or four spoonfuls of good Ale-yeast with the juice of half a Lemmon ; but before you put in your yeast beat it in a porringer with some of the broth, then break the crust of bread very small and mingle it well together with the broth, pour it into a deep dish and garnish it with the other half of the Lemmon, and so serve them up to the Table in two dishes.

The *Frost fish* is little bigger than a *Gudgeon* and are taken in fresh brooks ; when the waters are frozen they make a hole in the Ice about half a yard or yard wide, to which the fish repair in great numbers, where with [p. 113.] small nets bound to a hoop about the bigness of a firkin-hoop with a staff fastned to it they lade them out of the hole. I have not done with the fish yet, being willing to let you know all of them that are to be seen and catch'd

in the Sea and fresh waters in *New-England*, and because I will not tire your patience overmuch, having no occasion to enlarge my discourse, I shall only name them and so conclude.

<i>Aleport</i>	<i>Flying-fish</i>	<i>Purple-fish</i>
<i>Albicore</i>	<i>several kinds</i>	<i>Porgee</i>
<i>Barracha</i>	<i>Sea-Flea</i>	<i>Remora</i>
<i>Barracontha</i>	<i>Grandpisse</i>	<i>Sea-Ravens</i>
<i>Blew-fish</i>	<i>Hake</i>	<i>Sail-fish</i>
<i>Bull-head</i>	<i>Haddock</i>	<i>Scallop</i>
<i>Bur-fish</i>	<i>Horse-foot</i>	[p. 114.] <i>Scate</i>
<i>Cat-fish</i>	<i>Hallibut</i>	<i>Stingray</i>
<i>Cony-fish</i>	<i>Hen-fish</i>	<i>Sculpin</i>
<i>Cusk</i>	<i>Lampre</i>	<i>Shadd</i>
<i>Clam</i>	<i>Limpin</i>	<i>Spurlin</i>
<i>Rock-Cod</i>	<i>Lumpe</i>	<i>Sheath-fish</i>
<i>Sea-Cod</i>	<i>Maid</i>	<i>Smelt</i>
<i>divers</i>	<i>Monk-fish</i>	<i>Shrimps</i>
<i>kinds of</i>	<i>Sea-mullet</i>	<i>Sprates</i>
<i>Crabs</i>	<i>Nun-fish</i>	<i>Star-fish</i>
<i>Sea-Cucum-</i>	<i>Perch</i>	<i>Sword-fish</i>
<i>ber</i>	<i>Polluck</i>	<i>Thornback</i>
<i>Cunner</i>	<i>I eriwinckle</i>	<i>Turbet</i>
<i>Sea-Darts or</i>	<i>Pike</i>	<i>The Vlatife</i>
<i>Javelins</i>	<i>Pilat-fish</i>	<i>or saw-fish</i>
<i>Flail-fish</i>	<i>Plaice</i>	<i>Sea-Vrchin</i>
<i>Flounder</i>	<i>Porpisse</i>	<i>Sea-Vnichorn</i>
<i>or Flowke</i>	<i>Prawne</i>	

The fish are swum by, and the Serpents are creeping on, terrible creatures, carrying stings in their tails. That will smart worse than a *Satyrs* whip, though it were as big as Mr. *Shepperds* the mad Gentleman at *Milton-Mowbrayes* *Constantinus Lasculus*.

The chief or Captain of these is the Rattle-snake described already in my Journal, in some places of

the Countrey there are none as at *Plimouth Newtown, Nahant* and some other places, they will live on one side of the River, and but swimming over and coming into the woods dye immediately.

The fat of a Rattle-snake is very Sovereign for frozen limbs, bruises, lameness by falls, Aches, Sprains. The heart of a Rattle-snake dried and pulverized and drunk with wine or beer is an approved remedy against the biting and venome of a Rattle-snake. Some body will give me thanks for [p. 115.] discovering these secrets and the rest ; *Non omnibus omnia convenient.*

The *Snake* of which there are infinite numbers of various colours, some black, others painted with red, yellow and white, some again of a grass-green colour powdered all over as it were with silver dust or *Muscovie-glass*. But there is one sort that exceeds all the rest, and that is the Checkquered snake, having as many colours within the checkquers shadowing one another, as there are in a Rainbow. There are two sorts of snakes, the land-snake and the water-snake ; the water-snake will be as big about the belly as the Calf of a mans leg ; I never heard of any mischief that snakes did, they kill them sometimes for their skins and bones to make hat-bands off, their skins likewise worn as a Garter is an excellent remedie against the cramp. I have found of the skins that they cast in woods in some quantity, they cast not their very skins, but only the superfluous thin skin that is upon the very skin, for the very skin is basted to the flesh, so Lobsters and Crabs.

The Earth-worm, these are very rare and as small as a horse hair, but there is a Bug that lyes in the earth and eateth the seed, that is somewhat like a Maggot of a white colour with a red head, and is about [p. 116.] the bignes of ones finger and an inch or an inch and half long. There is also a dark

dunnish Worm or Bug of the bigness of an Oaten-straw, and an inch long, that in the spring lye at the Root of Corn and Garden plants all day, and in the night creep out and devour them; these in some years destroy abundance of *Indian* Corn and Garden plants, and they have but one way to be rid of them which the *English* have learnt of the *Indians*; And because it is somewhat strange, I shall tell you how it is, they go out into a field or garden with a Birchen-dish, and spudling the earth about the roots, for they lye not deep, they gather their dish full which may contain about a quart or three pints, then they carrie the dish to the Sea-side when it is ebbing-water and set it a swimming, the water carrieth the dish into the Sea and within a day or two if you go into your field you may look your eyes out sooner than find any of them.

Sow-bugs or *Millipedes* there be good store, but none of that sort that are blew and turn round as a pea when they are touched; neither are there any *Beetles* nor *Maple-Bugs*, but a stinking black and red *Bug* called a *Cacaroach* or *Cockroach*, and a little black *Bug* like a *Lady-cow* that breeds in skins and furs and will eat them to their [p. 117.] utter spoil. Likewise there be infinite numbers of *Tikes* hanging upon the bushes in summer time that will cleave to a mans garments and creep into his Breeches eating themselves in a short time into the very flesh of a man. I have seen the stockins of those that have gone through the woods covered with them. Besides these there is a *Bug*, but whether it be a Native to the Countrie or a stranger I cannot say: Some are of opinion that they are brought in by the Merchant with Spanish goods, they infest our beds most, all day they hide themselves, but when night comes they will creep to the sleeping wretch and bite him worse than a flea, which raiseth a swelling knob that will itch intolerably, if you

scratch it waxeth bigger and growes to a scab ; and if you chance to break one of the *Bugs* it will stink odiously : they call them *Chinches* or *Wood-lice*, they are fat, red and in shape like a *Tike* and no bigger. There are also Palmer-worms which is a kind of Catterpillar, these some years will devour the leaves of Trees leaving them as naked almost as in winter, they do much harm in the *English* Orchards. Of *Snails* there are but few, and those but very little ones, they lye at the Roots of long grass in moist places, and are no where else to be found. [p. 118.] Spiders and Spinners there be many, the last very big and of several colours.

The Pismire or Ant must not be forgotten, accounted the least Creature, and by *Salomon* commended for its wisdom, Prov. 30. 24, 25. *Quatuor ista parva sunt humilia, tamen sunt sapientia, apprime sapientia : formicæ populus infirmus, quæ comparant æstate cibum suum*, &c. There are two sorts, red Ants and black Ants, both of them are many times found winged ; not long since they were poured upon the Sands out of the clouds in a storm betwixt *Black point* and *Saco*, where the passenger might have walkt up to the Ankles in them.

The Grashopper is innumerable and bigger by much than ours in *England*, having Tinsel-wings, with help whereof they will flye and skip a great way. Next to these in number are your Crickets, a man can walk no where in the summer but he shall tread upon them ; The *Italian* who hath them cryed up and down the streets (*Grille che cantelo*) and buyeth them to put into his Gardens, if he were in *New-England* would gladly be rid of them, they make such a dinn in an Evening. I could never discover the Organ of their voice, they have a little clift in their Crown which opens, and at the same instant they shake their wings.

[p. 119.] The Eft or Swift in *New-England* is a

most beautiful Creature to look upon, being larger than ours, and painted with glorious colours; but I lik'd him never the better for it.

Frogs too there are in ponds and upon dry land, they chirp like Birds in the spring, and latter end of summer croak like Toads. It is admirable to consider the generating of these Creatures, first they lay their gelly on the water in ponds and still waters, which comes in time to be full of black spots as broad as the head of a Ten-penny nail, and round, these separate themselves from the gleir, and after a while thrust out a tail, then their head comes forth, after their head springs out their fore-legs, and then their hinder-legs, then their tail drops off, and growes to have a head and four legs too, the first proves a frog, the latter a water nuet. The Herbalist useth to say by way of admiration, *qualibet herba deum &c.* So God is seen in the production of these small Creatures which are a part of the Creation; *Laudate Jehovahm cælites, laudate eum in excelsis, &c.* *Laudent nomen Jehovah quæ ipso præcipiente illico creata sunt &c.* *ipsæ bestiae & omnes jumenta, reptilia & aves alatae*, Psal. 148.

The Toad is of two sorts, one that is [p. 120.] speckled with white, and another of a dark earthy colour; there is of them that will climb up into Trees and sit croaking there; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm; but this I can testifie that there be Toads of the dark coloured kind that are as big as a groat loaf. Which report will not swell into the belief of my sceptique Sirs; nor that there is a Hell, being like *Salomon's* fool, Prov. 26. 22. *Sed si contunderes stultum in mortario cum mola pistillo, non recederet ab eo stultitia ejus.*

Now before I proceed any further, I must (to prevent misconstructions) tell you that these following Creatures, though they be not properly accoun-

ted Serpents, yet they are venomous and pestilent Creatures. As, first the Rat, but he hath been brought in since the *English* came thither, but the Mouse is a Native, of which there are several kinds not material to be described ; the Bat or flitter mouse is bigger abundance than any in *England* and swarm, which brings me to the insects or cut-wasted Creatures again, as first the honey-Bee, which are carried over by the *English* and thrive there exceedingly, in time they may be produced from Bullocks when the wild Beasts are destroyed. But the wasp is [p. 121.] common, and they have a sort of wild humble-Bee that breed in little holes in the earth. Near upon twenty years since there lived an old planter at *Black-point*, who on a Sunshine day about one of the clock lying upon a green bank not far from his house, charged his Son, a lad of 12 years of age to awaken him when he had slept two hours, the old man falls asleep and lying upon his back gaped with his mouth wide enough for a Hawke to shit into it ; after a little while the lad sitting by spied a humble-Bee creeping out of his Fathers mouth, which taking wing flew quite out of sight, the hour as the lad ghest being come to awaken his Father he jogg'd him and called aloud Father, Father, it is two a clock, but all would not rouse him, at last he sees the humble-Bee returning, who lighted upon the sleepers lip and walked down as the lad conceived into his belly, and presently he awaked.

The Countrey is strangely incommodated with flies, which the *English* call Musketaes, they are like our gnats, they will sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the *English* swell'd and scabby, as if the small pox for the first year. Likewise there is a small black fly no bigger than a flea, so numerous up in the Countrey, [p. 122.] that a man cannot draw his breath, but he will suck of

them in: they continue about Thirty dayes say some but I say three moneths, and are not only a pesterment but a plague to the Country. There is another sort of fly called a Gurnipper that are like our horse-flyes, and will bite desperately, making the blood to spurt out in great quantity; these trouble our *English* Cattle very much, raising swellings as big as an egg in their hides. The Butterfly is of several sorts and larger than ours; So are their Dragon-flyes. Glow-worms have here wings, there are multitudes of them insomuch that in the dark evening when I first went into the Countrey I thought the whole Heavens had been on fire, seeing so many sparkles flying in the air: about *Mount-Carmel*, and the valley of *Acree* in the *Holy-Land* there be abundance of them.

These are taken for *Cantharides*. *Cantharides* are green flies by day, in the night they pass about like a flying Glow-worm with fire in their tails.

I have finished now my relation of plants, &c. I have taken some pains in recollecting of them to memory, and setting of them down for their benefit from whom I may expect thanks; but I believe my [p. 123.] reward will be according to *Ben Johnsons* proverbs, Whistle to a Jade and he will pay you with a fart, Claw a churl by the britch and he will shit in your fist.

The people that inhabited this Countrey are judged to be of the *Tartars* called *Samonids* that border upon *Moscovia*, and are divided into Tribes; those to the East and North-east are called *Churchers* and *Tarentines*, and *Monhegans*. To the South are the *Pequets* and *Narragansets*. Westward *Connecticuts* and *Mowhacks*. To the Northward *Aberginians* which consist of *Mattachusets*, *Wippanaps* and *Tarrentines*. The *Pocanakets* live to the Westward of *Plimouth*. Not long before the *English*

came into the Countrey, happened a great mortality amongst them, especially where the *English* afterwards planted, the East and Northern parts were sore smitten with the Contagion ; first by the plague, afterwards when the *English* came by the small pox, the three Kingdoms or *Sagamorships* of the *Mattachusetts* were very populous, having under them seven Dukedoms or petti-*Sagamorships*, but by the plague were brought from 30000 to 300. There are not many now to the Eastward, the *Pequots* were destroyed by the *English* : The *Mohacks* are about five hundred : Their speech a dialect of the *Tartars*, [p. 124.] (as also is the *Turkish* tongue). There is difference between Tongues and Languages, the division of speech at *Babel* is most properly called Languages, the rest Tongues.

As for their persons they are tall and handsome timber'd people, out-wristed, pale and lean *Tartarian* visag'd, black eyed which is accounted the strongest for sight, and generally black hair'd, both smooth and curl'd wearing of it long. No beards, or very rarely, their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of man ; And as the *Austreans* are known by their great lips, the *Bavarians* by their pokes under their chins, the *Jews* by their goggle eyes, so the *Indians* by their flat noses, yet are they not so much deprest as they are to the Southward.

The *Indesses* that are young, are some of them very comely, having good features, their faces plump and round, and generally plump of their Bodies, as are the men likewise, and as soft and smooth as a mole-skin, of reasonable good complexions, but that they dye themselves tawnie, many prettie Brownetto's and spider finger'd Lasses may be seen amongst them. The *Vetula's* or old women are lean and ugly, all of them are of a modest demeanor, considering their [p. 125.] Savage breed-

ing; and indeed do shame our *English* rusticks whose rudeness in many things exceedeth theirs.

Of disposition very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, witness their direful revenges upon one another. Prone to injurious violence and slaughter, by reason of their blood dried up with overmuch fire, very lecherous proceeding from choller adust and melancholy, a salt and sharp humour; very figurative or theevish, and bold importunate beggars, both Men and Women guilty of Misoxenie or hatred to strangers, a quality appropriated to the old Brittaines, all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh. And so were formerly the Heathen-*Irish*, who used to feed upon the Buttocks of Boyes and Womens Paps; it seems it is natural to Savage people so to do. I have read in Relations of the *Indians* amongst the *Spaniards* that they would not eat a *Spaniard* till they had kept him two or three dayes to wax tender, because their flesh was hard. At *Martins* vinyard, an Island that lyes South to *Plimouth* in the way to *Virginia*, certain *Indians* (whilst I was in the Countrey) seised upon a Boat that put into [p. 126.] a *By-Cove*, kill'd the men and eat them up in a short time before they were discovered.

Their houses which they call *Wigwams*, are built with Poles pitcht into the ground of a round form for most part, sometimes square, they bind down the tops of their poles, leaving a hole for smoak to go out at, the rest they cover with the bark of Trees, and line the inside of their *Wigwams* with mats made of Rushes painted with several colours, one good post they set up in the middle that reaches to the hole in the top, with a staff across before it at a convenient height, they knock in a pin on which they hang their Kettle, beneath that they set up a

broad stone for a back which keepeth the post from burning; round by the walls they spread their mats and skins where the men sleep whilst their women dress their victuals, they have commonly two doors, one opening to the South, the other to the North, and according as the wind sits, they close up one door with bark and hang a *Dears* skin or the like before the other. Towns they have none, being alwayes removing from one place to another for conveniency of food, sometimes to those places where one sort of fish is most plentiful, other whiles where others are. I have seen half [p. 127.] a hundred of their *Wigwams* together in a piece of ground and they shew prettily, within a day or two, or a week they have been all dispersed. They live for the most part by the Sea-side, especially in the spring and summer quarters, in winter they are gone up into the Countrie to hunt *Deer* and *Beaver*, the younger webbs going with them. Tame Cattle they have none, excepting Lice, and Doggs of a wild breed that they bring up to hunt with.

Wives they have two or three, according to the ability of their bodies and strength of their concupiscence, who have the easiest labours of any women in the world; they will go out when their time is come alone, carrying a board with them two foot long, and a foot and half broad, bor'd full of holes on each side, having a foot beneath like a Jack that we pull Boots off with, on the top of the board a broap strap of leather which they put over their forehead, the board hanging at their back; when they are come to a Bush or a Tree that they fancy they lay them down and are delivered in a trice, not so much as groaning for it, they wrap the child up in a young *Beaver*-skin with his heels close to his britch, leaving a little hole if it be a Boy for his Cock to peep out at; and lace him down to the [p. 128.] board upon his back, his knees resting upon the foot

they trudge; What other ceremonies they use more than dying of them with a liquor of boiled *Hemlock-Bark*, and their throwing of them into the water if they suspect the Child to be gotten by any other Nation, to see if he will swim, if he swim they acknowledge him for their own, their names they give them when they are men grown, and covet much to be called after our *English* manner, *Robin*, *Harry*, *Phillip* and the like, very indulgent they are to their Children, and their children sometimes to their Parents, but if they live so long that they become a burden to them, they will either starve them or bury them alive, as it was supposed an *Indian* did his Mother at *Casco* in 1669.

Their Apparel before the *English* came amongst them, was the skins of wild Beasts with the hair on, Buskins of *Deers-skin* or *Moose* drest and drawn with lines into several works, the lines being coloured with yellow, blew or red, Pumps too they have, made of tough skins without soles. In the winter when the snow will bear them, they fasten to their feet their snow shooes which are made like a large Racket we play at [p. 129.] *Tennis* with, lacing them with *Deers-guts* and the like, under their belly they wear a square piece of leather and the like upon their posteriors, both fastened to a string tyed about them to hide their secrets; on their heads they ware nothing: But since they have had to do with the English they purchase of them a sort of Cloth called trading cloth of which they make Mantles, Coats with short sleeves, and caps for their heads which the women use, but the men continue their old fashion going bare headed, excepting some old men amongst them. They are very proud as appeareth by their setting themselves out with white and blew Beads of their own making, and painting of their faces with the above mentioned colours, they

weave sometimes curious Coats with *Turkie* feathers for their Children.

Their Diet is Fish and Fowl, Bear, Wild-cat, Rattoon and Deer; dry'd Oysters, *Lobsters* roasted or dried in the smoak, *Lampres* and dry'd *Moose-tongues*, which they esteem a dish for a *Sagamor*; hard eggs boiled and made small and dried to thicken their broth with, salt they have not the use of, nor bread, their *Indian* Corn and Kidney beans they boil, and sometimes eat their Corn parcht or roasted in the ear against the fire; they feed likewise upon earth-nuts, [p. 130.] or ground-nuts, roots of water-Lillies; Ches-nuts, and divers sorts of Berries. They beat their Corn to powder and put it up into bags, which they make use of when stormie weather or the like will not suffer them to look out for their food. *Pompions* and water-*Mellons* too they have good store; they have prodigious stomachs, devouring a cruel deal, meer *voragoes*, never giving over eating as long as they have it, between meals spending their time in sleep till the next kettlefull is boiled, when all is gone they satisfie themselves with a small quantity of the meal, making it serve as the frugal bit amongst the old *Britains*, which taken to the mountenance of a Bean would satisfie both thirst and hunger. If they have none of this, as sometimes it falleth out (being a very careless people not providing against the storms of want and tempest of necessity) they make use of Sir *Francis Drake's* remedy for hunger, go to sleep.

They live long, even to an hundred years of age, if they be not cut off by their Children, war, and the plague, which together with the small pox hath taken away abundance of them. *Pliny* reckons up but 300 Diseases in and about man, latter writers Six thousand, 236 belonging to the eyes. There are not so many Diseases raining [p. 131.] amongst them as our *Europeans*. The great pox is proper

to them, by reason (as some do deem) that they are *Man-eaters*, which disease was brought amongst our *Europeans* first by the *Spaniards* that went with *Christopher Columbus* who brought it to *Naples* with their *Indian-women*, with whom the *Italians* and *French* conversed *Anno Dom.* 1493. *Paracelsus* saith it happened in the year 1478 and 1480. But all agree that it was not known in *Europe* before *Columbus* his voyage to *America*. It hath continued amongst us above two hundred and three score years. There are Diseases that are proper to certain climates, as the Leprosie to *Ægypt*, and swelling of the Throat or *Mentegra* to *Asia*, the sweating sickness to the Inhabitants of the North; to the *Portugals* the Phthisick, to *Savoy* the mumps; So to the *West-Indies* the Pox, but this doth not exclude other Diseases. In *New-England* the *Indians* are afflicted with pestilent Feavers, Plague, Black-pox, Consumption of the Lungs, Falling-sickness, Kings-evil, and a Disease called by the *Spaniard* the Plague in the back, with us *Empyema*, their Physicians are the *Powaws* or *Indian Priests* who cure sometimes by charms and medicine, but in a general infection they seldom come amongst them, [p. 132.] therefore they use their own remedies, which is sweating, &c. Their manner is when they have plague or small pox amongst them to cover their *Wigwams* with Bark so close that no Air can enter in, lining them (as I said before) within, and making a great fire they remain there in a stewing heat till they are in a top sweat, and then run out into the Sea or River, and presently after they come into their Hutts again they either recover or give up the Ghost; they dye patiently both men and women, not knowing of a Hell to scare them, nor a Conscience to terrifie them. In times of general Mortality they omit the Ceremonies of burying, exposing their dead Carcases to the Beasts of prey. But at other times they

dig a Pit and set the diseased therein upon his breech upright, and throwing in the earth, cover it with the sods and bind them down with sticks, driving in two stakes at each end; their mournings are somewhat like the howlings of the *Irish*, seldom at the grave but in the *Wigwam* where the party dyed, blaming the Devil for his hard heartedness, and concluding with rude prayers to him to afflict them no further.

They acknowledge a God who they call *Squantam* but worship him they do not, [p. 133.] because (they say) he will do them no harm. But *Abbamocho* or *Cheepie* many times smites them with incurable Diseases, scares them with his Apparitions and panick Terrours, by reason whereof they live in a wretched consternation worshipping the Devil for fear. One black *Robin* an *Indian* sitting down in the Corn field belonging to the house where I resided, ran out of his *Wigwam* frighted with the apparition of two infernal spirits in the shape of *Mohawkes*. Another time two *Indians* and an *Indess*, came running into our house crying out they should all dye, *Cheepie* was gone over the field gliding in the Air with a long rope hanging from one of his legs: we askt them what he was like, they said all wone *Englishman*, clothed with hat and coat, shooes and stockings, &c. They have a remarkable observation of a flame that appears before the death of an *Indian* or *English* upon their *Wigwams* in the dead of the night: The first time that I did see it, I was call'd out by some of them about twelve of the clock, it being a very dark night, I perceived it plainly mounting into the Air over our Church, which was built upon a plain little more than half a quarter of a mile from our dwelling house, on the Northside of the Church: look on [p. 134.] what side of a house it appears, from that Coast respectively you shall hear of a Coarse within two or three days.

They worship the Devil (as I said) their Priests are called *Powaws* and are little better than Witches, for they have familiar conference with him, who makes them invulnerable, that is shot-free and stick-free. Craftie Rogues, abusing the rest at their pleasure, having power over them by reason of their Diabolical Art in curing of Diseases, which is performed with rude Ceremonies; they place the sick upon the ground sitting, and dance in an Antick manner round about him, beating their naked breasts with a strong hand, and making hideous faces, sometimes calling upon the Devil for his help, mingling their prayers with horrid and barbarous charms; if the sick recover, they send rich gifts, their Bowes and Arrowes, *Wompompers*, *Mohacks*, *Beaver-skins* or other rich Furs to the Eastward, where there is a vast Rock not far from the shore, having a hole in it of an unsearchable profundity, into which they throw them.

Their Theologie is not much, but questionless they acknowledge a God and a devil, and some small light they have of the Souls immortality; for ask them [p. 135.] whither they go when they dye, they will tell you pointing with their finger to Heaven beyond the white mountains, and do hint at *Noah's* Floud, as may be conceived by a story they have received from Father to Son, time out of mind, that a great while agon their Countrey was drowned, and all the People and other Creatures in it, only one *Powaw* and his *Webb* foreseeing the Floud fled to the white mountains carrying a hare along with them and so escaped; after a while the *Powaw* sent the *Hare* away, who not returning emboldned thereby they descended, and lived many years after, and had many Children, from whom the Countrie was filled again with *Indians*. Some of them tell another story of the *Beaver*, saying that he was their Father.

Their learning is very little or none, Poets they are as may be ghesed by their formal speeches, sometimes an hour long, the last word of a line riming with the last word of the following line, and the whole doth *Constare ex pedibus*. Musical too they be, having many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feastings; but Instruments they had none before the *English* came amongst them, since they have imitated them and will make out Kitts and string them as neatly, [p. 136.] and as Artificially as the best Fiddle-maker amongst us; and will play our plain lessons very exactly: the only Fiddler that was in the Province of *Meyn*, when I was there was an *Indian* called *Scozway*, whom the Fishermen and planters when they had a mind to be merry made use of.

Arithmetick they skill not, reckoning to ten upon their fingers, and if more doubling of it by holding their fingers up, their age they reckon by Moons, and their actions by sleeps, as, if they go a journie, or are to do any other business they will say, three sleeps me walk, or two or three sleeps me do such a thing, that is in two or three days. Astronomie too they have no knowledge of, seldom or never taking observation of the Stars, Eclipses, or Comets that I could perceive; but they will Prognosticate shrewdly what weather will fall out. They are generally excellent *Zenagogues* or guides through their Countrie.

Their exercises are hunting and fishing, in both they will take abundance of pains. When the snow will bear them, the young and lustie *Indians*, (leaving their papouses and old people at home) go forth to hunt *Moose*, *Deer*, *Bear*, and *Beaver*, Thirty or forty miles up into the Countrey; when they light upon a *Moose* they run him down, [p. 137.] which is sometimes in half a day, sometimes a whole day,

but never give him over till they have tyred him, the snow being usually four foot deep, and the Beast very heavie he sinks every step, and as he runs sometimes bears down Arms of Trees that hang in his way, with his horns, as big as a mans thigh; other whiles, if any of their dogs (which are but small) come near, yerking out his heels (for he strikes like a horse) if a small Tree be in the way he breaks it quite asunder with one stroak, at last they get up to him on each side and transpierce him with their Lances, which formerly were no other but a staff of a yard and half pointed with a Fishes bone made sharp at the end, but since they put on pieces of sword-blades which they purchase of the *French*, and having a strap of leather fastened to the but end of the staff which they bring down to the midst of it, they dart it into his sides, *hæret latere lethalis arundo*, the poor Creature groans, and walks on heavily, for a space, then sinks and falls down like a ruined building, making the Earth to quake; then presently in come the Victors, who having cut the throat of the slain take off his skin, their young webbs by this time are walking towards them with heavie bags and kettles at their [p. 138.] backs, who laying down their burdens fall to work upon the Carkass, take out the heart and from that the bone, cut off the left foot behind, draw out the sinews, and cut out his tongue &c. and as much of the Venison as will serve to satiate the hungry mawes of the Company: mean while the men pitch upon a place near some spring, and with their snow shoos shovel the snow away to the bare Earth in a circle, making round about a wall of snow; in the midst they make their *Vulcan* or fire near to a great Tree, upon the snags whereof they hang their kettles fil'd with the Venison; whilst that boils, the men after they have refresht themselves with a pipe of Tobacco dispose themselves to sleep. The women

tend the Cookerie, some of them scrape the slime and fat from the skin, cleanse the sinews, and stretch them and the like, when the venison is boiled the men awake, and opening of their bags take out as much *Indian* meal as will serve their turns for the present; they eat their broth with spoons, and their flesh they divide into gobbets, eating now and then with it as much meal as they can hold betwixt three fingers; their drink they fetch from the spring, and were not acquainted with other, untill the *French* and *English* traded with that cursed liquor [p. 139.] called *Rum*, *Rum-bullion*, or kill-Devil, which is stronger than spirit of Wine, and is drawn from the dross of Sugar and Sugar Canes, this they love dearly, and will part with all they have to their bare skins for it, being perpetually drunk with it, as long as it is to be had, it hath killed many of them, especially old women who have dyed when dead drunk. Thus instead of bringing of them to the knowledge of Christianitie, we have taught them to commit the beastly and crying sins of our Nation, for a little profit. When the *Indians* have stufed their paunches, if it be fair weather and about midday they venture forth again, but if it be foul and far spent, they betake themselves to their field-bed at the sign of the Star, expecting the opening of the Eastern window, which if it promise serenity, they truss up their fardles, and away for another *Moose*, this course they continue for six weeks or two moneths, making their *Webbs* their *Mules* to carry their luggage, they do not trouble themselves with the horns of *Moose* or other *Deer*, unless it be near an *English* plantation; because they are weighty and cumbersome. If the *English* could procure them to bring them in, they would be worth the pains and charge, being sold in *England* after the rate of forty or fifty [p. 140.] pounds a Tun; the red heads of *Deer* are the fairest and fullest of marrow, and lightest; the black heads

are heavie and have less marrow; the white are the worst, and the worst nourished. When the *Indians* are gone, there gathers to the Carkass of the *Moose* thousands of *Mattrises*, of which there are but few or none near the Sea-coasts to be seen, these devour the remainder in a quarter of the time that they were hunting of it.

Their fishing followes in the spring, summer and fall of the leaf. First for *Lobsters*, *Clams*, *Flouke*, *Lumps* or *Fodles*, and *Alewives*, afterwards for *Bass*, *Cod*, *Rock*, *Blew-fish*, *Salmon*, and *Lampres*, &c.

The *Lobsters* they take in large Bayes when it is low water, the wind still, going out in their *Birchen-Canows* with a staff two or three yards long, made small and sharpen'd at one end, and nick'd with deep nicks to take hold. When they spye the *Lobster* crawling upon the Sand in two fathom water, more or less, they stick him towards the head and bring him up. I have known thirty *Lobsters* taken by an *Indian* lad in an hour and a half, thus they take *Flouke* and *Lumps*; *Clams* they dig out of the *Clam-banks* upon the flats and in creeks when it is low water, where they are bedded [p. 141.] sometimes a yard deep one upon another, the beds a quarter of a mile in length, and less, the *Alewives* they take with Nets like a pursenet put upon a round hoop'd stick with a handle in fresh ponds where they come to spawn. The *Bass* and *Blew-fish* they take in harbours, and at the mouth of barr'd Rivers being in their *Canows*, striking them with a fising, a kind of dart or staff, to the lower end whereof they fasten a sharp jagged bone (since they make them of Iron) with a string fastened to it, as soon as the fish is struck they pull away the staff, leaving the bony head in the fishes body and fasten the other end of the string to the *Canow*: Thus they will hale after them to shore half a dozen or half a score great fishes: this way they take *Sturgeon*; and in dark evenings

when they are upon the fishing ground near a Bar of Sand (where the *Sturgeon* feeds upon small fishes (like *Eals*) that are called Lances sucking them out of the Sands where they lye hid, with their hollow Trunks, for other mouth they have none) the *Indian* lights a piece of dry *Birch-Bark* which breaks out into a flame & holds it over the side of his *Canow*, the *Sturgeon* seeing this glaring light mounts to the Surface of the water where he is slain and taken with a fisgig. *Salmons* and *Lampres* [p. 142.] are catch'd at the falls of Rivers. All the Rivers of note in the Countrey have two or three desperate falls distant one from another for some miles, for it being rising ground from the Sea and mountainous within land, the Rivers having their Originals from great lakes, and hastning to the Sea, in their passage meeting with Rocks that are not so easily worn away, as the loose earthie mould beneath the Rock, makes a fall of the water in some Rivers as high as a house : you would think it strange to see, yea admire if you saw the bold *Barbarians* in their light *Canows* rush down the swift and headlong stream with desperate speed, but with excellent dexterity, guiding his *Canow* that seldom or never it shoots under water or overturns, if it do they can swim naturally, striking their pawes under their throat like a dog, and not spreading their Arms as we do ; they turn their *Canow* again and go into it in the water.

Their Merchandize are their beads, which are their money, of these there are two sorts, blew Beads and white Beads, the first is their Gold, the last their Silver, these they work out of certain shells so cunning that neither *Jew* nor Devil can counterfeit, they drill them and string them, and make many curious works with them to [p. 143.] adorn the persons of their *Sagamours* and principal men and young women, as Belts, Girdles, Tablets, Borders for their womens hair, Bracelets, Necklaces, and

links to hang in their ears. Prince *Phillip* a little before I came for *England*, coming to *Boston* had a coat on and Buskins set thick with these Beads in pleasant wild works and a broad Belt of the same, his Accoutrements were valued at Twenty pounds. The *English* Merchant giveth them ten shillings a fathom for their white, and as much more or near upon for their blew Beads. Delicate sweet dishes too they make of *Birch-Bark* sowed with threads drawn from *Spruse* or white *Cedar-Roots*, and garnished on the out-side with flourisht works, and on the brims with glistening quills taken from the *Porcupine*, and dyed, some black, others red, the white are natural, these they make of all sizes from a dram cup to a dish containing a pottle, likewise Buckets to carry water or the like, large Boxes too of the same materials, dishes, spoons and trays wrought very smooth and neatly out of the knots of wood, baskets, bags, and matts woven with *Sparke*, bark of the *Line-Tree* and *Rushes* of several kinds, dyed as before, some black, blew, red, yellow, bags of *Porcupine* quills woven and dyed also ; Coats woven of [p. 144.] *Turkie*-feathers for their Children, Tobacco pipes of stone with their Imagerie upon them, Kettles of *Birchen-bark* which they used before they traded with the *French* for Copper Kettles, by all which you may apparently see that necessity was at first the mother of all inventions. The women are the workers of most of these, and are now, here and there one excellent needle woman, and will milk a Cow neatly, their richest trade are Furs of divers sorts, Black *Fox*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Bear*, *Sables*, *Matrices*, *Fox*, *Wild-Cat*, *Rattoons*, *Martins*, *Musquash*, *Moose-skins*.

Ships they have none, but do prettily imitate ours in their *Birchen-pinnaces*, their *Canows* are made of *Birch*, they shape them with flat Ribbs of white *Cedar*, and cover them with large sheets of *Birch-bark*,

sowing them through with strong threds of *Spruse-Roots* or white *Cedar*, and pitch them with a mixture of *Turpentine* and the hard rosen that is dried with the Air on the outside of the Bark of *Firr-Trees*. These will carry half a dozen or three or four men and a considerable freight, in these they swim to Sea twenty, nay forty miles, keeping from the shore a league or two, sometimes to shorten their voyage when they are to double a Cape they will put to shore, and [p, 145.] two of them taking up the *Canow* carry it cross the Cape or neck of land to the other side, and to Sea again; they will indure an incredible great Sea, mounting upon the working billowes like a piece of Corke; but they require skilful hands to guide them in rough weather, none but the *Indians* scarce dare to undertake it, such like Vessels the Ancient *Brittains* used, as *Lucan* relates.

*Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, caesoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britanus
Navigat oceano —*

*When Sicoris to his own banks restor'd
Had left the field, of twigs, and willow boord
They made small Boats, cover'd with Bullocks hide,
In which they reacht the Rivers further side.
So sail the Veneti if Padus flow,
The Brittains sail on their calm ocean so :
So the Ægyptians sail with woven Boats
Of paper rushes in their Nilus Floats.*

[p. 146.] Their Government is monarchical, the Patrueius or they that descend from the eldest proceeding from his loyns, is the Roytelet of the Tribe, and if he have Daughters, his Son dying without a

Son, the Government descends to his Daughters Son : after the same manner, their lands descend. *Cheetadaback* was the chief *Sachem* or *Roytelet* of the *Massachusetts*, when the *English* first set down there. *Massasoit*, the great *Sachem* of the *Plimouth Indians*, his dwelling was at a place called *Sowans*, about four miles distant from *New-Plimonth*. *Sasasacus* was the chief *Sachem* of the *Peguots*, and *Mientoniack* of the *Narragansets*. The chief *Roytelet* amongst the *Mohawks* now living, is a *Dutchmans* Bastard, and the *Roytelet* now of the *Pocanakets*, that is the *Plimouth-Indians*, is Prince *Philip* alias *Metacon*, the Grandson of *Massasoit*. Amongst the Eastern *Indians*, *Summersant* formerly was a famous *Sachem*. The now living *Sachems* of note are *Sabaccaman*, *Terrumkin* and *Robinhood*.

Their Wars are with Neighbouring Tribes, but the *Mowhawks* are enemies to all the other *Indians*, their weapons of Defence and Offence are Bowes and Arrowes, of late he is a poor *Indian* that is not [p. 147.] master of two Guns, which they purchase of the *French*, and powder and shot, they are generally excellent marks men ; their other weapons are *Tamahawks* which are staves two foot and a half long with a knob at the end as round as a bowl, and as big as that we call the Jack or Mistriss. Lances too they have made (as I have said before) with broken sword blades, likewise they have Hatchets and knives ; but these are weapons of a latter date. They colour their faces red all over, supposing that it makes them the more terrible, they are lustie Souldiers to see to and very strong, meer *Hercules Rusticuses*, their fights are by Ambushments and Surprises, coming upon one another unawares. They will march a hundred miles through thick woods and swamps to the *Mowhawks* Countrey, and the *Mowhawks* into their Countrey, meeting sometimes in the woods, or when they come into an *Enemies* Countrey build a rude fort with *Pallizadoes*, having

loop-holes out of which they shoot their Arrowes and fire their Guns, pelting at one another a week or moneth together; If any of them step out of the Fort they are in danger to be taken prisoners by the one side or the other; that side that gets the victory excoriates the hair-scalp of the principal slain Enemies which [p. 148.] they bear away in Triumph, their prisoners they bring home, the old men and women they knock in the head, the young women they keep, and the men of war they torture to death as the Eastern *Indians* did two *Mowhawks* whilst I was there, they bind him to a Tree and make a great fire before him, then with sharp knives they cut off the first joynts of his fingers and toes, then clap upon them hot Embers to sear the vains; so they cut him a pieces joynt after joynt, still applying hot Embers to the place to stanch the bloud, making the poor wretch to sing all the while: when Arms and Legs are gone, they flay off the skin of their Heads, and pesently put on a Cap of burning Embers, then they open his breast and take out his heart, which while it is yet living in a manner they give to their old Squaes, who are every one to have a bite at it. These Barbarous Customs were used amongst them more frequently before the *English* came; but since by the great mercy of the Almighty they are in a way to be Civilized and converted to Christianity; there being three Churches of *Indians* gathered together by the pains of Mr. *John Eliot* and his Son, who Preaches to them in their Native language, and hath rendered the Bible in that Language for the benefit of [p. 149.] the *Indians*. These go clothed like the *English*, live in framed houses, have flocks of Corn and Cattle about them, which when they are fat they bring to the *English* Markets, the Hogs that they rear are counted the best in *New-England*. Some of their Sons have been brought up Scholars in *Harvard* Colledge, and I was told that there was

but two Fellowes in that Colledge, and one of them was an *Indian* ; some few of these Christian *Indians* have of late Apostatized and fallen back to their old Superstition and course of life.

Thus much shall suffice concerning *New-England*, as it was when the *Indians* solely possest it. I will now proceed to give you an accompt of it, as it is under the management of the *English* ; but methinks I hear my sceptick Readers muttering out of their scuttle mouths, what will accrew to us by this rambling *Logodiarce* ? you do but bring straw into *Egypt*, a Countrey abounding with Corn. Thus by these *Famacides* who are so minutely curious, I am dejected from my hope, whilst they challenge the freedom of *David's* Ruffins, Our Tongues are our own, who shall controll us. I have done what I can to please you, I have piped and you will not dance. I have told you as strange things as ever you or your Fathers [p. 150.] have heard. The *Italian* saith *Chi vide un miraculo facilmente ne crede un altro*, he that hath seen one miracle will easilie believe another, *miranda canunt sed non credenda poetæ*. Oh I see the pad, you never heard nor saw the like, therefore you do not believe me ; well Sirs I shall not strain your belief any further, the following Relation I hope will be more tolerable, yet I could (it is possible) insert as wonderful things as any my pen hath yet gone over, and may, but it must be upon condition you will not put me to the proof of it. *Nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*, no man is obliged to do more than is in his power, is a rule in law. To be short ; if you cannot with the *Bee* gather the honey, with the Spider suck out the poyson, as Sir *John Davis* hath it.

*The Bee and Spider by a divers power
Suck honey and poyson from the self-same flower.*

I am confident you will get but little poyson here, no 'tis the poyson of *Asps* under your tongue that swells you : truly, I do take you rather to be Spider catchers than Spiders, such as will not laudably imploy themselves, nor suffer others ; you may well say *non amo hominem, sed non possum* [p. 151.] *dicere quare*, unless it be because I am a Veronessa, no Romancer. To conclude ; if with your mother wit, you can mend the matter, take pen in hand and fall to work, do your Countrey some service as I have done according to my Talent. Henceforth you are to expect no more Relations from me. I am now return'd into my Native Countrey, and by the providence of the Almighty, and the bounty of my Royal Sovereigness am disposed to a holy quiet of study and meditation for the good of my soul ; and being blessed with a transmentitation or change of mind, and weaned from the world, may take up for my word, *non est mortale quod opto*. If what I have done is thought uprears for the approvment of those to whom it is intended, I shall be more than meanly contented.

New England was first discovered by *John Cabota* and his Son *Sebastian* in *Anno Dom.* 1514. A further discovery afterwards was made by the honourable Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Knight in *Anno* 1584. when as *Virginia* was discovered, which together with *Maryland*, *New-England*, *Nova Scotia*, was known by one common name to the *Indians*, *Wingandicoa*, and by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in honour of our Virgin Queen, in whose name he took possession of it, *Virginia*. In [p. 152.] King *James* his Reign it was divided into Provinces as is before named. In 1602. these north parts were further discovered by Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*. The first *English* that plant-ed there, set down not far from the *Narragansets-Bay*, and called their Colony *Plimouth*, since old *Plimouth*, *An. Dom.* 1602. Sir *John Popham* Lord

chief Justice authorized by his Majesty, King *James*, sent a Colony of *English* to *Sagadehock*, *An.* 1606. *Newfound-land* was discovered by one *Andrew Thorn* an English man in *Anno* 1527. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a west Countrey Knight took possession of it in the Queens name, *Anno* 1582. The two first Colonies in *New-England* failing, there was a fresh supply of *English* who set down in other parts of the Countrey, and have continued in a flourishing condition to this day.

The whole Countrey now is divided into Colonies, and for your better understanding observe, a Colony is a sort of people that come to inhabit a place before not inhabited, or *Colonus quasi*, because they should be Tillers of the Earth. From hence by an usual figure the Countrey where they sit down, is called a Colony or Plantation.

The first of these that I shall relate of, though last in possession of the *English*, is now our most Southerly Colony, and next [p. 153.] adjoining to *Maryland*, scil. the *Manadaes* or *Manahanent* lying upon the great River *Mohegan*, which was first discovered by Mr. *Hudson*, and sold presently by him to the *Dutch* without Authority from his Sovereign the King of *England*, *Anno* 1608. The *Dutch* in 1614 began to plant there, and call'd it *New-Netherlands*, but Sir *Samuel Argal* Governour of *Virginia* routed them, the *Dutch* after this got leave of King *James* to put in there for fresh water in their passage to *Brasile*, and did not offer to plant until a good while after the *English* were settled in the Countrey. In *Anno* 1664 his Majestie *Charles* the Second sent over four worthie Gentlemen Commissioners to reduce the Colonies into their bounds, who had before incroached upon one another, who marching with Three hundred red-Coats to *Manadaes* or *Manhataes* took from the *Dutch* their chief town then called *New-Amsterdam*, now *New York*; the Twenty

ninth of *August* turn'd out their Governour with a silver leg, and all but those that were willing to acknowledge subjection to the King of *England*, suffering them to enjoy their houses and estates as before. Thirteen days after Sir *Robert Carr* took the Fort and Town of *Aurania* now called *Albany*; and Twelve days after that, the Fort and Town [p. 154.] of *Awsapha*, then *De-la-ware* Castle, man'd with *Dutch* and *Sweeds*. So now the *English* are masters of three handsome Towns, three strong Forts and a Castle, not losing one man. The first Governour of these parts for the King of *England* was Colonel *Nicols*, a noble Gentleman, and one of his Majesties Commissioners, who coming for *England* in *Anno Dom.* 1668 as I take it, surrendered the Government to Colonel *Lovelace*.

The Countrey here is bless'd with the richest soil in all *New-England*, I have heard it reported from men of Judgment and Integrity, that one Bushel of *European-Wheat* hath yielded a hundred in one year. Their other Commodities are Furs, and the like.

New-York is situated at the mouth of the great River *Mohegan*, and is built with *Dutch Brick alla-moderna*, the meanest house therein being valued at One hundred pounds, to the Landward it is compassed with a Wall of good thickness; at the entrance of the River is an Island well fortified, and hath command of any Ship that shall attempt to pass without their leave.

Albany is situated upon the same River on the West-side, and is due North from *New-York* somewhat above Fifty miles.

[p. 155.] Along the Sea-side Eastward are many *English-Towns*, as first *Westchester*, a Sea-Town about Twenty miles from *New-York*; to the Eastward of this is *Greenwich*, another Sea-Town much about the same distance; then *Chichester*, *Fairfield*,

Stratford, Milford, all Sea-Towns twenty and thirty mile distant from one another, twenty miles Eastward of *Milford* is *Newhaven* the Metropolis of the Colony begun in 1637. One Mr *Eaton* being there Governour: it is near to the shoals of *Cape-Cod*, and is one of the four united Colonies.

The next Sea-Town Eastward of *New-Haven* is called *Guilford* about ten mile, and I think belonging to that Colony.

From *Guilford* to *Connecticut-River*, is near upon twenty miles, the fresh River, *Connecticut* bears the name of another Colony begun in the year 1636 and is also one of the four united Colonies. Upon this River are situated 13 Towns, within two, three & four miles off one another. At the mouth of the River, on the West-side is the *Lord-Say*, and *Brooks fort*, called *Saybrook-fort*. Beyond this Northward is the Town of *Windsor*, then *Northampton*, then *Pinsers-house*. On the Eastside of the River, *Hartford*, about it low land well stored with meadow and very fertile. *Wethersfield* is [p. 156.] also situated upon *Connecticut River* and *Springfield*; but this Town although here seated, is in the jurisdiction of the *Mattachusetts*, and hath been infamous by reason of Witches therein. *Hadley* lyes to the Northward of *Springfield*. *New-London* which I take to be in the jurisdiction of this Coloney is situated to the Eastward of *Connecticut River* by a small River, and is not far from the Sea. From *Connecticut-River long-Island* stretcheth itself to *Mohegan* one hundred and twenty miles, but it is but narrow and about sixteen miles from the main; the considerablest Town upon it is *Southampton* built on the Southside of the Island towards the Eastern end: opposite to this on the Northern side is *Feversham*, West-ward is *Ashford*, *Huntingdon*, &c. The Island is well stored with Sheep and other Cattle, and Corn, and is reasonable populous. Between this Island and

the mouth of *Connecticut-River* lyeth three small Islands, *Shelter-Island*, *Fishers-Island*, and the Isle of *Wight*. Over against *New-London* full South lyeth *Block-Island*.

The next place of note on the Main is *Narragansets-Bay*, within which Bay is *Rhode Island* a Harbour for the *Shunamitish* Brethren, as the Saints Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds, than Religious persons, &c.

[p. 157.] At the further end of the Bay by the mouth of *Narragansets-River*, on the South side thereof was old *Plimouth* plantation Anno 1602. Twenty mile out to Sea, South of *Rhode-Island*, lyeth *Martins* vineyard in the way to *Virginia*, this Island is governed by a discreet Gentleman Mr. *Mayhew* by name. To the Eastward of *Martin's* vinyard lyeth *Nantocket-Island*, and further Eastward *Elizabeths-Island*, these Islands are twenty or thirty mile asunder, and now we are come to *Cape-Cod*.

Cape-Cod was so called at the first by Captain *Gosnold* and his Company Anno Dom. 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterwards was called *Cape-James* by Captain *Smith*: the point of the *Cape* is called *Point-Cave* and *Tuckers Terror*, and by the *French* and *Dutch* *Mallacar*, by reason of the perillous shoals. The first place to be taken notice of on the South-side of the *Cape* is *West-Harbour*, the first Sea-Town *Sandwich* formerly called *Duxbury* in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. Doubling the *Cape* we come into the great Bay, on the West whereof is *New-Plimouth Bay*, on the Southwest-end of this Bay is situated *New-Plimouth* the first *English-Colony* that took firm possession in this Countrey, which was in 1620, and the first Town built [p. 158.] therein, whose longitude is 315 degrees, in latitude 41 degrees and 37 minutes, it was built nine years before any other Town, from the beginning of it to 1669 is just forty years, in which

time there hath been an increasing of forty Churches in this Colony (but many more in the rest,) and Towns in all *New-England* one hundred and twenty, for the most part along the Sea-Coasts, (as being wholsomest) for somewhat more than two hundred miles: onely on *Connecticut-River* (as I have said) is thirteen Towns not far off one another.

The other Towns of note in this Colony are *Green-Harbour* to the Eastward of *Plimouth* towards the point of the *Cape*, & therefore somewhat unaccessible by land, here is excellent Timber for shipping; then *Marshfield*, *Yarmouth*, *Rehoboth*, *Bridgewater*, *Warwick*, *Taunton*, *Eastham*, by the *Indians* called *Namset*.

The first Town Northeast from *Green-harbor* is *Sittuate* in the jurisdiction of the *Mattachusetts-Colony*, more Northward of *Sittuate* is *Conchusset* and *Hull* a little Burg lying open to the Sea, from thence we came to *Merton-point* over against which is *Pullin-point*. Upon *Merton-point* (which is on the Larboard-side) is a Town called *Nantascot*, which is two Leagues from *Boston*, where [p. 159.] Ships commonly cast Anchor. *Pullin-point* is so called because the Boats are by the seasing or Roads haled against the Tide which is very strong, it is the usual Channel for Boats to pass into *Mattachusetts-Bay*.

There is an Island on the South-side of the passage containing eight Acres of ground. Upon a rising hill within this Island is mounted a Castle commanding the entrance, no stately Edifice, nor strong; built with brick and Stone, kept by a Captain, under whom is a master-Gunner and others.

The *Bay* is large, made by many Islands, the chief *Deere-Island*, which is within a slight shot of *Pullin-point*, great store of *Deere* were wont to swim thither from the Main; then *Bird-Island*, *Glass-Island*, *Slate-Island*, the Governours Garden, where the first Apple-Trees in the Countrey were planted, and a vinyard; then *Round-Island*, and *Noddles-*

Island not far from *Charles-Town*: most of these Islands lye on the North-side of the *Bay*.

The next Town to *Nantascot* on the South-side of the *Bay* is *Wissaguset* a small Village, about three miles from *Mount-wolleston*, about this Town the soil is very fertile.

Within sight of this is *Mount-wolleston* or *Merry-mount*, called *Massachusetts-fields*, [p. 160.] where *Chicatabat* the greatest *Sagamore* of the Countrey lived before the plague: here the Town of *Braintree* is seated, no Boat nor Ship can come near to it, here is an Iron mill: to the West of this Town is *Naponset* River.

Six miles beyond *Braintree* lyeth *Dorchester* a frontire Town pleasantly seated, and of large extent into the main land, well watered with two small Rivers, her body and wings filled somewhat thick with houses to the number of two hundred and more, beautified with fair Orchards and Gardens, having also plenty of Corn-land, and store of Cattle, counted the greatest Town heretofore in *New-England*, but now gives way to *Boston*, it hath a Harbour to the North for ships.

A mile from *Dorchester* is the Town of *Roxbury*, a fair and handsome Countrey Town, the streets large, the Inhabitants rich, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, well watered with springs and small freshets, a brook runs through it called *Smelt-River*, a quarter of a mile to the North-side of the Town runs stony River: it is seated in the bottom of a shallow *Bay*, but hath no harbour for shipping. Boats come to it, it hath store of Land and Cattle.

Two miles Northeast from *Roxbury*, and [p. 161.] Forty miles from *New-Plimouth*, in the latitude of 42 or 43 degrees and 10 minutes, in the bottom of *Massachusetts-Bay* is *Boston* (whose longitude is 315 degrees, or as others will 322 degrees and 30 seconds.) So called from a Town in *Lincolnshire*,

which in the *Saxons* time bare the name of *St. Bortolph*, and is the Metropolis of this Colony, or rather of the whole Countrey, situated upon a *Peninsula*, about four miles in compass, almost square, and invironed with the Sea, saving one small *Isthmus* which gives access to other Towns by land on the the South-side. The town hath two hills of equal height on the frontire part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superficies with some *Artillery* mounted, commanding any Ship as she sails into the Harbour within the still *Bay*; the other hill hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber and fill'd with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreamest part thereof, betwixt these two strong Arms, lyes a large *Cove* or *Bay*, on which the chiefest part of the Town is built, to the Northwest is a high mountain that out-tops all, with its three little rising hills on the summit called *Trumount*, this is furnished with a Beacon and great Guns, from hence you may [p. 162.] overlook all the Islands in the *Bay*, and descry such Ships as are upon the Coast; the houses are for the most part raised on the Seabanks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side the streets as in *London*, and furnished with many fair shops, their materials are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, with three meeting Houses or Churches, and a Town-house built upon pillars where the Merchants may confer, in the Chambers above they keep their monethly Courts. Their streets are many and large, paved with pebble stone, and the South-side adorned with Gardens and Orchards. The Town is rich and very populous, much frequented by strangers, here is the dwelling of their Governour. On the North-west and North-east two constant Fairs are kept for daily Traffick thereunto. On the South there is a small but pleasant Common where the Gallants a little before Sun-

set walk with their *Marmalet-Madams*, as we do in *Morefields*, &c. till the nine a clock Bell rings them home to their respective habitations, when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people. Two miles from the town, [p. 163.] at a place called *Muddy-River*, the Inhabitants have Farms, to which belong rich arable grounds and meadows where they keep their Cattle in the Summer, and bring them to *Boston* in the Winter; the Harbour before the Town is filled with Ships and other Vessels for most part of the year.

Hingham is a Town situated upon the Sea-coasts, South-east of *Charles-River*: here is great store of Timber, deal-boards, masts for Ships, white-Cedar, and fish is here to be had.

Dedham an inland-town ten miles from *Boston* in the County of *Suffolk*, well watered with many pleasant streams, and abounding with Garden fruit; the Inhabitants are Husband-men, somewhat more than one hundred Families, having store of Cattle and Corn.

The Town of *Waymouth* lyes open to the Sea, on the East Rocks and Swamps, to the South-ward good store of *Deer*, arable land and meadows.

On the North-side of *Boston* flows *Charles-River*, which is about six fathom deep, many small Islands lye to the Bayward, and hills on either side the River, a very good harbour, here may forty Ships ride, the passage from *Boston* to *Charles-Town* is by a Ferry worth forty or fifty pounds a [p. 164.] year, and is a quarter of a mile over. The River *Mistick* runs through the right side of the Town, and by its near approach to *Charles-River* in one place makes a very narrow neck, where stands most part of the Town, the market-place not far from the waterside is surrounded with houses, forth of which issue two streets orderly built and beautified with

Orchards and Gardens, their meeting-house stands on the North-side of the market, having a little hill behind it ; there belongs to this Town one thousand and two hundred Acres of arable, four hundred head of Cattle, and as many Sheep, these also provide themselves Farms in the Country.

Up higher in *Charles-River* west-ward is a broad Bay two miles over, into which runs *Stony-River* and *Muddy-River*.

Towards the South-west in the middle of the *Bay* is a great Oyster-bank, towards the North-west is a Creek ; upon the shore is situated the village of *Medford*, it is a mile and half from *Charles-town*.

At the bottom of the *Bay* the River begins to be narrower, half a quarter of a mile broad ; by the North-side of the River is *New-town*, three miles from *Charles-town*, a league and half by water, it was first [p. 165.] intended for a City, the neatest and best compacted Town, having many fair structures and handsom contrived streets ; the Inhabitants rich, they have many hundred Acres of land paled with one common fence a mile and half long, and store of Cattle ; it is now called *Cambridge* where is a Colledg for Students of late ; it stretcheth from *Charles-River* to the Southern part of *Merrimach-River*.

Half a mile thence on the same side of the River is *Water-Town* built upon one of the branches of *Charles-River*, very fruitful and of large extent, watered with many pleasant springs and small Rivulets, the Inhabitants live scatteringly. Within half a mile is a great pond divided between the two Towns, a mile and half from the Town is a fall of fresh waters which conveigh themselves into the Ocean through *Charles-River*, a little below the fall of waters they have a wair to catch fish, wherein they take store of *Basse*, *Shades*, *Alwives*, *Frost fish*, and *Smelts*, in two tides they have gotten one hundred thousand of

these fishes. They have store of Cattle and Sheep, and near upon two thousand Acres of arable land, Ships of small burden may come up to these Towns.

[p. 166.] We will now return to *Charles-Town* again, where the River *Mistick* runs on the North-side of the Town (that is the right side as before-said) where on the Northwest-side of the River is the Town of *Mistick*, three miles from *Charles-town*, a league and half by water, a scattered village; at the head of this River are great and spacious ponds, full of *Alewives* in the spring-time, the notedst place for this sort of fish. On the West of this River is Merchant *Craddock's* plantation, where he impaled a park.

Upon the same River and on the North-side is the Town of *Malden*.

The next Town is *Winnisimet* a mile from *Charles-Town*, the River only parting them, this is the last Town in the still bay of *Massachusetts*.

Without *Pullin-point*, six miles North-east from *Winnisimet* is *Cawgust*, or *Sagust*, or *Sangut* now called *Linn*, situated at the bottom of a *Bay* near a River, which upon the breaking up of winter with a furious Torrent vents it self into the Sea, the Town consists of more than one hundred dwelling-houses, their Church being built on a level undefended from the North-west wind is made with steps descending [p. 167.] into the Earth, their streets are straight and but thin of houses, the people most husbandmen. At the end of the *Sandy beach* is a neck of land called *Nahant*, it is six miles in circumference. Black *William* an *Indian* Duke out of his generosity gave this to the *English*. At the mouth of the River runs a great Creek into a great marsh called *Rumney-marsh*, which is four miles long, and a mile broad, this Town hath the benefit of minerals of divers kinds, Iron, Lead, one Iron mill, store of Cattle, Arable land and meadow.

To the North-ward of *Linn* is *Marvil* or *Marble-head*, a small Harbour, the shore rockie, upon which the Town is built, consisting of a few scattered houses; here they have stages for fishermen, Orchards and Gardens, half a mile within land good pastures and Arable land.

Four miles North of *Marble-head* is situated *New-Salem* (whose longitude is 315 degrees, and latitude 42 degree 35 minutes) upon a plain, having a River on the South, and another on the North, it hath two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour which lyeth within *Darbie's* fort, they have store of Meadow and Arable, in this Town are some very rich Merchants.

[p. 168.] Upon the Northern Cape of the *Massachusetts*, that is *Cape-Ann*, a place of fishing is situated, the Town of *Glocester* where the *Massachusetts* Colony first set down, but *Salem* was the first Town built in that Colony, here is a Harbour for Ships.

To the North-ward of *Cape-Ann* is *Wonasquam*, a dangerous place to sail by in stormie weather, by reason of the many Rocks and foaming breakers.

The next Town that presents it self to view is *Ipswich* situated by a fair River, whose first rise is from a Lake or Pond twenty mile up, betaking its course through a hideous *Swamp* for many miles, a Harbour for *Bears*, it issueth forth into a large *Bay*, (where they fish for *Whales*) due East over against the Islands of *Sholes* a great place of fishing, the mouth of that River is barr'd; it is a good haven-town, their meeting-house or Church is beautifully built, store of Orchards and Gardens, land for husbandry and Cattle.

Wenham is an inland Town very well watered, lying between *Salem* and *Ipswich*, consisteth most of men of judgment and experience *in re rustica*, well stored with Cattle. At the first rise of *Ipswich-River* in the highest part of the land near the head [p.169.]

springs of many considerable Rivers; *Shashin* one of the most considerable branches of *Merrimach* River, and also at the rise of *Mistick*-River, and ponds full of pleasant springs, is situated *Wooburn* an inland-Town four miles square beginning at the end of *Charles-Town* bounds.

Six miles from *Ipswich* North-east is *Rowley*, most of the Inhabitants have been Clothiers.

Nine miles from *Salem* to the North is *Agowamine*, the best and spaciousest place for a plantation, being twenty leagues to the Northward of *New-Plimouth*.

Beyond *Agowamin* is situated *Hampton* near the Sea-coasts not far from *Merrimach*-River, this Town is like a *Flower-deluce*, having two streets of houses wheeling off from the main body thereof, they have great store of salt Marshes and Cattle, the land is fertile, but full of Swamps and Rocks.

Eight miles beyond *Agowamin* runneth the delightful River *Merrimach* or *Monumach*, it is navigable for twenty miles, and well stored with fish, upon the banks grow stately Oaks, excellent Ship timber, not inferiour to our *English*.

On the South-side of *Merrimach*-River [p. 170.] twelve miles from *Ipswich*, and near upon the wide venting streams thereof is situated *Newberrie*, the houses are scattering, well stored with meadow, upland, and Arable, and about four hundred head of Cattle.

Over against *Newberrie* lyes the Town of *Salisbury*, where a constant Ferry is kept, the River being here half a mile broad, the Town scatteringly built.

Hard upon the River of *Shashin* where *Merrimach* receives this and the other branch into its body, is seated *Andover*, stored with land and Cattle.

Beyond this Town by the branch of *Merrimach*-River called *Shashin*, lyeth *Haverhill*, a Town of large extent about ten miles in length, the inhabitants Husbandmen, this Town is not far from *Salisbury*.

Over against *Haverhill* lyeth the Town of *Malden*, which I have already mentioned.

In a low level upon a fresh River a branch of *Merrimach* is seated *Concord*, the first inland Town in *Massachusetts* patent, well stored with fish, *Salmon*, *Dace*, *Alewife*, *Shade*, &c. abundance of fresh marsh and Cattle, this place is subject to bitter storms.

[p. 171.] The next town is *Sudbury* built upon the same River where *Concord* is, but further up; to this Town likewise belongs great store of fresh marshes, and Arable land, and they have many Cattle, it lyeth low, by reason whereof it is much indammaged with floods.

In the Centre of the Countrey by a great pond side, and not far from *Woeburn*, is situated *Reading*, it hath two mills, a saw-mill and a Corn-mill, and is well stockt with Cattle.

The Colony is divided into four Counties, the first is *Suffolk*, to which belongs *Dorchester*, *Roxbury*, *Weymouth*, *Hingham*, *Dedham*, *Braintree*, *Sittuate*, *Hull*, *Nantascot*, *Wisagusset*. The second County is *Middlesex*, to this belongs *Charles-town*, *Watertown*, *Cambridge*, *Concord*, *Sudbury*, *Woeburn*, *Reading*, *Malden*, *Mistick*, *Medford*, *Winnisimet* and *Marble-head*. To the Third County which is *Essex*, belongs *New-Salem*, *Linn*, *Ipswich*, *New-Berry*, *Rowley*, *Glocester*, *Wenham* and *Andover*. The fourth County is *Northfolk*, to this belongs *Salisbury*, *Hamp-ton* and *Haverhill*.

In the year of our Lord 1628, Mr. *John Endicot* with a number of *English* people set down by *Cape-Ann* at that place called [p. 172.] afterwards *Gloster*, but their abiding-place was at *Salem*, where they built a Town in 1639. and there they gathered their first Church, consisting but of Seventy persons; but afterwards increased to forty three Churches in joynt Communion with one another, and in those Churches

were about Seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty Souls, Mr. *Endicot* was chosen their first Governour.

The Twelfth of *July Anno Dom.* 1630. *John Wenthorp* Esq; and the assistants, arrived with the Patent for the *Massachusetts*, the passage of the people that came along with him in ten Vessels came to 95000 pound: the Swine, Goats, Sheep, Neat, Horses cost to transport 12000 pound, besides the price they cost them; getting food for the people till they could clear the ground of wood amounted to 45000 pound: Nails, Glass, and other Iron work for their meeting and dwelling houses 13000 pound; Arms, Powder, Bullet, and Match, together with their Artillery 22000 pound, the whole sum amounts unto One hundred ninety two thousand pounds. They set down first upon *Noddles-Island*, afterwards they began to build upon the main. In 1637. there were not many houses in the Town of [p. 173.] *Boston*, amongst which were two houses of entertainment called Ordinaries, into which if a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that Office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the Officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop.

The Patent was granted to Sir *Henry Rosewell*, Sir *John Young* Knight, *Thomas Southcoat*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whitecomb*, and to their Heirs, Assigns, and Associats for ever. These took to them other Associats, as Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, *Samuel Aldersey*, *Jo. Ven*, *Matth. Craddock*, *George Harwood*, *Increase Nowell*, *Rich. Perry*, *Rich. Bellingham*, *Nathaniel Wright*,⁺ *Samuel Vasell*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Thomas Goffe*,^{*} *Thomas Adams*, *Jo. Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Thomas Hutchins*, *Will. Vasell*, *Will. Pinchon* and *George*

Foxcroft. Matth. Craddock was ordained and constituted Governour by Patent, and *Thomas Goffe* Deputy Governour of the said Company, ther est Assistants.

That part of *New-England* granted to [p. 174.] these fore-mentioned Gentlemen lyeth and extendeth between a great River called *Monumach*, alias *Merrimach*, and the often frequented *Charles-River*, being in the bottom of a *Bay* called *Massachusetts*, alias *Mattachusetts*, alias *Massatusets-bay*; and also those lands within the space of three *English* miles, on the South part of the said *Charles-River*, or any or every part, and all the lands within three miles to the Southward part of the *Massachusetts-bay*, and all those lands which lye within the space of three *English* miles to the North-ward of the River *Merrimach*, or to the North-ward of any and every part thereof, and all lands whatsoever within the limits aforesaid, North and South, in lattitude, and in breadth and length and longitude of and within all the main land there, from the *Atlantick* and Western-Sea and Ocean on the East-part, to the South-Sea on the West-part, and all lands and grounds, place and places, soils, woods and wood-groves, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, fishings and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the aforesaid lands and limits, and every part and parcel thereof, and also all Islands lying in *America* aforesaid in the said Seas, or either of them on the Western or Eastern [p.175.] Coasts or parts of the said tracts of lands. Also all mines and minerals as well Royal of Gold, Silver, as others &c. With power to rule and govern both Sea and land, holden of the East mannor of *Greenwich* in *Com. Kent*, in free and common soccage, yielding and paying to the King the fifth part of the Oar of Gold and Silver which shall be found at any time.

This Colony is a body Corporated and Politick in

fact by the name of the Governour and Company of the *Mattachusetts-bay* in *New-England*.

That there shall be one Governour, and Deputy-Governour, and Eighteen Assistants of the same Company from time to time.

That the Governour and Deputy-Governour, Assistants and all other Officers to be chosen from amongst the freemen, the last *Wednesday* in *Easter-term* yearly in the general Court.

The Governour to take his Corporal Oath to be true and faithful to the Government, and to give the same Oath to the other Officers.

[p. 176.] To hold a Court once a month, and any seven to be a sufficient Court.

And that there shall be four general Courts kept in Term time, and one great general and solemn Assembly to make Laws and Ordinances ; So they be not contrary and repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm of *England*. Their form of Government and what their Laws concern, you may see in the ensuing Table.

[p 177.]

Their Laws Concern	1 their person	1 Magistrates.	Governour						
			Assistants.	1 Counsellors.					
				2 Judges	1 of the whole Countrey.				
					2 of each Town.				
		2 People.	1 of the whole Countrey,		1 for their protection.				
			2 of each Town, concerning		2 for their provision.				
					1 their lands.				
					2 their Treasure.				
	2 or causes.	1 Civil & they concern	1 The publick State, or						
			2 Particular persons.		1 in their personal Inheritances, and proprieties				
			Whether between the members of their own Commonwealth & they are.	1 either of Trespasses or	2 In their mutual commerce, whether in way				
				2 of Capital Crimes.		1 Of buying and selling.			
		2 Criminal.				2 Lending and borrowing.			
			2 Between Burgesses and the people, and for- raign Nations, whether in case						
						1 That we do them wrong.			
						2 That they do us wrong.			

[p. 178.] *Anno Dom.* 1646. they drew up a body of their Laws for the well ordering of their Commonwealth, as they not long since termed it.

The military part of their Commonwealth is governed by one Major-General, and three Serjeant Majors; to the Major-General belongeth particularly the Town of *Boston*, to the three Serjeant Majors belong the four Counties, but with submission

to the Major-General. The first Serjeant Major chosen for the County of *Suffolk* was Major *Gibbons*. For the County of *Middlesex* Major *Sedgwick*. For the County of *Essex* and *Northfolk* Major *Denison*.

Every Town sends two Burgesses to their great and solemn general Court.

For being drunk, they either whip or impose a fine of Five shillings ; so for swearing and cursing, or boring through the tongue with a hot Iron.

For kissing a woman in the street, though in way of civil salute, whipping or a fine.

For Single fornication whipping or a fine.

For Adultery, put to death, and so for Witchcraft.

An *English* woman suffering an *Indian* to have carnal knowledge of her, had an *Indian* cut out exactly in red cloth sewed [p. 179.] upon her right Arm, and enjoined to wear it twelve moneths.

Scolds they gag and set them at their doors for certain hours, for all comers and goers by to gaze at.

Stealing is punished with restoring four fould, if able ; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor debtors.

If you desire a further inspection to their Laws, I must refer you to them being in print, too many for to be inserted into this Relation.

The Governments of their Churches are Independent and Presbyterial, every Church (for so they call their particular Congregations) have one Pastor, one Teacher, Ruling Elders and Deacons.

They that are members of their Churches have the Sacraments administred to them, the rest that are out of the pale as they phrase it, are denyed it. Many hundred Souls there be amongst them grown up to men & womens estate that were never Christened.

They judge every man and woman to pay Five shillings *per* day, who comes not to their Assemblies,

and impose fines of forty shillings and fifty shillings on such as meet together to worship God.

[p. 180.] Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again.

Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

The Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical is in the hands of the thorow-pac'd Independents and rigid Presbyterians.

The grose *Goddons*, or great masters, as also some of their Merchants are damnable rich ; generally all of their judgement, inexplicably covetous and proud, they receive your gifts but as an homage or tribute due to their transcendency, which is a fault their Clergie are also guilty of, whose living is upon the bounty of their hearers. On Sundays in the afternoon when Sermon is ended the people in the Galleries come down and march two a breast up one Ile and down the other, until they come before the desk, for Pulpit they have none : before the desk is a long pue where the Elders and Deacons sit, one of them with a mony box in his hand, into which the people as they pass put their offering, some a shilling, some two shillings, half a Crown, five shillings according to their ability and good will, after this they conclude with a Psalm ; but this by the way.

The chiefest objects of discipline, true Religion, [p. 181.] and morality they want, some are of a *Linsie-woolsie* disposition, of several professions in Religion, all like *Æthiopians* white in the teeth only, full of ludification and injurious dealing, and cruelty the extreamest of all vices. The chiefest cause of *Noah's* floud, Prov. 27. 26. *Agni erant ad vestitum tuum*, is a frequent Text among them, no trading for a stranger with them, but with a *Græcian* faith, which is not to part with your ware without ready money, for they are generally in their payments rescusant and slow, great Syndics, or censors, or controllers of other mens manners, and savagely factious amongst themselves.

There are many strange women too, (in *Salomon's* sence) more the pitty, when a woman hath lost her Chastity, she hath no more to lose.

But mistake me not to general speeches, none but the guilty take exceptions, there are many sincere and religious people amongst them, descryed by their charity and humility (the true Characters of Christianity) by their Zenodochie or hospitality, by their hearty submission to their Sovereign the King of *England*, by their diligent and honest labour in their callings, amongst these we may account the Royalists, who are lookt upon with an evil eye, and [p. 182.] tongue boulded or punished if they chance to lash out; the tame *Indian* (for so they call those that are born in the Countrey) are pretty honest too, and may in good time be known for honest Kings men.

They have store of Children, and are well accommodated with Servants, many hands make light work, many hands make a full fraught, but many mouths eat up all, as some old planters have experimented; of these some are *English*, others *Negroes*: of the *English* there are can eat till they sweat, and work till they freeze; & of the females that are like Mrs. *Winters* paddocks, very tender fingerd in cold weather.

There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparitions if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women; of a Ship, and a great red Horse standing by the main-mast, the Ship being in a small *Cove* to the East-ward vanished of a suddain. Of a Witch that appeared aboard of a Ship twenty leagues to Sea to a Mariner who took up the Carpenters broad Axe and cleft her head with it, the Witch dying of the wound at home, with such like bugbears and *Terriculamentaes*.

[p. 183.] It is published in print, that there are not much less than Ten hundred thousand souls *English, Scotch and Irish* in *New-England*.

Most of their first Magistrates are dead, not above two left in the *Massachusetts*, but one at *Plimouth*, one at *Connecticut*, and one at *New-haven*, they having done their generation work are laid asleep in their beds of rest till the day of doom, there and then to receive their reward according as they have done be it good or evil. Things of great indurance we see come to ruine, and alter, as great Flouds and Seas dried up ; mighty hills and mountains sunk into hollow bottoms : marvel not then that man is mortal, since his nature is unconstant and transitory.

The Diseases that the *English* are afflicted with, are the same that they have in *England*, with some proper to *New-England*, griping of the belly (accompanied with Feaver and Ague) which turns to the bloody-flux, a common disease in the Countrey, which together with the small pox hath carried away abundance of their children, for this the common medicines amongst the poorer sort are Pills of Cotton swallowed, or Sugar and Sallet-oyl boiled thick and made into Pills, Alloes pulverized [p. 184.] and taken in the pap of an Apple. I helped many of them with a sweating medicine only.

Also they are troubled with a disease in the mouth or throat which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time, Quinsies, and Imposthumations of the Almonds, with great distempers of cold. Some of our *New-England* writers affirm that the *English* are never or very rarely heard to sneeze or cough, as ordinarily they do in *England*, which is not true. For a cough or stitch upon cold, Wormwood, Sage, Marygolds, and Crabs-claws boiled in posset-drink and drunk off very warm, is a sovereign medicine.

Pleurisies and Empyemas are frequent there, both cured after one and the same way ; but the last is a

desperate disease and kills many. For the Pleurisie I have given *Coriander*-seed prepared, *Carduus* seed, and *Harts-horn* pulverized with good success, the dose one dram in a cup of wine.

The Stone terribly afflicts many, and the Gout, and Sciatica, for which take Onions roasted, peeled and stampt, then boil them with neats-feet oyl and Rhum to a plaister, and apply it to the hip.

Head-aches are frequent, Palsies, Dropsies, Worms, Noli-me-tangeres, Cancers, [p. 185.] pestilent Feavers. Scurvies, the body corrupted with Sea-diet, Beef and Pork tainted, Butter and Cheese corrupted, fish rotten, a long voyage, coming into the searching sharpness of a purer climate, causeth death and sickness amongst them.

Men and Women keep their complexions, but lose their Teeth: the Women are pittifully Tooth-shaken; whether through the coldness of the climate, or by sweet-meats of which they have store, I am not able to affirm, for the Toothach I have found the following medicine very available, Brimstone and Gunpowder compounded with butter, rub the mandible with it, the outside being first warm'd.

For falling off of the hair occasioned by the coldness of the climate, and to make it curl, take of the strong water called Rhum and wash or bath your head therewith, it is an admirable remedie.

For kided heels, to heal them take the yellowest part of Rozen, pulverize it and work it in the palm of your hand with the tallow of a Candle to a salve, and lay of it to the sore.

For frozen limbs, a plaister framed with Soap, Bay-salt, and Molosses is sure, or Cow-dung boiled in milk and applyed.

For Warts and Corns, bathe them with Sea-water.

[p. 186.] There was in the Countrey not long since living two men that voided worms seven times

their length. Likewise a young maid that was troubled with a sore pricking at her heart, still as she lean'd her body, or stept down with her foot to the one side or the other ; this maid during her distemper voided worms of the length of a finger all hairy with black heads ; it so fell out that the maid dyed ; her friends desirous to discover the cause of the distemper of her heart, had her open'd, and found two crooked bones growing upon the top of the heart, which as she bowed her body to the right or left side would job their points into one and the same place, till they had worn a hole quite through. At *Cape-Portus* lived an honest poor planter of middle-age, and strong of body, but so extreemly troubled with two lumps (or wens as I conjectured) within him, on each side one, that he could not rest for them day nor night, being of great weight, and swagging to the one side or the other, according to the motion or posture of his body ; at last he dyed in *Anno* 1668 as I think, or thereabouts. Some Chirurgeons there were that proffered to open him, but his wife would not assent to it, and so his disease was hidden in the Grave.

[p. 187.] It is the opinion of many men, that the blackness of the *Negroes* proceeded from the curse upon *Cham's* posterity, others again will have it to be the property of the climate where they live. I pass by other Philosophical reasons and skill, only render you my experimental knowledge : having a *Barbarie-moor* under cure, whose finger (prickt with the bone of a fish) was Impostumated, after I had lanc'd it and let out the Corruption the skin began to rise with proud flesh under it ; this I wore away, and having made a sound bottom I incarnated it, and then laid on my skinning plaister, then I perceived that the *Moor* had one skin more than *Englishmen* ; the skin that is basted to the flesh is bloudy and of the same Azure colour with the veins,

but deeper than the colour of our *Europeans* veins. Over this is an other skin of a tawny colour, and upon that *Epidermis* or *Cuticula*, the flower of the skin (which is that Snakes cast) and this is tawny also, the colour of the blew skin mingling with the tawny makes them appear black. I do not peremptorily affirm this to be the cause, but submit to better judgment. More rarities of this nature I could make known unto you, but I hasten to an end; only a word or two of our *English* Creatures, and then to Sea again.

[p. 188.] I have given you an Account of such plants as prosper there, and of such as do not; but so briefly, that I conceive it necessary to afford you some what more of them. *Plantain* I told you sprang up in the Countrey after the *English* came, but it is but one sort, and that is broad-leaved plantain.

Gilliflowers thrive exceedingly there and are very large, the Collibuy or humming-Bird is much pleased with them. Our *English* dames make Syrup of them without fire, they steep them in Wine till it be of a deep colour, and then they put to it spirit of *Vitriol*, it will keep as long as the other.

Eglantine or sweet *Bryer* is best sown with *Juniper-berries*, two or three to one *Eglantine-berry* put into a hole made with a stick, the next year separate and remove them to your banks, in three years time they will make a hedge as high as a man, which you may keep thick and handsome with cutting.

Our *English* *Clover-grass* sown thrives very well.

Radishes I have seen there as big as a mans Arm.

Flax and *Hemp* flourish gallantly.

Our *Wheat* i. e. summer *Wheat* many [p. 189.] times changeth into *Rye*, and is subject to be blasted, some say with a vapour breaking out of the earth, others, with a wind North-east or North-west, at such time as it flowereth, others again say it is with lightning. I have observed, that when a land of

Wheat hath been smitten with a blast at one Corner, it hath infected the rest in a weeks time, it begins at the stem (which will be spotted and goes upwards to the ear making it fruitless: in 1669 the pond that lyeth between *Water-town* and *Cambridge*, cast its fish dead upon the shore, forc't by a mineral vapour as was conjectured.)

Our fruit-Trees prosper abundantly, *Apple-trees*, *Pear-trees*, *Quince-trees*, *Cherry-trees*, *Plum-trees*, *Barberry-trees*. I have observed with admiration, that the Kernels sown or the Succors planted produce as fair & good fruit, without grafting, as the Tree from whence they were taken: the Countrey is replenished with fair and large Orchards. It was affirmed by one Mr. *Woolcut* (a magistrate in *Connecticut* Colony) at the Captains Messe (of which I was) aboard the Ship I came home in, that he made Five hundred Hogsheads of *Syder* out of his own Orchard in one year. *Syder* is very plentiful in the Countrey, ordinarily sold for Ten shillings a Hogshead. At the [p. 190.] Tap-houses in *Boston* I have had an Ale-quart spic'd and sweetned with Sugar for a groat, but I shall insert a more delicate mixture of it. Take of *Maligo-Raisons*, stamp them and put milk to them, and put them in an *Hippocras* bag and let it drain out of it self, put a quantity of this with a spoonful or two of Syrup of *Clove-Gilliflowers* into every bottle, when you bottle your *Syder*, and your *Planter* will have a liquor that exceeds *passada*, the Nectar of the Countrey.

The *Quinces*, *Cherries*, *Damsons*, set the Dames a work, *Marmalad* and preserved *Damsons* is to be met with in every house. It was not long before I left the Countrey that I made *Cherry wine*, and so may others, for there are good store of them both red and black.

Their fruit-trees are subject to two diseases, the *Meazels*, which is when they are burned and scorched.

ed with the Sun, and lowness, when the wood-peckers job holes in their bark: the way to cure them when they are lowness is to bore a hole into the main root with an Augur, and pour in a quantity of Brandie or Rhum, and then stop it up with a pin made of the same Tree.

The first Neat carried thither was to [p. 191.] *New-Plimouth Anno 1624* these thrive and increase exceedingly, but grow less in body than those they are bred of yearly.

Horses there are numerous, and here and there a good one, they let them run all the year abroad, and in the winter seldom provide any fother for them, (except it be Magistrates, great Masters and Troopers Horses) which brings them very low in flesh till the spring, and so crest fallen, that their crests never rise again. Here I first met with that excrescence called *Hippomanes*, which by some is said to grow on the forehead of a foal new cast, and that the Mare bites it off as soon as foaled; but this is but a fable. A neighbour at *Black-point* having a Mare with foal tyed her up in his Barn, the next day she foaled, and the man standing by spied a thing like a foals tongue to drop out of the foals mouth, which he took up and presented me with it, telling me withall, that he had heard many wonderful things reported of it, and that it was rank poyson. I accepted of it gladly and brought it home with me, when it was dry it lookt like Glew, but of a dark brown colour; to omit all other uses for it, this I can assure you that a piece of it soakt in warm water or cold, will take spots out of woollen Clothes being rub'd thereon.

[p. 192.] *Goats* were the first small Cattle they had in the Countrey, he was counted no body that had not a Trip or Flock of *Goats*: a hee-*Goat* gelt at *Michaelmas* and turn'd out to feed will be fat in a moneths time, & is as good meat as a weather. I

was taught by a *Barbary Negro* a medicine which before I proceed any further I will impart unto you, and that was for a swelling under the throat. Take *Goats* hair and clay and boil them in fair water to a poultis, and apply it very warm.

Sheep now they have good store, these and *Goats* bring forth two, sometimes three *Lambs* and *Kids* at a time.

Hogs are here innumerable, every planter hath a *Heard*, when they feed upon shell-fish and the like, as they do that are kept near the Sea and by the fishers stages, they tast fishie and rank ; but fed with white Oak-Acorns, or *Indian-Corn* and Pease there is not better Pork in the whole world : besides they sometimes have the *Meazels*, which is known when their hinder legs are shorter than ordinary.

Catts and *Dogs* are as common as in *England*, but our *Dogs* in time degenerate ; yet they have gallant *Dogs* both for fowl & wild Beasts all over the Countrey : the *Indians* store themselves with them, being much [p. 193.] better for their turns, than their breed of wild dogs, which are (as I conceive) like to the *Tasso-canes* or mountain dogs in *Italy*.

Of *English* Poultry too therẽ is good store, they have commonly three broods in a year ; the hens by that time they are three years old have spurs like the Cock, but not altogether so big, but as long, they use to crow often, which is so rare a thing in other Countries, that they have a proverb *Gallina recinit* a Hen crowes. And in *England* it is accounted ominous ; therefore our Farmers wives as soon as they hear a Hen crow wring off her neck, and so they serve their spur'd Hens, because they should not break their Eggs with their spurs when they sit. In the year 1637. which was when I went my first Voyage to *New-England* a good woman brought aboard with her a lusty Cock and Hen that had

horns like spurs growing out on each side of their Combs, but she spoiled the breed, killing of them at Sea, to feed upon, for she loved a fresh bit.

In *Anno* 1647. Certain *Indians* coming to our house clad in *Deere-skin* coats, desired leave to lodge all night in our kitchin, it being a very rainie season, some of them lay down in the middle of the Room, and others under the Table, in the morning they [p. 194.] went away before any of the people were up ; the poultry had their breakfast usually in cold weather in the kitchin, and because they should not hinder the passing of the people too and again, it was thrown under the Table ; in the afternoon they began to hang the wing, in the night the sickest dropt dead from the perch, and the next day most of them dyed ; we could not of a sudden gness at the cause, but thought the *Indians* had either bewitched, or poysoned them : it came at last into my head, seeing their Crops very full, or rather much swell'd, to open them, where I found as much *Deers* hair as Corn, they that pickt up none of the hair lived and did well.

In the year 1667. *October* the 7th amongst our poultry we had one white game Cock of the *French* kind, a bird of high price, when he was three years old he drooped and his spirit was quite gone ; one of our *Negro* maids finding him in the yard dead brought him into the house and acquainted me with it. I caused her to draw him, when his guts were all drawn out she put in her hand again and felt a lump in his body as big as a half-penny loaf, strongly fastned to his back, and much ado she had to pull it out ; I found it to be a tuff bag, containing stuff like liver, and very heavie, at one end [p. 195.] of the bag, another little bag filled with a fatty matter, his gizzard, liver, and heart wasted. The Pipe or Roupe is a common disease amongst their poultry infecting one another with it. I conceive it cometh

of a cold moisture of the brain, they will be very sleepe with it, the best cure for it is *Garlick*, and smoaking of them with dried *Hysope*.

In *September* following my Arrivage in the *Massachusetts* about the twelfth hour of the eight day, I shipt my self and goods in a Bark bound to the Eastward, meeting as we sailed out the *Dutch* Governour of *New-Netherlands*, who was received and entertained at *Boston* by the Governour and Magistrates with great solemnity. About nine of the clock at night we came to *Salem* and lay aboard all night.

The Ninth day we went ashore to view the Town which is a mile long, and lay that night at a Merchants house.

The Tenth day we came from *Salem* about twelve of the clock back to *Marble-head*: here we went ashore and recreated our selves with Musick and a cup of Sack and saw the Town, about ten at night we returned to our Bark and lay aboard.

The Eleventh being Saturday, and the wind contrary, we came to *Charles-town*, [p. 196.] again about twelve of the clock we took store of *Mackarel*.

The Thirteenth being Monday, we went aboard again about nine of the clock in the morning and out to Sea, about Sun going down we took store of *Mackarel*. The wind was scanty all along, and in the night time we durst not bear much sail, because of the Rocks and foaming breakers that lay in our way.

The Fourteenth day we came up with *Pascataway*, or *Pascatique*, where there is a large River and a fair harbour, within here is seated a Colony, properly belonging to the Heirs of Captain *Mason* sometime since of *London*; but taken into the Colony of *Massachusetts*, by what right I will not here discuss.

The chiefest places of note are the *Bay* or *Harbour* North from *Boston*, on the West-side of the Harbour are built many fair houses, and so in another part called *Strawberry-bank*.

By the Harbour is an Island which of late days is filled with buildings, besides there are two Towns more seated up higher upon the River, the one called *Dover*; the River-banks are clothed with stately Timber, and here are two miles meadow land and arable enough; the other town is called *Excester*.

[p. 197.] At the River *Pascataway* begins the Province of *Main*: having pleased our selves with the sight of *Pascataway* at a distance we sailed on, and came to *Black-point*.

The Fifteenth day, about eight of the clock at night, where the next day I was shrewdly pinched with a great frost, but having two or three bottles of excellent *Passada*, and good cheer bestowed upon me I made a shift to bear it out, and now we are in the Province of *Main*.

The Province of *Main*, (or the Countrey of the *Traquoes*) heretofore called *Laconia* or *New-Summersetshire*, is a Colony belonging to the Grandson of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* of *Ashton Phillips* in the County of *Somerset*, the said Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* did expend in planting several parts of *New-England* above Twenty thousand pounds *sterling*; and when he was between three and four score years of age did personally engage in our Royal Martyrs service; and particularly in the Seige of *Bristow*, and was plundered and imprisoned several times, by reason whereof he was discountenanced by the pretended Commissioners for forraign plantations, and his Province incroached upon by the *Massachusetts* Colony, who assumed the Government thereof. His Majestie that now Reigneth sent over his [p. 198.] Commissioners to reduce them within their bounds, and to put Mr. *Gorges* again into possession. But there falling out a contest about it, the Commissioners settled it in the Kings name (until the business should be determined before his Majestie) and gave Commissions to the Judge of their Courts, and the

Justices to Govern and Act according to the Laws of *England*, & by such Laws of their own as were not repugnant to them: But as soon as the Commissioners were returned for *England*, the *Massachusetts* enter the province in a hostile manner with a Troop of Horse and Foot and turn'd the Judge and his Assistants off the Bench, Imprisoned the Major or Commander of the Militia, threatned the Judge, and some others that were faithful to Mr. *Gorges* interests. I could discover many other foul proceedings, but for some reasons which might be given, I conceive it not convenient to make report thereof to vulgar ears; & *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*. Onely this I could wish, that there might be some consideration of the great losses, charge and labour, which hath been sustained by the Judge, and some others for above thirty years in upholding the rights of Mr. *Gorge* and his Sacred Majesties Dominion against a many stubborn and elusive people.

[p. 199.] *Anno Dom.* 1623. Mr. *Robert Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* brother had for his good service granted him by Patent from the Council of *Plimouth* all that part of the Land commonly called *Massachusick*, situated on the North-side of the Bay of *Massachusetts*.

Not long after this Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* had granted to him by Patent from the middest of *Merri-mack*-River to the great River *Sagadehock*, then called *Laconia*.

In 1635. Capt *William Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando's* Nephew, was sent over Governour of the Province of *Main*, then called *New-Summersetshire*.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* received a Charter-Royal from King *Charles* the first the third of *April* in the Fifteenth of his Raign, granting to him all that part and portion of *New-England*, lying and being between the River of *Pascataway*, that is, beginning at the entrance of *Pascataway-harbour*, and so to pass up

the same into the River of *Newichawanoë* or *Neghechewanck*, and through the same unto the farthest head thereof aforesaid, North-eastward along the Sea-coasts, for Sixty miles to *Sagadehoc*-River to *Kenebeck*, even as far as the head thereof, and up into the main land North-westward for the space of one hundred and twenty [p. 200.] miles. To these Territories are adjoyned the North half-Isle of *Sholes*, with several other Islands, it lyeth between 44 degrees and 45 of Northerly latitude. The River *Canada* on the North-east the Sea coast South, amongst many large Royalties, Jurisdictions and Immunities was also granted to the said Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, the same Royalties, priviledges and franchises as are, or of right ought to be enjoyed by the Bishop of *Durham* in the County Palatine of *Durham*; the planters to pay for every hundred Acres of land yearly, two shillings six pence, that is such land as is given to them and their Heirs for ever.

The Officers by Patent are a Deputy Governour, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Marshal for Souldiers, an Admiraltie for Sea affairs, and a Judge of the Admiraltie, a Master of Ordinance, a Secretary, &c.

Towns there are not many in this province. *Kittery* situated not far from *Pascataway* is the most populous.

Next to that Eastward is seated by a River near the Sea *Gorgiana*, a Majoraltie, and the Metropolitan of the province.

Further to the Eastward is the Town of *Wells*.

Cape-Portus Eastward of that, where there is a Town by the Sea side of the same name, [p. 201.] the houses scatteringly built, all these Towns have store of salt and fresh marsh with arable land, and are well stockt with Cattle.

About eight or nine mile to the Eastward of *Cape-Portus*, is *Winter harbour*, a noted place for Fishers, here they have many stages.

Saco adjoins to this, and both make one scattering Town of large extent, well stored with Cattle, arable land and marshes, and a Saw-mill.

Six mile to the Eastward of *Saco* & forty mile from *Gorgiana* is seated the Town of *Black point*, consisting of about fifty dwelling houses, and a Magazine or *Doganne*, scatteringly built, they have store of neat and horses, of sheep near upon Seven or Eight hundred, much arable and Marsh salt and fresh, and a Corn-mill.

To the Southward of the *point* (upon which are stages for fishermen) lye two small Islands beyond the *point*, North-eastward runs the River *Spurwinch*.

Four miles from *Black-point*, one mile from *Spurwinch*-River Eastward lyeth *Richmans-Island*, whose longitude is 317 degrees 30 seconds, and latitude 43 degrees and 34 minutes, it is three mile in circumference, and hath a passable and gravelly ford on the [p, 202.] North-side, between the main and the Sea at low-water: here are found excellent Whetstones, and here likewise are stages for fishermen.

Nine mile Eastward of *Black-point* lyeth scatteringly the Town of *Casco* upon a large Bay, stored with Cattle, Sheep, Swine, abundance of marsh and Arable land, a Corn-mill or two, with stages for fishermen.

Further East-ward is the Town of *Kenebeck* seated upon the River.

Further yet East-ward is *Sagadehock*, where there are many houses scattering, and all along stages for fishermen, these too are stored with Cattle and Cornlands.

The mountains and hills that are to be taken notice of, are first *Acomenticus* hills, between *Kettery* and *Gorgiana*, the high hills of *Ossapey* to the Westward of *Saco* River, where the princely *Pilhanaw*

Ayries, the white mountains, to the North-ward of *Black-point*, the highest *Terrasse* in *New-England*, you have the description of it in my Treatise of the rarities of *New-England*.

A Neighbour of mine rashly wandering out after some stray'd Cattle, lost his way, and coming as we conceived by his Relation near to the head spring of some of the branches of *Black-point* River or *Saco-River*, [p. 203.] light into a Tract of land for God knowes how many miles full of delfes and dingles, and dangerous precipices, Rocks and inextricable difficulties which did justly daunt, yea quite deter him from endeavouring to pass any further: many such like places are to be met with in *New-England*.

The ponds or lakes in this province are very large and many, out of which the great Rivers have their original; we read of the lake *Balsena* that is thirty miles about, here are that come very near to it, stored with all sorts of fresh water fish; and if you will believe report, in one of them huge fishes like Whales are to be seen, and some of them have fair Islands in them. Twelve mile from *Casco-bay*, and passable for men and horses, is a lake called by the *Indians Sebug*, on the brink thereof at one end is the famous Rock shap'd like a *Moose-Deere* or *Helk*, Diaphanous, and called the *Moose-Rock*. Here are found stones like Crystal, and *Lapis Specularis* or *Muscovia* glass both white and purple.

On the East-side of *Black-point* River upon a plain, close to the Sea-bank is a pond two mile in compass, fish it produceth, but those very small and black, and a number of Frogs and Snakes, and much [p. 204.] frequented by wild-fowl, *Ducks*, *Teal*, and wild-*Swins*, and *Geese*, especially spring and fall when they pass along to the South-ward, and return again to the North-ward where they breed.

The principal Rivers in the province of *Main*, are *Pascataway-River*, *York-River*, *Kenibunck-River*, near

to this River clay bullets were cast up by a mineral vapour, this River is by the Town of *Wells*. Then *Saco-River* on the East-side of the Town, the shore Rockie all along on both sides, where musick echoes from several places : seven miles up the River is a great fall where abundance of *Salmon* and *Lamprons* are taken at the fall ; a great way up, the River runs upon the Rock, *in rupibus defendendo efficit rivos*, he cutteth out Rivers among the Rocks, saith *Job*, of the Almighty, *Job* 28. 10. A little above the fall is a saw-mill. Then *Black-point-River* divided into many branches ; this as most of the Rivers in *New-England*, is bar'd with a bank of Sand, where the *Indians* take *Sturgeon* and *Basse*. *Spur-vinck-River* is next, which by his near approach to *Black-point-river* maketh that neck of land almost an Island. Further East-ward is *Kenebeck-river* fifty leagues off of *New-Plimouth* East-ward, and *Pechipscut* famous [p. 205.] for multitudes of mighty large *Sturgeon*. The last river of the province East-ward is the great river *Sagadehock* where Sir *John Pophams* Colony seated themselves.

The chief harbours are *Cape-porpus*, *Winter-harbour*, in which are some small Islands, *Black-point*, *Richmans-Island*, *Casco-bay* the largest in the province full of Islands.

From *Sagadehock* to *Nova-Scotia* is called the Duke of *Yorke*s province, here *Pemmaquid*, *Montinicus*, *Mohegan*, *Capeanawhagen*, where Capt. *Smith* fisht for *Whales* ; *Muscataquid*, all fill'd with dwelling houses and stages for fishermen, and have plenty of Cattle, arable land and marshes.

Nova Scotia was sold by the Lord *Starling* to the *French*, and is now wholly in their possession.

Now we are come to *New-found-land*, which is over against the gulf of St. *Lawrence*, an Island near as spacious as *Ireland*, and lyeth distant from the Continent as far as *England* is from the nearest part

of *France*, and near half the way between *Ireland* and *Virginia*, its longitude is 334 degrees 20 seconds, and North latitude 46 degrees 30 minutes, or as others will 53 minutes. *The longitude of places are uncertainly reported, but in latitudes most agree.* [p. 206.] *Longitude is the distance of the meridian of any place from the meridian which passeth over the Isles of Azores, where the beginning of longitude is said to be. The meridian is a great circle dividing the Equinoctial at right Angles into two equal parts, passing also through both the Poles, and the Zenith, to which circle the Sun coming twice every 24 hours, maketh the middle of the day, and the middle of the night. Every place hath a several meridian, but they all meet in the poles of the world. Latitude is counted from the Equinoctial to the end of 30 degrees on each side thereof. The Equinoctial is a great circle imagined in the Heavens, also dividing the heavens into two equal parts, and lying just in the middle betwixt the two poles, being in compass from West to East, 360 degrees, every degree thereof on the terrestrial Globe vauing 20 English miles [leagues ?] or 60 miles.*

Into the Bay of St. *Lawrence* the River of St. *Lawrence* or *Canada* disimbogues it self, a River far exceeding any River in the elder world, thirty or forty mile over at the mouth, and in the Channel one hundred fathom deep ; it runs on the back-side of *New-England* and *Virginia* : the *French* (it is said) have gone up six weeks voyage in it, and have not yet discovered the spring-head : the longitude is 334 degrees [p. 207.] 11 seconds, in 50 degrees 21 minutes of North latitude. This may satisfie a modest Reader, and I hope yield no offence to any. I shall onely speak a word or two of the people in the province of *Main* and the *Dukes* province, and so conclude.

The people in the province of *Main* may be di-

vided into Magistrates, Husbandmen, or Planters, and fishermen; of the Magistrates some be Royalists, the rest perverse Spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others meer fishers.

Handicrafts-men there are but few, the Tumelor or Cooper, Smiths and Carpenters are best welcome amongst them, shop-keepers there are none, being supplied by the *Massachusetts* Merchants with all things they stand in need of, keeping here and there fair Magazines stored with *English* goods, but they set excessive prices on them, if they do not gain *Cent per Cent*, they cry out that they are losers, hence *English* shooes are sold for Eight and Nine shillings a pair, worsted stockins of Three shillings six pence a pair, for Seven and Eight shillings a pair, Douglass that is sold in *England* for one or two and twenty pence an ell, for four shillings a yard, Serges of two shillings or three shillings a yard, for Six and Seven [p. 208.] shillings a yard, and so all sorts of Commodities both for planters and fishermen, as Cables, Cordage, Anchors, Lines, Hooks, Nets, Canvas for sails, &c. Bisket twenty five shillings a hundred, Salt at an excessive rate, pickled-herrin for winter bait Four and five pound a barrel (with which they speed not so well as the waggish lad at *Cape-porpus*, who baited his hooks with the drown'd *Negro's* buttocks) so for Pork and Beef.

The planters are or should be restless pains takers, providing for their Cattle, planting and sowing of Corn, fencing their grounds, cutting and bringing home fuel, cleaving of claw-board and pipe-staves, fishing for fresh water fish and fowling takes up most of their time, if not all; the diligent hand maketh rich, but if they be of a droanish disposition as some are, they become wretchedly poor and miserable, scarce able to free themselves and family from importunate famine, especially in the winter for want of bread.

They have a custom of taking Tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals some-times four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily: the smoaking of Tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary much, and so doth sleep.

[p. 209.] *A Traveller five hours doth crave
To sleep, a Student seven will have,
And nine sleeps every Idle knave.*

The Physitian allowes but three draughts at a meal, the first for need, the second for pleasure, and the third for sleep; but little observed by them, unless they have no other liquor to drink but water. In some places where the springs are frozen up, or at least the way to their springs made unpassable by reason of the snow and the like, they dress their meat in *Aqua Cælestis*, i. e. melted snow, at other times it is very well cook't, and they feed upon (generally) as good flesh, Beef, Pork, Mutton, Fowl and fish as any is in the whole world besides.

Their Servants which are for the most part *English*, when they are out of their time, will not work under half a Crown a day, although it be for to make hay, and for less I do not see how they can, by reason of the dearness of clothing. If they hire them by the year, they pay them Fourteen or Fifteen pound, yea Twenty pound at the years end in Corn, Cattle and fish: some of these prove excellent fowlers, bringing in as many as will maintain their masters house; besides the profit that accrews by their feathers. [p. 210.] They use (when it is to be had) a great round shot, called *Barstable* shot, (which is best for fowl) made of a lead blacker than our common lead, to six pound of shot they allow one pound of powder, Cannon powder is esteemed best.

The fishermen take yearly upon the coasts many hundred kentals of Cod, hake, haddock, polluck &c.

which they split, salt and dry at their stages, making three voyages in a year. When they share their fish (which is at the end of every voyage) they separate the best from the worst, the first they call Merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up, which is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots; the second sort they call refuse fish, that is such as is salt burnt, spotted, rotten, and carelessly ordered: these they put off to the *Massachusetts* Merchants; the merchantable for thirty and two and thirty ryals a kental, (a kental is an hundred and twelve pound weight) the refuse for Nine shillings and Ten shillings a kental, the Merchant sends the merchantable fish to *Lisbonne, Bilbo, Burdeaux, Marsiles, Talloon, Rochel, Roan*, and other Cities of *France*, to the *Canaries* with claw-board and pipe-staves which is there and at the *Charibs* a prime Commodity: the refuse fish they put [p. 211.] off at the *Charib-Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c.* who feed their *Negroes* with it.

To every Shallop belong four fishermen, a Master or Steersman, a midship-man, and a Foremast-man, and a shore man who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles pitcht upon stakes breast high and tends their Cookery; these often get in one voyage Eight or Nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them little good, for the Merchant to increase his gains by putting off his Commodity in the midst of their voyages, and at the end thereof comes in with a walking Tavern, a Bark laden with the Legitimate bloud of the rich grape, which they bring from *Phial, Madera, Canaries*, with *Brandy, Rhum*, the *Barbadoes strong-water*, and *Tobacco*, coming ashore he gives them a Taster or two, which so charms them, that for no perswasions that their imployers can use will they go out to Sea, although fair and seasonable weather, for two or three days, nay sometimes a whole week till they

are wearied with drinking, taking ashore two or three Hogsheads of *Wine* and *Rhum* to drink off when the Merchant is gone. If a man of quality chance to come where they are roystering and guling in *Wine* with a dear felicity, he must be sociable and *Roly-poly* with them, taking off [p. 212.] their liberal cups as freely, or else be gone, which is best for him, for when *Wine* in their guts is at full Tide, they quarrel, fight and do one another mischief, which is the conclusion of their drunken computations. When the day of payment comes, they may justly complain of their costly sin of drunkenness, for their shares will do no more than pay the reckoning; if they save a Kental or two to buy shooes and stockings, shirts and wastcoats with, 'tis well, other-wayses they must enter into the Merchants books for such things as they stand in need off, becoming thereby the Merchants slaves, & when it riseth to a big sum are constrained to mortgage their plantation if they have any, the Merchant when the time is expired is sure to seize upon their plantation and stock of Cattle, turning them out of house and home, poor Creatures, to look out for a new habitation in some remote place where they begin the world again. The lavish planters have the same fate, partaking with them in the like bad husbandry, of these the Merchant buys Beef, Pork, Pease, Wheat and *Indian* Corn, and sells it again many times to the fishermen. Of the same nature are the people in the Dukes province, who not long before I left the Countrey petitioned the Governour and Magistrates in [p. 213.] the *Massachusetts* to take them into their Government, Birds of a feather will ralley together.

Anno Dom. 1671. The year being now well spent, and the Government of the province turned topsiturvy, being heartily weary and expecting the approach of winter, I took my leave of my friends at *Black-point*. And on the 28 of *August* being Mon-

day I shipt myself and my goods aboard of a shallop bound for *Boston*: towards Sun set, the wind being contrary, we put into *Gibbons* his Island, a small Island in *Winter-harbour* about two leagues from *Black-point* West-ward, here we stayed till the 30. day being Wednesday, about nine of the clock we set sail, and towards Sun-set came up with *Gorgia-na*, the 31 day being Thursday we put into *Cape-Ann*-harbour about Sun-set. *September* the 1 being Saturday in the morning before day we set sail and came to *Boston* about three of the clock in the afternoon, where I found the Inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with griping of the guts, and Feaver, and Ague, and bloody Flux.

The Eight day of *October* being Wednesday, I boarded the new-Supply of *Boston* 190 Tun, a Ship of better sail than defence, her Guns being small, and for salutation only, the Master Capt. *Fairweather*, her [p. 214.] sailers 16. and as many passengers. Towards night I returned to *Boston* again, the next day being Thanksgiving day, on Fryday the Tenth day we weighed Anchor and fell down to *Hull*.

The 12 and 13 day about 20 leagues from *Cape-Sable* a bitter storm took us, beginning at seven of the clock at night, which put us in terrible fear of being driven upon the *Cape*, or the Island of *Sables* where many a tall ship hath been wrackt.

November the One and twenty about two of the clock afternoon we saw within kenning before us thick clouds, which put us in hope of land, the *Boson* brings out his purse, into which the passengers put their good will, then presently he nails it to the main-mast, up go the boyes to the main-mast-top sitting there like so many *Crowes*, when after a while one of them cryes out land, which was glad tidings to the wearied passengers, the boyes descend, and the purse being taken from the mast was distributed amongst them, the lad that first descryed land having

a double share : about three of the clock *Scilly* was three leagues off.

The Four and twentieth day we came to *Deal*, from thence the 25. to *Lee*, the 26. being Sunday we steemed the Tide to *Gravesend*, about two of the clock [p. 215.] afternoon. The 27 we came up with *Wollich* where I landed and refresht my self for that night, next day I footed it four or five miles to *Bexley* in *Kent* to visit a near kinsman, the next day proved rainie, the 30 day being Fryday my kinsman accommodated me with a Horse and his man to *Greenwich*, where I took a pair of Oars and went aboard our Ship then lying before *Radcliff*, here I lay that night. Next day being Saturday, and the first of *December* I cleared my goods, shot the bridge and landed at the *Temple* about seven of the clock at night, which makes my voyage homeward 7 weeks and four days, and from my first setting out from *London* to my returning to *London* again Eight years Six moneths and odd days.

Now by the merciful providence of the Almighty, having perform'd Two voyages to the North-east parts of the Western-world, I am safely arrived in my Native Countrey ; having in part made good the *French* proverb, Travail where thou canst, but dye where thou oughtest, that is, in thine own Countrey.

FINIS.

[Between pages 216 and 227, in the copy from which this is reprinted, the numbering of the pages is confused. Page 216 is blank. This is followed by the title-leaf of the "Chronological Observations," the back of which is blank. The "Preface" occupies four pages, the first numbered 223, and the others not numbered. The first leaf of the Chronology itself is paged 223, 224; and the second leaf, without any break in the sense, is paged 227, 228.]

Chronological
O B S E R V A T I O N S
O F
AMERICA,
From the year of the World
to the year of Christ,
1673.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Giles Widdowes*, at the *Green-
Dragon* in *St. Paul's-Church-yard*, 1674.

[p. 223.] **The Preface.**

THE *Terrestrial World* is by our learned *Geographers* divided into four parts, *Europe, Asia, Africa and America* so named from *Americus Vesputius* the *Florentine*, *Seven years* after *Columbus*; although *Columbus* and *Cabota* deserved rather the honour of being *Godfathers* to it: notwithstanding by this name it is now known to us, but was utterly unknown to the *Ancient Europeans* before their times, I will not say to the *Africans* and *Asians*, for *Plato* in his *Timeus* relateth of a great Island, called *Atlantis*, and *Philo the Jew* in his book *De mundo*, that it was over-flown with water, by reason of a mighty Earthquake; The like happened to it 600 years

before *Plato* : thus was the *Atlantick* Ocean, caused to be a Sea, if you will believe the same *Philosopher*, who flourished 366 years before the Birth of our Saviour.

America is bounded on the South with the streight of Magellan, where there are many Islands distinguished by an interflowing Bay; the West with the pacifique Sea, or mare-del-zur, which Sea runs towards the North, separateing it from the East parts of Asia; on the East with the Atlantick, or our Western Ocean called mare-del-Nort; and on the North with the Sea that separateth it from Groveland, thorow which Seas the supposed passage to China lyeth; these North parts, as yet are but barely discovered by our voyagers.

The length of this new World between the streights of Anian and Magellan is 2400 German miles, in breadth between Cabo de fortuna near the Anian streights is 1300 German miles. About 18 leagues from Nombre de dios, on the South-Sea lyeth Panama (a City having three fair Monasteries in it) where the narrowest part of the Countrey is, it is much less than Asia, and far bigger than Europe, and as the rest of the world divided into Islands and Continent, the Continent supposed to contain about 1152400000 Acres.

The Native people I have spoken of already: The discoverers and Planters of Colonies, especially in the North-east parts; together with a continuation of the proceedings of the English in New-England, from the first year of their settling there to purpose, to this present year of our Lord 1673. with many other things by the way inserted and worth the observing I present unto your view in this ensuing Table.



Anno Mundi, 3720.

B *Britain* known to the *Græcians* as appeared by *Polybius* the *Greek* Historian 265 years before the Birth of our Saviour, & after him *Athenæus* a *Greek* Author of good account 170 before Christ, relateth that *Hiero* sent for a mast for a great Ship that he had built to *Britain*.

3740.

Hanno the *Carthaginian* flourished, who sent to discover the great Island *Atlantis*, i. e. *America*.

3873.

Britain unknown to the *Romans* was first discovered to them by *Julius Cæsar*, 54 years before the Birth of Christ, who took it to be part of the Continent of *France*, and got nothing but the sight of that part called afterwards *England*, which is the South of *Britain*.

Anno Domini, 86.

Britain discovered to be an Island, and conquered by *Julius Agricola* 136. years after *Julius Cæsars* entrance into it.

99.

[p. 224.] The Emperour *Trajan* flourished and stretched the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, unto the remotest Dominions of the *East-Indies*, who never before that time had heard of a *Roman*.

745.

Boniface Bishop of *Mens* a City in *Germany*, was accused before Pope *Zachary* in the time of *Ethelred* King of the *East-Angles* for Heresie, &c. in that he averred there were Antipodes. St. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* opinion was that there were none.

827.

Egbert the *Saxon* Monarch changed the name of the people in *England*, and called them *English-men*.

844.

The *Turks* or *Scythians* came from thence in the time of *Ethelwolf* King of the *West-Saxons*. If the *Ottoman*-line should fail, the *Chrim Tartar* is to succeed, being both of one Family.

959.

Edgar Sirnamed the Peaceable, the 30 Monarch of the *English*, caused the Wolves to be destroyed by imposing a Tribute upon the Princes of *Wales*; and *Fage* Prince of *North-Wales* paid him yearly 300 Wolves, [p. 227.] which continued three years space, in the fourth year there was not a Wolf to be found, and so the Tribute ceased.

1160.

In the Emperours *Frederick Barbarossa's* time, certain *West-Indians* came into *Germany*.

1170.

Madoc the Son of *Owen Gwineth* Prince of *North-Wales* his voyage to the *West-Indies*, he planted a Colony in the Western part of the Countrey, in our *Henry* the Seconds Raign.

1300.

Flavio of *Malphi* in *Naples* invented the Compass in our *Edward* the firsts time.

1330.

The *Canaries* discovered by an *English* Ship.

1337.

In *Edward* the third's time a Comet appeared, continuing 30 days.

1344.

Machan an *English-man* accidentally discovered *Madera-Island*.

1350.

Estotiland discovered by fishermen of *Freez-land*, in *Edward* the third's Reign.

1360.

The Franciscan-Fryer *Nicholas de Linno*, [228.] who is said to discover the Pole by his black art, went thither in the Reign of *Edward* the Third.

1372.

Sir *John Mandivel*, the Great Traveller dyed at *Leige* a City in the *Netherland* Provinces in *Edward* the Third's Reign.

1380.

Nicholas and *Antonio Zeni*, two Noble Gentlemen of *Venice* were driven by Tempest upon the Island of *Estotiland* or *Gronland*, in our *Edward* the Third's Reign.

1417.

The *Canaries* Conquered by *Betan-Court* a *Frenchman*.

1420.

The Island of *Madera* discovered in our *Henry* the Fifth's time.

1428.

The Island *Puerto Santo*, or *Holy-port* distant from *Madera* 40 miles, discovered by *Portingul* Mariners on *All-hallowes-day*, and therefore called *Holy-port*, it is in compass 150 miles, in *Henry* the Sixth's Reign.

1440.

The Island of *Cape de verd* discovered.

1452.

The *Marine* parts of *Guinea* discovered by the *Portingals* in *Henry* the Sixth's Reign.

1478.

[p. 229.] *Ferdinando* first Monarch of all *Spain*.

1485.

Henry the Seventh began to Reign.

1486.

The Kingdom of *Angola* and *Congo*, with the Islands of *St. George*, *St. James* and *St. Helens* discovered.

1488.

Christopher Columbus a *Genouese* offered the discovery of the *West-Indies* to *Henry the Seventh*.

1492.

Christopher Columbus sent to discover the *West-Indies* by *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, who descended from *Edward the Third* King of *England*.

The *Caribby-Islands* the *Antilles* or *Canibal*, or *Camerean-Islands* now discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, who took possession of *Florida* and *Hispaniola* for the King of *Spain*.

1493.

Alexander the Sixt Pope of *Rome* a *Spaniard*, took upon him to divide the world by his Bull, betwixt the *Portingal* and the *Spaniard*, bearing date the fourth of *May*, giving to the one the East, and to the other the *West-Indies*.

[p. 230.] *St. Jean Porto Rico* discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, *Cuba* and *Jamaica* discovered by him, this was his second voyage.

1495.

Sebastian Cabota the first that attempted to discover the North-west passage at the charge of *Henry the Seventh*.

1497.

Christopher Columbus his third voyage to the *West-Indies*, and now he discovered the Countreys of *Paria* and *Cumana*, with the Islands of *Cubagua* and *Margarita*.

John Cabota and his Son *Sebastian Cabota* sent by *Henry* the Seventh, to discover the *West-Indies*, which they performed from the *Cape* of *Florida* to the 67 degree and a half of Northerly latitude, being said by some to be the first that discovered *Florida*, *Virginia*, and *New-found-land*. •

Vasques de Gama his voyage to *Africa*.

1500.

Christopher Columbus his fourth and last voyage to the *West-Indies*.

Jasper Corteriaglis a *Portugal*, his voyage to discover the North-West passage, he discovered *Greenland*, or *Terra Corteriaglis*, or *Terra di Laborodoro*.

1501.

Americus Vesputius a *Florentine* imploied by the King of *Castile* and *Portingal*, to discover [p. 231.] the *West-Indies*, named from him Seven year after *Columbus*, *America*.

1506.

Christopher Columbus dyed.

1508.

Henry the Seventh dyed *August the Two* and twentieth.

Henry the Eighth King of *England*.

1514.

Sebastian Cabota, the Son of *John* made further discovery of all the North-east coasts from *Cape Florida* to *New-found-land*, and *Terra Laborador*.

1516.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Pert* Vice-Admiral of *England*, and *Sebastian Cabota*, the Eighth of *Henry* the Eighth to *Brasil*, *St. Domingo*, and *St. Juan de puerto rico*.

1520.

Ferdinando Magellano a noble *Portingal* set forth

to sail about the world, but was 1521 unfortunately slain.

1522.

The *Bermuduz-Isle* 400 in number, being 500 miles distant from *Virginia*, and 3300 miles from the City of *London* in the latitude 32 degrees and 30 minutes, discovered now accidentally by *John Bermuduz* a *Spaniard*.

1523.

[p. 232.] *Stephen Gomez* his voyage to discover the North-west passage, some will have it in Twenty five.

1527.

New-found-land discovered by one *Andrew Thorn*, the Southern part but 600 leagues from *England*.

John de Ponce for the *Spaniard* took possession of *Florida*.

1528.

Nevis or *Mevis* planted now according to some writers.

1534.

Califormia questioned, whether Island or Continent, first discovered by the *Spaniard*.

Nova Francia lying between the 40 and 50 degree of the *Artic-poles* *Altitude* discovered by *Jaques Carthier* in his first voyage, the first Colony planted in *Canada*.

1536.

The Puritan-Church policy began now in *Geneva*.

1542.

Monsieur de Barvals voyage to *Nova Francia*, sent to inhabite those parts.

1548.

Henry the Eighth dyed.

Edward the Sixth King of *England* began to Reign.

[p. 233.] *Sebastian Cabota* made grand Pilot of *England* by *Edward* the Sixth.

1550.

The sweating sickness in *England*.

1553.

Edward the Sixth dyed.

Mary Queen of *England* began to Reign.

Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and all his men in two Ships in his first attempt to discover the North-east passage, were in *October* frozen to death in the Haven called *Arzima* in *Lapland*.

1558.

Queen *Mary* dyed.

Elizabeth Queen of *England* began to Reign *November* the Seventeenth.

1560.

Salvaterra a *Spaniard* his voyage to the North-west passage.

1562.

Sir *John Hawkins* first voyage to the *West-Indies*.

The first expedition of the *French* into *Florida*, undertaken by *John Ribald*.

1565.

Tobacco first brought into *England* by Sir *John Hawkins*, but it was first brought into use by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* many years after.

1566.

The Puritans began to appear in *England*.

1569.

[p. 234.] *Anthony Jenkinson* the first of the *English* that sailed through the *Caspian-Sea*.

1572.

Private Presbyteries now first erected in *England*.
 Sir *Francis Drake's* first voyage to the *West-Indies*.

1573.

The *Hollanders* seek for aid from Queen *Elizabeth*.

1576.

Sir *Martin Frobisher* the first in Queen *Elizabeth's* days that sought for the North-west passage, or the streight, or passage to *China*, and *meta incognita*, in three several voyages, others will have it in 1577.

1577.

November the 17 Sir *Francis Drake* began his voyage about the world with five Ships, and 164 men setting sail from *Plimouth*, putting off *Cape de verde*. The beginning of *February*, he saw no Land till the fifth of *April*, being past the line 30 degrees of latitude, and in the 36 degree entered the River *Plates*) whence he fell with the streight of *Magellan* the 21 of *August*, which with three of his Ships he passed, having cast off the other two as impediments to him, and the *Marigold* tossed from her General after [p. 235.] passage was no more seen. The other commanded by Capt. *Winter* shaken off also by Tempest, returned thorow the Streights and recovered *England*, only the *Pellican*, whereof himself was Admiral, held on her course to *Chile*, *Cochimbo*, *Cinnama*, *Palma*, *Lima*, upon the west of *America*, where he passed the line 1579 the first day of *March*, and so forth until he came to the latitude 47. Thinking by those North Seas to have found passage to *England*, but fogs, frosts and cold winds forced him to turn his course South-west from thence, and came to Anchor 38 degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented

him his Net-work Crown of many coloured feathers, and therewith resigned his Scepter of Government unto his Dominion, which Countrey Sir *Francis Drake* took possession of in the Queens name, and named it *Nova Albion*, which is thought to be part of the Island of *California*.

Sir *Martin Frobisher's* second voyage.

1578.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a *Devonshire* Knight attempted to discover *Virginia*, but without success.

Sir *Martin Frobisher's* third voyage to *Meta incognita*. *Freezeland* now called *West-England*, 25 leagues in length, in the latitude of 57.

[p. 236.] Sir *Francis Drake* now passed the Streights of *Magellan* in the Ship called the *Pellican*.

1579.

Sir *Francis Drake* discovered *Nova Albion* in the South-Sea.

Others will have Sir *Martin Frobisher's* first voyage to discover the North-west passage to be this year.

1580.

From *Nova Albion* he fell with *Ternate*, one of the Isles of *Molucco*, being courteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came unto the Isles of *Calebes*, to *Java Major*, to *Cape buona speranza*, and fell with the coasts of *Guinea*, where crossing again the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence to *England* upon the third of *November* 1580. after three years lacking twelve days, and was Knighted, and his Ship laid up at *Deptford* as a monument of his fame.

1581.

The Provinces of *Holland* again seek for aid to the Queen of *England*.

1582.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* took possession of *New-*

found-land or *Terra Nova*, in the harbour of *St. John*, for and in the name of [p. 237.] Queen *Elizabeth*, it lyeth over against the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and is between 46 and 53 degrees of the North-poles Altitude.

1583.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in *Ireland*.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* attempted a plantation in some remote parts in *New-England*.

He perished in his return from *New-found-land*.

1584.

The woful year of subscription so called by the Brethren, or Disciplinarians.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* obtained of Queen *Elizabeth* a Patent for the Discovery and peopling of unknown Countries, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince. Dated *March 25*. in the six and twentieth of her Reign.

April the 27 following, he set forth two Barks under the Command of Mr. *Philip Amedas* and Mr. *Arthur Barlow*, who arrived on that part of *America*, which that Virgin Queen named *Virginia*, and thereof in her Majesties name took possession *July* the Thirteenth.

1585.

Cautionary Towns and Forts in the low-Countrys delivered unto Queen *Elizabeths* hands.

Sir *Richard Greenville* was sent by Sir [p. 238.] *Walter Rawleigh* *April* the Ninth, with a Fleet of 7 sail to *Virginia*, and was stiled the General of *Virginia*. He landed in the Island of *St. John de porto Rico* *May* the Twelfth, and there fortified themselves and built a *Pinnasse*, &c. In *Virginia* they left 100 men under the Government of Mr. *Ralph Lane*, and others.

Sir *Francis Drake's* voyage to the *West-Indies*, wherein were taken the Cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Do-*

mingo Cartagena, and the Town of *St. Augustine* in *Florida*.

Now (say some) Tobacco was first brought into *England* by Mr. *Ralph Lane* out of *Virginia*.

Others will have Tobacco to be first brought into *England* from *Peru*, by Sir *Francis Drake's* Mariners.

Capt. *John Davies* first voyage to discover the North-west passage, encouraged by Sir *Francis Walsingham*, principal Secretary.

1586.

Mr. *Thomas Candish* of *Trimely*, in the County of *Suffolk* Esq. began his voyage in the ship called the *Desire*, and two ships more to the South-Sea through the Streights of *Magellan* (and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth) burnt and ransack'd in the entrance of *Chile*, [239.] *Peru* and *New-Spain*, near the great Island of *California* in the South-Sea; and returned to *Plimouth* with a pretious booty 1588, *September* the Eighth, being the Third since *Magellan*, that circuited the earth, our *English* voyagers were never out-stript by any.

The Natives in *Virginia* conspired against the *English*.

The same year Sir *Richard Greenville* General of *Virginia* arrived there with three ships, bringing relief from Sir *Walter Rawleigh* to the Colony.

Mr. *John Davies* second voyage to discover the North-west passage.

1587.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* sent another Colony of 150 persons under the Government of Mr. *John White*.

Mr. *John Davies* third voyage to discover the North-west passage.

Sir *Francis Drake*, with four ships took from the *Spaniards* one million, 189200 Ducats in one voyage.

1588.

Queen *Elizabeth* opposed her Authority against the Brethrens books and writings.

Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral of the *English* Fleet, the Lord-Admiral bestowed the order of Knight-hood upon Mr. *John* [p. 240.] *Hawkins*, *Martin Frobisher* and others, *July* the Five and twentieth.

The *Spanish Armado* defeated, consisting of 130 ships, wherein were 19290 Souldiers, 2080 chained Rowers, 2630 great Ordnance, Commanded by *Perezius Guzman* Duke of *Medina Sedonia*, and under him *Johannes Martinus Recaldus* a great Seaman; The Fleet coming on like a half-moon, the horns of the front extending one from the other about 7 miles asunder, it was preparing 15 years, and was blackt to make it seem more terrible.

1589.

The *Portingal* voyage under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*.

Mr. *Thomas Candish* now finished his voyage about the world, as some will have it.

1590.

Now Tobacco first used in *England*, as some will have it.

1591.

The first *Englishman* that ever was in the *Bermuduze* or *Summer-Islands*, was one *Henry May*.

The voyage of Capt. *Newport* to the *West-Indies*, where upon the coast of *Hispaniola*, he took and burnt three Towns, and Nineteen sail of ships and Frigats.

Mr. *Thomas Candish* last voyage, in which he dyed.

1593.

[p. 241.] Sir *Martin Frobisher* Commander of the *English* Fleet slain in the quarrel of *H. King of Navarr*.

The last voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins* to the *West-Indies* with six ships of the Queens, and twelve other ships and Barks containing 2400 men and boyes, in which voyage they both dyed, and Sir *Francis Drake's* Coffen was thrown over board near *Porto bello*.

1594.

Sir *Robert Duddleys* voyage to *Trinidad*, and the coast of *Paria*.

Mr. *James Lancasters* voyage to *Fernambuck* the port Town of *Olinda* in *Brazil*, in which voyage he took 29 ships and Frigats, surprized the said port Town, and there found the Cargazon or fraught of a rich *Indian Carack*, which together with great abundance of Sugars and Cottons he brought from thence ; lading therewith fifteen sail of tall ships and barks.

1595.

The voyage of Sir *Amias Preston*, & Capt. *George Sommers* to the *West-Indies*, where they took, sackt, spoiled and abandoned the Island of *Puerto Santo*, the Island of *Cock* near [p. 242.] *Margarita*, the Fort and Town of *Coro*, the stately City of *St. Jago de leon*, and the Town of *Cumana* ransomed, and *Jamaica* entered.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* voyage now to *Guiana*, discovered by him. In which voyage he took *St. Joseph* a Town upon *Trinidado*.

The *Sabbatarian* doctrine published by the Brethren.

1596.

The voyage to *Cadez*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Rere-Admiral.

The voyage of Sir *Anthony Sherley* intended for the Island of *St. Tome*, but performed to *St. Jago*, *Dominga*, *Margarita*, along the coast of *Terra Firma*

to the Island of *Jamaica*, situated between 17 and 18 degrees of the North-poles elevation (which he conquered, but held it not long) from thence to the bay of *Hondurus*, 30 leagues up *Rio dolce*, and homeward by *New-found-land*.

1597.

The voyage to the *Azores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Capt. of the Queens Guard Rere-Admiral.

Porto-Rico, taken by the Earl of *Cumberland*.

1599.

The Grand *Canary* taken by the *Dutch* Commander *Vanderdoes*.

1600.

[p. 243.] The Colonies in *Virginia* supplied by publick purse.

1602.

Queen *Elizabeth* dyed *March* the Four and twentieth.

King *James* began to Raign.

The North parts of *Virginia*, i. e. *New-England* further discovered by Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, some will have him to be the first discoverer.

Capt. *George Weymouth's* voyage to discover the North-west passage.

Divers of our *English* in the North of *England* entered into a Covenant of worshipping of God.

1603.

King *James* came into *England*, the fifth of *April*.

Monsieur *Champlains* voyage to *Canada*.

November the seventeenth Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Arraigned and Condemned.

1604.

Monsieur *du Point* and *du Monts* voyage to *Canada*.

1605.

Monsieur *du Point* and *du Monts* remove the French habitation to *Port-Royal*.

James Halle's voyage to *Greenland*, and to find out the North-west passage.

1606.

[p. 244.] The province of *Main* possessed by the English by publick Authority King *James*, Sir *John Popham*, &c.

A Colony first sent to *New-England* by Sir *John Popham* chief Justice of the Common pleas.

James-town founded in *Virginia*.

James Halls second voyage, to find out the North-west passage.

Mr. *John Knight* his North-west voyage, lost his ship sunk by the Ice.

A Colony sent to *Virginia*, called by the *Indians* *Wingandacoa*, the first that took firm possession there.

1607.

Plimouth Plantation in *New-England* attempted.

St. Georges Fort built at the mouth of the River *Sagadahoc*, under the Presidency of Capt. *George Popham* and Capt. *Ralph Gilbert*, who built the Fort.

James Halls third voyage to find out the North-west passage.

Hudsons first voyage to find out the North-west passage.

1608.

Virginia planted.

A Colony sent to *New-found-land*.

[p. 245.] Capt. *John Smith* fished now for *Whales* at *Monhiggen*.

Hudsons second voyage to the North-west met a *Mermaid* in the Sea. That there be such Creatures see *Plinie*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Aristotle*, *Eljan*, *Theodorus Gaza*, *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, *Gorgius Tra-*

pozensus, Jul. Scaliger, Stows Annals in Anno Dom.
1204. at *Oreford* in *Suffolk* a *Mareman* taken.

1609.

Sir *Thomas Gales* and Sir *George Summers* going to *Virginia*, suffered shipwrack upon the *Bermudos-Islands* where they continued till 1610.

Hudsons third voyage to *New-found-land* discovered *Mohegan-River* in *New-England*.

The *Dutch* set down by *Mohegan-River*.

1610.

Capt. *Whitburns* voyage to discover the North-west passage, saw a *Mermaid* in the harbour of *St. Johns* at *New-found-land* by the River side.

Hudsons last and fatal voyage to discover the North-west passage, where he was frozen to death.

Dales-gift founded in *Virginia*.

Sundry of the *English* nation removed out of the North of *England* into the *Netherlands*, and gathered a Church at *Leyden*, where they continued until the year 1620.

1611.

[p. 246.] Sir *Thomas Dale* Governour of *Virginia*.
The famous Arch-Pirate *Peter Easton*.

1612.

Bermudus first planted, and Mr. *R. Moore* sent over Governour, the first that planted a Colony in the *Bermudus*.

James Halls fourth voyage to discover the North west passage, was slain by the Savages.

Capt. *Buttons* voyage to discover the North-west passage.

1613.

Port-Royal destroyed by Sir *Samuel Argol* Governour of *Virginia*.

Mr. *John Rolf* a Gentleman of good behaviour fell in love with *Pocahontas*, the only Daughter of *Pow-*

hatan a King in *Virginia* and married her, she was Christened and called the Lady *Rebecca*, and dyed at *Gravesend Anno Dom.* 1617. Sir *Lewis Stukely* brought up her Son *Thomas Rolf*.

1614.

Bermudus planted further.

Powhatons Daughter in *Virginia* Christened *Rebecca*.

Capt. *Gibbins* voyage to find out the North-west passage.

New-Netherlands began to be planted [p. 247.] upon *Mohegan-River*, Sir *Samuel Argol* routed them.

1615.

Sir *Richard Hawkins* voyage into those parts of *New-England*.

1616.

Capt. *Gibbins* second voyage to find out the North-west passage.

A new supply sent by Capt. *Daniel Tucker* to the *Bermudus*.

Pocahontas and Mr. *Rolf* her Husband went for *England* with Sir *Thomas Dale*, and arrived at *Plymouth* the 12 of June.

1617.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs* last and unfortunate voyage to *Guiana*, where he took St. *Thome* the only Town of *Guiana* possessed by the *Spaniards*.

1618.

The Comet or blazing-star whose motion was by some observed to be from East to West.

1619.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* beheaded in the Parliament yard.

Bermudas-Islands divided into Tribes and Cantreds, to each tribe a Burrough.

1620.

The *English* in *Virginia* divided into several Burroughs.

1620.

[p. 248.] Letters Patents obtained from King *James* for the Northern part of *Virginia* i. e. *New-England*.

In *July* sundry of the *English* set sail from *Holland* for *Southampton*.

August the fift, they set sail from *Southampton* for *America*, and arrived the Eleventh of *November* at *Cape-Cod*, where they entered into a body politick, and chose one Mr. *John Carver* their Governour, calling the place where they settled *New-Plimouth*: in *January* and *February* following was a mortality among the *English*, which swept away half the Company.

Mrs. *Susanna White* delivered of a Son at *new-Plimouth*, Christened *Peregrine*; he was the first of the *English* that was born in *new-England*, and was afterwards the Lieutenant of the Military Company of *Marsh-field* in *Plimouth* Colony.

New-Plimouth built, the first Town in *new-England*.

Squanto an *Indian* in *new-England*, carried into *England* by Mr. *Hunt* a Master of a Ship, but brought home again by Mr. *Dormer* a Gentleman employed by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* for discovery.

1621.

[p. 249.] *April*, Mr. *John Carver* Governour of *new-Plimouth* dyed, and Mr. *William Brandford* was chosen Governour.

The Natives in *Virginia* murdered about 340 *English*.

1622.

The Fort at *new-Plimouth* built: a great drought this Summer, from *May* the Third, till the middle of *July* there was no Rain.

Mr. *Thomas Weston* Merchant sent over 67 lusty men who settled themselves in a part of the *Massachusetts-bay*, now called *Weymouth*.

The order of the Knights of *Novascotia* ordained by King *James* Hereditarie, they wear an *Orange* tawny Ribbin.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Patent for the province of *Main* in *New-England*.

The *Dutch* tortured the *English* at *Amboina*, 1623.

Westons plantation wholly ruined by their disorders.

Mr. *Robert Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Brother arrived in *Plimouth*, and began a Plantation of the *Massachusetts bay*, having Commission from the Council of *New-England* to be general Governour of the Country, carrying over one Mr. *Morrel* a Minister, [p. 250.] but being discouraged, he returned for *England*.

A fire at *Plimouth*, which did considerable damage, several of the Inhabitants through discontent and casualties removed into *Virginia*.

Three thousand *English* now upon the *Bermudus* ten Forts, and in those ten Forts 50 pieces of Ordnance.

1624.

The number of Magistrates increased to five now at *New-Plimouth*.

The first neat Cattle carried over into *New-England* to *New-Plimouth* was three Heifers and a Bull.

1625.

St. Christophers-Island planted now by the *English* 25 leagues in compass, a great many little Rivers, in 17 degrees and 25 minutes.

King *James* dyed in 1625, and King *Charles* the first began his Raign *March* the seven and twentieth.

1627.

The first distribution of Lands amongst the Inhabitants of *New-Plimouth*.

A Colony of *English* planted upon the Island of *Barbados*, which in a short time increased to 20000, besides *Negroes*.

1628.

Mr. *John Endicot* arrived in *New-England* [p. 251.] with some number of people, and set down first by *Cape-Ann*, at a place called afterwards *Gloster*, but their abiding place was at *Salem*, where they built the first Town in the *Massachusetts* Patent.

The *Indians* at the *Massachusetts*, were at that time by sickness decreased from 30000 to 300.

Nevis or *Mevis* planted now by the *English* 3 or 4000 upon it.

Mr. *Morton* of *Merrimount* taken prisoner by the *Massachusetts*, and sent into *England*.

1629.

Three ships arrived at *Salem* bringing a great number of passengers from *England*; infectious diseases amongst them.

Mr. *Endicot* chosen Governour.

Mr. *Higginson*, Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Bright* Ministers arrived, upon the fift of *August* was the first Church in the *Massachusetts* Colony gathered at *Salem*, from which year to this present year is 45 years, in the compass of these years in this Colony, there hath been gathered forty Churches, and 120 Towns built in all the Colonies of *New-England*.

The Church of *new-Plimouth*, was planted in *New-England* eight years before others.

The book of Common-prayer pleaded [p. 252.] for, and practised in *Massachusetts* Colony by two of the Patentees, but was at last prohibited by the Authority there.

1630.

The Tenth of *July*, *John Winthorp* Esq; and the Assistants arrived in *New-England*, with the Patent for the *Massachusetts*, they landed on the North-side of *Charles* River, with him went over *Thomas Dudley*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esquires; Mr. *John Wilson*, Mr. *George Phillips*, Mr. *Maverich* (the Father of Mr. *Samuel Maverich*, one of his Majesties Commissioners) Mr. *Wareham* Ministers.

The passage of the people in the *Eagle*, and nine other Vessels to *New-England* came to 9500 pounds. The Swine, Goats, Sheep, Neat and Horses cost to transport 12000 pounds, besides the price they cost. The *Eagle* was called the *Arabella* in honour of the Lady *Arabella*, wife to *Isaac Johnson* Esq; they set down first upon *Noddles-Island*, the Lady *Arabella* abode at *Salem*.

Mr. *Isaac Johnson* a Magistrate of the *Massachusetts*, and his Lady dyed soon after their arrival.

John Winthorp Esq; chosen Governour, for the remainder of the year, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* deputy Governour, Mr. *Simon Broadstreet* Secretary.

[p. 253.] *Charles-town* the first town built.

Mr. *Higginson* Teacher of *Salem* Church dyed.

1630.

A very sharp winter in *New-England*.

1631

Capt. *John Smith* Governour of *Virginia*, and Admiral of *New-England* now dyed in *London*.

John Winthorp Esq; chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*. Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Sir *Richard Saltingstall* went for *New-England*, set down at *Water-town*.

Five Churches gathered this year, the first at *Boston* Mr. *John Wilson* Pastor, the second at *Water-town*, by Mr. *Philips*, the third at *Dorchester* by

Mr. *Maverick* and Mr. *Wareham*, the fourth at *Roxbury* by Mr. *Eliot*, the fifth at *Linn* by Mr. *Stephen Batcheler* their first Teacher.

Dr. *Wilson* gave 1000 pound to *New-England*, with which they stored themselves with great Guns.

1632.

John Winthorp chosen Governour, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Sir *Christopher Gardiner* descended of the house of *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, Knighted at *Jerusalem* of the Sepulcher, [p. 254.] arrived in *New-England* with a comely young woman his Concubine, settled himself in the Bay of *Massachusetts*, was rigidly used by the Magistrates, and by the Magistrates of *New-Plimouth* to which place he retired.

A terrible cold winter in *New-England*.

1633.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

The number of Magistrates at *New-Plimouth* increase to seven.

An infectious feaver amongst the Inhabitants of *New-Plimouth*, whereof many dyed.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Mr. *Hains* and Mr. *Cotton* Ministers arrived in *New-England* all in one ship, and Mr. *Stone* and Mr. *William Collier* a liberal Benefactor to the Colony of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *John Cotton* chosen Teacher of the first Church at *Boston*.

A Church at *Cambridge* gathered by Mr. *Thomas Hooker* their first Pastor.

Great swarms of strange flies up and down the Countrey, which was a presage of the following mortality.

1634.

[p. 255.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *Roger Ludlow* Deputy-Governour.

The Countrey now was really placed in a posture of War, to be in readiness at all times.

In the Spring a great sickness among the *Indians*, by the small pox.

The *Pequets* War with the *Narragansets*.

Mr. *Skelton* Pastor to the Church at *Salem* dyed.

Mr. *John Norton*, and Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* arrive in *New-England*.

A Church gathered at *Ipswich*, the first Pastor Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*.

A Church gathered at *Newberry*.

Capt. *Stone* turn'd Pirate, at the *Dutch* plantation.

The cruel Massacre of Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton* at *Connecticut-River*, by the *Pequet Indians*.

1635.

Mr. *John Haines* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Zachary Sims* arrived in *New-England*, and Mr. *Richard Bellingham*.

[p. 256.] This year Eleven Ministers arrived in *New-England*.

Mr. *Norton* Teacher at *Ipswich*, Mr. *Richard Mather* Teacher at *Dorchester*.

Sir *Henry Vain* Junior, arrived in *New-England*, Mr. *Richard Saltingstal*, Sir *Richard Saltingstal's* Son, Mr. *Roger Harlackenden*, and *Hugh Peters*.

Hugh Peters chosen Pastor of *Salem*.

A Church at *Hartford* in the Colony of *Connecticut* now gathered.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

Capt. *William Gorges*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Nephew sent over Governour of the province of *Main*, then called new *Summersetshire*.

Saturday the 15 of *August*, an Hurrican or mighty storm of wind and rain which did much hurt in *New-England*.

1636.

Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Winthorp* Esq ; Deputy Governour, Mr. *Roger Harlackenden* leader of their military Forces.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* a *Worcestershire* man born, chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Connecticut Colony planted.

Mr. *John Oldham* murdered in his Barque by the *Indians* of *Block-Island*.

[p. 257.] A Church gathered at *Hingham*, Mr. *Peter Hubbard* arrived now in *New-England* Teacher at *Hingham*.

Mr. *Flint*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Walton*, Ministers arrived now in *New-England*.

Mr. *Fenwich*, Mr. *Partrick*, Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, and Mr. *Samuel White*, arrived now in *New-England*.

A General Court held at *Boston* against Mrs. *Hutchinson* the *American* Jezabel, *August* the 30. where the opinions and errors of Mrs. *Hutchinson* and her Associates 80 errors were condemned.

A Counsel held at *New-town* about the same business *October* the second, and at *Boston* again.

1637.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Deputy Governour.

New-haven Colony began now, Mr. *Eaton* chosen Governour, *John Davenport* Pastor.

Mr. *Hopkins* arrived now in *New-England*.

A second Church gathered at *Dedham*, Mr. *John Allen* Pastor.

The *Pequets* wars, in which war the *English* slew and took prisoners about 700 *Indians*, [p. 258.] amongst which 13 of their *Sachems* to the great terror of the Natives, they sent the male children of the *Pequets* to the *Bermudas*.

This year the *Antinomian* and *Familistical* errors were broached in the Countrey, especially at *Boston*.

A Synod called, which condemned these errors.

A General Court held at *New-town* against Mrs. *Hutchinson* and the rest.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* and others banished by the Magistrates of the *Massachusetts* Colony.

A hideous monster born at *Boston* of one Mrs. *Mary Dyer*.

Sir *Henry Vane* and the Lord *Lee* returned for *England*.

The Ministers that went for *New-England* chiefly in the ten first years, ninety four, of which returned for *England* twenty seven, dyed in the Countrey thirty six, yet alive in the Countrey thirty one.

The number of ships that transported passengers to *New-England*, in these times was 298 supposed: men, women and children as near as can be ghesed 21200.

The *Spaniards* took the Island of *Providence*, one of the Summer-Islands from the English.

1638.

[p. 259.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plymouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

A Church now gathered at *Waymouth*, Mr. *Gen-*

nor Pastor, Mr. *Newman* succeeded Mr. *Thomas Thatcher*.

Three *English* men put to death at *Plimouth* for robbing and murdering an *Indian* near *Providence*.

June the second a great and terrible earthquake throughout the Countrey.

Samuel Gorton of *Warwick-shire*, a pestilent seducer, and blasphemous Atheist, the Author of the Sects of *Gortinians*, banish'd *Plimouth* plantation, whipt and banished from *Road-Island*, banisht the *Massachusetts* Colony.

Now they set up a Printing-press at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts*.

This year came over Mr. *William Thompson*, Mr. *Edmund Brown*, Mr. *David Frisk*.

Mr. *John Harvard*, the founder of *Harvard* Colledge at *Cambridge* in the *Massachusetts* Colony, deceased, gave 700 pound to the erecting of it.

1639.

[p. 260.] Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Higginson* Teacher at *Salem* Church, *Skelton* pastor, and an exhorting Elder. This was the first Church gathered in the *Massachusetts* Colony, and it increased to 43 Churches in joynt Communion with one another, and in these Churches were about 7750 souls.

Mr. *Herbert Pelham* now arrived in *New-England*.

A Church gathered at *Hampton*, Mr. *Daulton* pastor, and Mr. *Batcheler* Teacher.

Another Church gathered at *Salisbury*.

October the Eleventh and Twelfth, the *Spanish* Navy was set upon by the *Hollander* in the *Downs*, they were in all 60 sail, the *Spaniards* were beaten.

A very sharp winter in *New-England*.

1640.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Deputy Governour.

[p. 261.] Civil Wars began in *England*.

Mr. *Huet* Minister arrived in *New-England*, Mr. *Peck* and Mr. *Saxton*.

A Church gathered at *Braintree*, Mr. *Wheelright* pastor.

Mr. *Henry Dunster* arrived in *New-England*.

1641.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy.

A Church gathered at *Glocester* in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

A sharp winter in *New-England*, the harbours and salt bayes frozen over so as passable for Men, Horses, Oxen and Carts five weeks.

1642.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Endicot* Esq; Deputy Governour.

This Spring Cowes and Cattle fell from 22 pound a Cow, to six, seven and eight pound a Cow of a sudden.

A Church now gathered at *Woeburn* in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

[p. 262.] Thirteen able Ministers now at this time in *new-Plimouth* Jurisdiction.

Harvard-Colledge founded with a publick Library. Ministers bred in *New-England*, and (excepting

about 10) in *Harvard-Colledge* one hundred thirty two : of which dyed in the Countrey Ten, now living eighty one, removed to *England* forty one. *June Warwick* Parliament Admiral.

1643.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of the *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour.

May 19. the first Combination of the four united Colonies, viz. *Plimouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut,* and *new-haven*.

1644.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

John Endicot Esq ; chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Winthorp* Esq ; Deputy Governour.

A Church gathered at *Haveril*. Mr. *Roger Harlackendin* dyed about this time.

A Church gathered at *Reading* in *New-England*.

A Church gathered at *Wenham*, both in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

[p. 263.] The Town of *Eastham* erected now by some in *Plimouth*.

1645.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *John Winthorp* Deputy Governour, Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

A Church gathered at *Springfield*.

1646.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy and Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

Two Suns appeared towards the latter end of the year.

This year they drew up a body of Laws for the well ordering of their Commonwealth (as they termed it) printed in 1648.

Three men of War arrived in *new-Plimouth* harbour under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Cromwell*, richly laden, a mutiny amongst the Sea-men, whereby one man was killed.

The second Synod at *Cambridge* touching the duty and power of magistrates in matters of Religion.

[p. 264.] Secondly, the nature and power of Synods.

Mr. *John Eliot* first preached to the *Indians* in their Native language, the principal Instruments of converting the *Indians*, Mr. *John Eliot* Senior, Mr. *John Eliot* Junior, Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, Mr. *Pierson*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *James*, and Mr. *Cotton*.

1647.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *John Endicot* Major General.

Now Mr. *Thomas Hooker* pastor of the Church at *Hertford* dyed.

The *Tartars* over-run *China*.

1648.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

John Winthorp chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

A Church gathered at *Andover*.

A Church gathered at *Malden* Mr. *Sarjant* pastor.

A second Church gathered at *Boston*.

A third Synod at *Cambridge* publishing the platform of Discipline.

[p. 265.] *Jan.* 30. King *Charles* the first murdered.

Charles the Second began his Raign.

Their Laws in the *Massachusetts* colony printed.

1649.

John Winthorp Esq; Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony *March* the 26 deceased.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth*.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

An innumerable Company of *Caterpillars* in some parts of *New-England* destroyed the fruits of the Earth.

August the 25 Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* Pastor of *Cambridge* Church dyed.

Mr. *Phillips* also dyed this year.

1650.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

A great mortality amongst children this year in *New-England*.

1651.

[p. 266.] Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

The City *Bilbo* totally cover'd with waters for 15 days, 16 foot above the tops of the highest houses, the loss was very much to the whole Kingdom, there being their stock of dried fish and dried Goat the general dyet of *Spain*.

Barbados surrendred to the Parliament, its longitude 322, latitude 13 degrees, 17 or 18 miles in compass.

Hugh Peters and Mr. *Wells*, and *John Baker* returned into *England*.

1652.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

John Cotton Teacher of *Boston* Church dyed, a Comet was seen at the time of his sickness hanging over *New England*, which went out soon after his death.

[p. 267.] The Spirits that took Children in *England*, said to be set awork first by the Parliament, and *Hugh Peters* as chief Agent, Actor or Procurer.

1653.

Oliver Cromwell Usurped the Title of Protector *December* the Sixteenth.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony dyed, aged about 77 years at his house at *Roxebury*, *July* 31.

A great fire at *Boston* in *New-England*.

1654.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Bellingham* Governour, *Endicot* Deputy
Major General *Gibbons* dyed this year.

1655.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony. Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts*, *Bellingham* Deputy.

Jamaica taken by the *English*.

1656.

[p. 268.] General *Mountague* taketh *Spanish* prizes.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts*, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy.

1657.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *William Bradford* now dyed. Mr. *John Endicot* Governour, *Bellingham* Deputy.

Mr. *Theophilus Eaton* Governour of *New-haven* colony dyed.

Fifth monarchy-men rebell.

The Quakers arrive at *new-Plimouth*.

1658.

Oliver Cromwell dyed *September* the third.

Richard Cromwell set up.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*, *Bellingham* Deputy.

A great Earth-quake in *New-England*.

Mr. *Ralph Partrick* minister at *Ruxbury* now deceased.

John Philips of *Marshfield* slain by thunder and lightning.

1659.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

[p. 269.] Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

The Quakers opinions vented up and down the Countrey

Mr. *Henry Dunster* first President of *Harvard* Colledge deceased.

Richard Cromwel ended *May* the seventh.

The Rump Parliament *December* the six and twentieth put down.

William Robinson, *Marmaduke Stevenson*, and *Mary Dyer* Quakers of *Rhod Island* sentenced to suffer death by Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, which was accordingly executed within a day or two, the prisoners being guarded by Capt. *James Oliver* with 200 Souldiers to the place of Execution, where the two men were hanged and the woman reprieved at the Gallows and banished.

1660.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

John Endicot chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Bellingham* Deputy.

James Pierce slain by lightning at *new-Plimouth*.

May the 29 King *Charles* the Second returned into *England*.

June the 20 a damnable cheat like to have been put upon *England* by a Brief for [p. 270.] *New-England*, which as it appeared was produced before the King came in, but not printed (by Mr. *Leach* in *Shoe-Lane*) till *June*, pretending that 18 *Turks* men of War the 24 of *January* 16 $\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ landed at a Town, called *Kingsword* (alluding to *Charles-town*) three miles from *Boston*, kill'd 40, took Mr. *Sims* minister prisoner, wounded him, kill'd his wife and three of his little children, carried him away with 57 more, burnt the Town, carried them to *Argier*, their loss amounting to 12000 pound, the *Turk* demand-

ing 8000 pound ransom to be paid within 7 moneths.
Signed by *Thomas Margets, Edward Calamy, William Jenkin, William Vincent, George Wild, Joseph Caryl, John Menord, William Cooper, Thomas Manton* Ministers.

Hugh Peters put to death the 16 of *October*.

Thomas Venner a Wine-Cooper hang'd drawn and quartered *Ian*. 19.

1661.

The fifth Monarchy-men rise at *London*.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony, Mr. *Bellingham* Deputy.

Major *Atherton* now dyed in *New-England*.

1662.

[p. 271.] Sir *Henry Vane* beheaded, *June* the 14.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony.

January 26 and the 28 Earthquakes in *New-England*, 6 or 7 times in the space of Three days.

$\frac{1}{1} \frac{6}{6} \frac{2}{3}$.

John Baker unduely called Capt. *Baker*, hang'd at *Tiburn*, *December* the 11 of *February*.

1663.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Willowby* Deputy Governour and Mr. *Thomas Leveret* major General.

April the fifth Mr. *John Norton* Teacher at the first Church in *Boston* dyed suddenly.

Mr. *Samuel Newman* Teacher at *Rehoboth* in *New-England* now dyed.

Mr. *Samuel Stone* Teacher of *Hartford* Church in *New-England*, now dyed also.

Several Earth-quakes this year in *New-England*.
[p. 272.] *Charles Chancie* batchelor of Divinity
and President of *Harvard-Colledge* in *New-England*.

1654.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Thomas Leveret* Major General.

May the 20 the Kings Commissioners arrived in *New-England*, viz. Sir *Robert Carr*, Colonel *Nichols*, Colonel *Cartwright* and Mr. *Samuel Maverich*, with whom came one Mr. *Archdale* as Agent for Mr. *Ferdinando Gorges*, who brought to the colony in the province of *Main*, Mr. *F. Gorges* order from his Majesty *Charles* the Second, under his manual, and his Majesties Letters to the *Massachusetts* concerning the same, to be restored unto the quiet possession and enjoyment of the said province in *New-England*, and the Government thereof, the which during the civil Wars in *England* the *Massachusetts* colony had usurpt, and (by help of a *Jacobs* staff) most shamefully encroached upon Mr. *Gorges* rights and priviledges.

The 29 of *August*, the *Manadaes*, called *Novede Belgique*, or *New Netherlands*, their chief Town *New-Amsterdam*, now called [p. 273.] *New-Yorke*, Surrendered up unto Sir *Robert Carr* and Colonel *Nichols* his Majesties Commissioners; thirteen days after in *September* the Fort and Town of *Arania* now called *Albany*; twelve days after that, the Fort and Town of *Awsapha*; then *de la Ware* Castle man'd with *Dutch* and *Sweeds*, the three first Forts and Towns being built upon the River *Mohegan*, otherwise called *Hudsons* River.

The whole Bible Translated into the *Indian* Tongue, by Mr. *John Eliot* Senior, was now printed at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

December a great and dreadful Comet, or blazing-star appeared in the South-east in *New-England* for the space of three moneths, which was accompanied with many sad effects, great mildews blasting in the Countrey the next Summer.

1665.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* Major General.

Two Comets or blazing stars appeared in 4 moneths time in *England*, *December* 1664. and in *March* following.

Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the [p. 274.] *Massachusetts* colony deceased, *March* the three and twentieth.

Capt. *Davenport* kill'd with lightning as he lay on his bed at the *Castle* by *Boston* in *New-England*, and several wounded.

Wheat exceedingly blasted and mildewed in *New-England*.

A thousand foot sent this year by the *French* King to *Canada*.

Colonel *Cartwright* in his voyage for *England* was taken by the *Dutch*.

The Isle of *Providence* taken by the *English* Buccaneers, *Puerto Rico* taken and plundered by the *English* Buccaneers and abandoned.

1666.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

St. *Christophers* taken by the *French*.

July the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham* cast away in a *Hurricane* about the *Caribby-Islands*.

The small pox at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* colony.

Three kill'd in a moment by a blow of *Thunder* at *Marshfield* in *New-Plimouth* [p. 275.] colony, and four at *Pascataway* colony, and divers burnt with lightning, a great whirlwind at the same time.

This year also *New-England* had cast away and taken Thirty one Vessels, and some in 1667.

The mildews and blasting of Corn still continued.

1667.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Sir *Robert Carr* dyed next day after his arrival at *Bristow* in *England* *June* the first.

Several vollies of shot heard discharged in the Air at *Nantascot* two miles from *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *John Davenport* chosen pastor of the Independent Church at *Boston*.

In *March* there appeared a sign in the Heavens in the form of a Spear, pointing directly to the *West*.

Sir *John Harman* defeated the *French* Fleet at the *Caribbes*.

Mr. *John Wilson* Pastor of *Boston* Church in the *Massachusetts* colony 37 years now [p. 276.] dyed, aged 79, he was Pastor of that Church three years before Mr. *Cotton*, twenty years with him, ten years with Mr. *Norton*, and four years after him.

1668.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Samuel Shepherd* Pastor of *Rowley Church* dyed.

April the 27 Mr. *Henry Flint* Teacher at *Braintry* dyed.

July the Ninth Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel* Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge* dyed, he was born at *Halifax* in *Yorkshire* in *England*, and was brought up in *Harvard-Colledge* at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

July the Fifteenth, nine of the clock at night an Eclipse of the moon, till after Eleven darkened nine digits and thirty five minutes.

July the Seventeenth a great *Sperma Cæti* Whale Fifty five foot long, thrown up at *Winter-harbour* by *Casco* in the Province of *Main*.

April the Third, Fryday an Earthquake in *New-England*.

1669.

[p. 277.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Oxenbridge* chosen Pastor of the Independent Church at *Boston*.

The wonderful burning of the mountain *Ætna*, or *Gibella* in *Cicilia March*.

1670.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour now dyed.

At a place called *Kenebunch*, which is in the Province of *Main*, not far from the River-side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapour (as was supposed) over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the River, into the River, stopping the course thereof, and leaving a hole Forty yards square, wherein [p. 278.] were Thousands of clay bullets as big as musquet bullets, and pieces of clay in shape like the barrel of a musquet. The like accident fell out at *Casco*, One and twenty miles from it to the Eastward, much about the same time; And fish in some ponds in the Countrey thrown up dead upon the banks, supposed likewise to be kill'd with mineral vapours.

A wonderful number of Herrins cast up on shore at high water in *Black-point-Harbour* in the province of *Main*, so that they might have gone half way the leg in them for a mile together.

Mr. *Thatcher* chosen Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at *Boston*.

1671.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* Governour of new *Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Leveret* Deputy, and major General.

Elder *Pen* now dyed at *Boston*; the *English* troubled much with griping of the guts, and bloody Flux, of which several dyed.

October the Two and twentieth a Ship called the flying *Falcon* of *Amsterdam*, arrived at *Dover*, having been out since the first of *January* 1669. and been in the South-Seas [p. 279.] in the latitude of 50 degrees, having sailed 12900 *Dutch* leagues, the master told us he made main land, and discovered two Islands never before discovered, where were men all hairy, Eleven foot in height.

1672.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Leveret* Deputy, and major General.

1673.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony now deceased.

1674.

Thomas Leveret chosen Governour.
Mr. *Simons* Deputy Governour.

FINIS.

NOTE

TO

LECHFORD'S PLAINE DEALING — (*Ante*, p. 55.)

AFTER Lechford's "Plaine Dealing," &c. had been struck off by the printer for the present volume, from the printed copy in the Ebeling Collection at Harvard College, it occurred to one of the Committee of publication, that a collation of the printed copy with a MS. in our archives might prove neither useless nor unacceptable. The only excuse he has to offer for inserting the results here, instead of in their more appropriate place, as notes, is his absence from the city when the printing was executed.

Mr. Savage and others have pronounced this MS. *the original*; but, without expressing a doubt on this point, if it be the original, it is only a skeleton of the book eventually published, in which, though nearly the same language occurs in very many passages, yet the differences, as will be shown, are also very great, amounting to near one half of the whole; nor is there in the MS. any clue of any kind by which to lead the author or the reader of the MS. to imagine that any thing is to be added, except in a solitary instance (see p. 86), and there no means are furnished by which to learn precisely what is to be inserted, nor where it could be found. It is obvious, therefore, that this MS. could not have been the *identical original* which Lechford eventually enlarged, nor that from which the printer copied. It was probably a duplicate original, made and deposited for security, lest the fruit of his labor should be lost, by fire or other accident.

The MS. was at some former period bound up with others, and was probably at that time perfect. It now consists but of 29 pages in small 4to. It is obviously ancient, whether we examine the appearance of the paper, of which the water-marks cannot be distinctly ascertained, or the color of the ink, or the character of the hand-writing; which last is remarkably fine of its kind. The *short hand*, of which there are short passages on pages 9, 16, 23, 24, and 27 (corresponding with pages 72, 79, 93, 94, and 97 of this volume) differs from any one that the writer has been able to find; and he regrets to add, that application to two members of our Society, who are accustomed to

short hand of many periods, has ended, like his own exertions, in an inability to furnish a translation of them; and the only consolation he has is, that a reference to passages of Scripture that appear in the English notes now printed, leads to the belief that their substance is contained in those notes. That the MS. was written prior to the printed copy seems certain, as well from these last considerations, as from the additions and verbal differences that distinguish the two copies:—That it was written *after* Lechford returned to England, is ascertained by its containing the passage on p. 73, alluding to his having left New England the August preceding: And that it was written *before* January, 1642, seems equally certain from the preface “To the Reader” of the London printed copy, being dated at “Clements Inne, January 17, 1641.”

Lechford, as appears from the first page of his preface “To the Reader,” had “suffered imprisonment and a kind of banishment out of” England on account of nonconformity; though he appears to have been, in the main, attached to the established church in July, 1640. See p. 119. Under date of 28 July, of that year, he writes (p. 119), “I am kept from the sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread.” That he was kept from the sacrament may have been true; and doubtless it was so; but it was by means of *general* laws, passed long before Lechford came over, for the security of the partners that came here. The laws referred to are, 1st, The Act of May, 1631, (Col. Laws, p. 117,) by which no man was to be admitted a freeman who was not a member of some one of the churches *in the Colony*; and 2d, the Law of Dec. 1636, (Col. Laws, p. 42,) by which no one but a freeman was eligible to office. Lechford, when he came here, was unwilling to join the Congregational church, and there was then no other in the colony; and hence he was excluded *from all preferment in the Commonwealth*.*

The wisdom of thus indirectly uniting church and state, it is not the intention of the writer to discuss. And after the array of great names that have spoken severely against what they deem intolerance, it may seem presuming to express even a doubt. But it seems quite possible that, in the establishment of

* Though in 1637 (Col. Laws, p. 191) it was thought necessary to take a further step to prevent the habitation of strangers in the colony by a law, like those that had long existed in Boston and Plymouth, which required a license from the magistrates; this law had no bearing, directly, on Lechford, for he was permitted to remain here, and of course must have been licensed under it. It was this law, passed in 1637, which produced the very able arguments of Governor Winthrop and Sir H. Vane (Hutch. Papers, 67 & post), in which, *inter alia*, Governor Winthrop, in opposition to Sir Henry Vane, insists, in favor of our rights under the charter, that “that which the king is pleased to bestow upon us, and we have accepted, is truly our owne.”

a new colony, constituted as was that of Massachusetts, of co-partners, pressed by dangers here, and in England; under a charter deemed by many a mere *private* one, with the objects and liabilities and powers of the old charter of Massachusetts, it might be very wise, and entirely just, and even absolutely necessary, to enact such laws; which, in point of fact, could only affect the few corporators themselves, who enacted them, and those persons that came *subsequently* to their enactment, principally without any other rights or claims than those that belong to any strangers coming within the jurisdiction of any private corporation. Such laws are necessarily temporary under the circumstances of a colony like that of Massachusetts. As the colony grew in strength and in numbers, the necessity for them grew less, and they were abrogated in course. It will be perceived, however, that the existence of the civil government, as constituted, was involved in many of the religious questions. A case of this sort will be hereafter mentioned.

With becoming deference, also, to the distinguished individuals before alluded to, the writer would suggest, that the constitution of the Church of England, prior to the Commonwealth, was such as to threaten the Colonists with transportation to England on charges of non-conformity, contumacy, &c.; and that this may have been, not simply an apology, but a conclusive reason in favor of passing such laws.

It should also be borne in mind, that by the royal ordinances of 1637 and 1638, those who designed coming to New England were subject to an examination both moral and religious, before they were suffered to leave the kingdom; so that none, but approved royalists and members of the Church of England, were allowed to come over.

With regard to the time of Lechford's arrival here and his departure for England, there have been some mistakes, and I perceive that Dr. Allen, in the late edition of his Biographical Dictionary, has fallen into them. Dr. Allen says, "he lived in Boston from 1638 to 1640." Now Lechford tells us, p. 63, that he had been absent from England "almost foure yeeres last past." On page 73 he speaks of having left New England in August last; which must have been August, 1641, because, 1st, the date of his preface is January 17, 1641 (1642 N. S.); and 2dly, because he dates a letter (p. 109) "Boston, July 5, 1641," and his "40 quæres" (p. 118), "Clements Inne, Nov. 16, 1641." He arrived here, therefore, probably in the fall or winter of 1637, and remained here till August, 1641.

After a pretty thorough search amongst the papers in the State Archives, I have been unable to find any thing regarding Lechford, except the two following passages, the first of which has already been referred to by Hutchinson, I. 398, and the second by Mr. Savage, 2 Winthrop's Hist. 36; but as neither

has been published at large, they are here furnished from the Records. No allusion has ever been made to the cause of the second of these decrees, but it seems to have been considered as referring to the first. The language, however, leads me to a different conclusion; but to what it does refer, I know not.

“A Quarter Court held at Boston the 3d day of the 7th month, A. D. 1639.

“Present — The Gov. [Winthrop], The Dep. Gov. [Dudley], Mr. Endecott, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, jun., Mr. Bradstreete, Mr. Stoughton, Incr. Nowell.

“Mr. Thomas Lechford for going to the Jewry, and pleading with them out of Court is debarred from pleading any man's cause hereafter unlesse his owne, and admonished not to presume to meddle beyond what hee shal bee called by the Courte.” — 1 Records, 258.

“A Quarter Court held at Boston the first day of the 10th m^o. 1640.

“Present — Mr. Gov. (Dudley), Mr. Dep. (Bellingham), Mr. Winthrop, sen., Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, jun., Mr. Stoughton, and Increase Nowell.

“Mr. Thomas Lechford acknowledging hee had overshot himself, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, and not to meddle with controversies, was dismissed.” — 1 Records, 294.

I will now give the instances in which that portion of the MS. now existing, differs from the printed copy. In doing this I shall endeavour to confine myself to those of some importance; but must solicit the favor of the reader, lest some of them should be considered trivial, though, in the opinion of the writer, having a bearing on points that cannot, with propriety, be alluded to in this article, already too long. Some of them may prove amusing at least.

The MS. begins with its own page 7, which is page 8 of the Ebeling copy, and page 68 of the copy contained in this volume, at the words — “the Elders formerly mentioned. Then the Elder requireth,” &c. It ends with its own page 36, being page 106, line 3, of this volume, with the word “perfected.”

The following references will be made to the pages of the copy contained in this volume.

Page 69, line 15, for “admonition” the MS. says “admission.”

“ “ “ 29, for “ignorant” “ “ “ “ignorance.”

“ 71, “ 11, before “from,” insert “and.”

“ “ “ at the foot of the page, opposite the paragraph, insert marginal reference, “Their privilege.”

- Page 72, line 18*, after "that" insert "if."
- " " " 28, after "Captaine" insert "Israel Stoughton."
- " " " last, for "Pastors" read "Pastor."
- The marginal references opposite "ordinarily," &c. at the foot of the page, are not in the MS. unless in the *short-hand*, which I do not believe.
- " 74, " 19, "and of late," to "rule" at the end of the paragraph, four lines not in the MS.
- " 75, The marginal references and note, "These you see," "It ought not," and "Universities" are not in the MS.
- " 76. The marginal reference to "1 Cor." is not in the MS. and in the next marginal reference for "Sunday" the MS. has "Lord's day."
- " 77. The marginal note "Once I stood" is not in the MS.
- " 78, *line 33*, dele comma before, and insert it after, the word "sometimes."
- " 79, note "b" in the margin ends in the MS. at "purim," unless the rest be in short-hand, which I suspect, in part.
- Note "c" after "publique" in its 4th line insert "10 or 12," and erase "eleven or twelve" 5 lines below:— in its 13th line for "creed" read "creeds"; and in its 20th line after "parish" insert "churches." The words at the close of this note from "men" to "expounding" have been cut from the MS. in binding it.
- In last line, for "begin" read "beginning."
- Page 80, line 5*, erase "good."
- " " " 6, erase "But."
- " " " 12, after "15" insert "verse the."
- " " " 20, for "I humbly" read "some."
- " " " 25, after "but their" insert "poverty and."
- " " " last line but one of the text, erase "the most of."
- " " " last line, erase from "and" to "Master."
- In the note, which in MS. occupies the margin of a blank page (18th), are several alterations, not much affecting the sense.
- Page 81, line 1*, from "Martin" to "courts," 16 lines are not in the MS.
- " " " 29, from "Now the" to "equal that," 6 lines not in the MS.
- " 82, " 1 and 2 not in the MS.
- " 83, " 21, erase "advise in" and insert "in hearing."
- " " " 22, erase from "and in" to "Lawes" in the next line.

Page 83, line last, erase "And they themselves."

" 84, " 1 to "record" line 10, are not in the MS.

" " 13, from "from" to "Majesty," 6 lines not in the MS.

" " 28, from "And a" to the foot of the page, 11 lines not in the MS.

" 85, " 1 to "Law," 4 lines not in the MS.

" " 24, from "And for" to the foot of the page, 15 lines not in the MS.

" 86, " 1, to "late," 8 lines not in the MS.

" " 24, to the foot of the page, 12 lines not in the MS.

In the margin of this page, 23d, of the MS., after the words "quickly waste," is the following note, to which allusion has already been made: "Heere inserte certaine propositions to the generall court, &c. after the marke." There is no reference to what these *propositions* are, nor to the place where they might be found. They are however contained in the printed copy and constitute the last 12 lines of p. 86, and the whole of the 6 pages following, and 7 lines of p. 93, ending with the word "jubent" — no part of which is of course in the MS.

Page 93, the names "Peck" and "Brown" are spelled with the final e; and instead of "Knolls" is "Knolles."

" " *line 6* from the bottom "one master Knight" is not to be found in the MS. In the margin of this page are a few lines of short hand, with the following: "2 Cor. 8, 23, and Philipp. 2, 25, for Apostles or Messengers of the churches and probably;" ending with 2 lines also of short hand.

" 94, the marginal note marked * ends in the MS. with the word "England" in its 9th line; and notes for the residue, on p. 94 and 95, are, I believe, contained in the short hand, since a reference to "1 Cor. 6," is contained in both the MS. and the printed copy.

" 95. The marginal note marked by an asterisk, beginning "Eccles. 12" is not in the MS.

" 96, *line 16*, after "children" insert "and being a man of estate when he came [to] the country is undone."

" " 21, after "Blackwood" insert "Mr. Thomas."

" " 23, after "we did," is erased in the MS. "and I know not what stayed him, he is very aged and white."

" " 26, for "Elder" read "Pastor," and insert the following from the MS. (p. 27) "There is Mr. Lenthall a minister out of office and

imploiment, and lives poorly.* Mr. Doughty also is come to this Island. The place where the church is, is called New porte."

* "He stood upon his ministrie and against the church covenant in the Bay and diverse joyning to choose him their minister at Weymouth, by subscribing to a paper for that end. He was censured in the Generall Court at Boston, and so were they that joyned in that election and one of them named Brittain for words saying that some of the ministers in the Bay were Brownists, and that they would not till it came to the sword's point, was whipt and had eleven stripes."†

Page 96, line 28, after "Newport" 3 lines, to "dissention," are not in the MS.

" " " 5th from the bottom, "pretended civill" not in the MS.

" 97, at the top of the MS. p. 27, is "Mr. Lenthall his controversie — Brittain whept," and an half line in short hand, doubtless referring to the note on p. 96.

" " line 18, for "Blakeston" read "Blackstone."

" 98, " 19, &c., for "Simonds" read "Symonds."

" " " 34 and last, for "H. K." read "Hansard Knowles."

" 99, " 4, 6, and 15, for "K" read "Knowles."

" " " 4, erase "a" and insert after "Captaine" the name "Underhill."

" " " 10, for "Gorges" read "Gorgs," as afterwards.

" " " 31, after "divers" insert "well accomlisht and discreete," and erase from "and it is" to "venison" in the next line.

" 100, " 5, for "and" read "are."

" 101, The marginal note marked * beginning "Wheat," is not in the MS.

† Is not this the James Britton, who was hanged for adultery in 1643, and of whom Gov. Winthrop gives some account, as a bad man, on pages 157, 158, and 159, in the second volume of Mr. Savage's edition? Britton "was whipt" about March, 1639. I Winth. 288, 289, where Mr. Savage, in a note, calls this "extraordinary tyranny," to which severe charge I am sorry to express my doubts. In addition to the remarks before made, I cannot forbear to add another on the subject of Mr. Lenthall. The doctrine contended for by him, that of admission to the church by baptism, was, it is believed, the distinctive doctrine of the *Church of England*, and it is believed to be almost strictly so now, other denominations requiring evidence of good character by propounding or by examination of the clergyman before admission. The question in this case brought up the whole matter of introducing foreign jurisdiction, &c.

Page 102, “ 13, for “ Aprill ” read “ March.”

“ “ “ 17, from “ The ” to “ New England,” 12 lines are not in the MS.

“ “ “ “ last, for “ coorse ” read “ coarse.”

“ 104, “ 7, for “ chirugions ” read “ surgions.”

“ “ “ 21, for “ fadome ” read “ fathome.”

Page 105, line 27. The *text* of the MS. ends at the word “ family, the,” on its p. 36 ; but in the margin, apparently intended as a note, it continues on to p. 106, line 3, and ends with the word “ perfitted ” instead of “ perfected.”

“ 106, “ 1, before “ He will ” the MS. says “ M^{ris}. Glover did worthily and wisely to marry him.”

J. B.

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A. HOLMES, *Corresponding Secretary.*

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T R A C T S
RELATING TO THE
ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY
THE
INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

[THE seven tracts, which are here reprinted, were written by different individuals, interested in the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and may be relied upon as authentic narratives of the great efforts made by some of the fathers in our Israel for the spiritual welfare of the children of the forest. The authors are the Rev. Messrs. Eliot, Shepard, Whitfield, Mayhew, and Mr. Edward Winslow. Several of these tracts are in the Library of Harvard University. But the Committee are indebted to the kindness of the American Antiquarian Society for the loan of a volume, which contains the entire series, and which, probably, is the only perfect copy in the country.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.]

THE
DAY-BREAKING,
IF NOT
The Sun-Rising
OF THE
G O S P E L L

With the
INDIANS in New-England.

Zach. 4. 10.
Who hath despised the day of small things ?
Matth. 13. 13.
The Kingdome of heaven is like to a graine of mustard seed.
Ibid. Verse 33.
The Kingdome of heaven is like unto Leven.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *Rich. Cotes*, for *Fulk Clifton*, and are to bee
sold at his shop under Saint *Margarets* Church
on New-fish-street Hill, 1647.

To the Reader.

***H**Ee that pen'd these following Relations, is a Minister of Christ in New England,* so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse, is not to be questioned; Were he willing his name should bee mentioned, it would bee an abundant, if not a redundant, Testimoniall to all that know him.*

Nathan. Warde.

[* The Rev. John Eliot.]

A
TRUE RELATION
 OF
Our beginnings with the *INDIANS*.

UPON *October* 28. 1646. four of us (having sought God) went unto the *Indians* inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their * *Wigwams*, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall *Wigwam* of * *Waubon*, we found many more *Indians*, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. *Waubon* the chief minister of Justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God, then any that as yet I have knowne of that forlorne generation; and therefore since wee first began to deale seriously with him, hath voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, hoping, as hee told us, that he might come to know him, although hee despaired much concerning himself; and accordingly his son was accepted, and is now at school in *Dedham*, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his *Indian* brethren in English clothes.

They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the *Indian* [p. 2.] language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long, the *Indians* desiring it that they also might know how to pray; but thus wee began in an unknowne tongue to them, partly to let them know that this dutie in hand was serious and sacred, (for so much some of them understand by what is undertaken at prayer) partly also in regard of our selves, that wee might agree together in the same request and heart sorrowes for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then shewing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least tittle of them, and so applied it unto the condition of the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death, and what Christ was, and whither he was now gone, and how hee will one day come againe to judge the world in flaming fire; and of the blessed estate of all those that by faith beleeeve in Christ, and know him feelingly: he spake to them also (observing his owne method as he saw most fit to edifie them) about the creation and fall of man, about the greatnesse and infinite being of God, the maker of all things, about the joyes of heaven, and the terrours and horrors of wicked men in hell, perswading them to repentance for severall sins which they live in, and many things of the like nature; not medling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and beleevd more plaine and familiar truths.

Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters [p. 3.] of salvation to them, the next thing wee intended was discourse with them by propounding certaine questions to see what they would say to them, that so wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them; but before wee did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the *Wigwam* did understand or onely some few? and they answered to this question with multitude of voyces, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them. We then desired to know of them, if they would propound any question to us for more cleare understanding of what was delivered; whereupon severall of them propounded presently severall questions, (far different from what some other *Indians* under *Kitshomakin* in the like meeting about six weekes before had done, *viz.* 1. What was the cause of Thunder. 2. Of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. 3. Of the wind) but the questions (which wee thinke some speciall wisdom of God directed these unto) (which these propounded) were in number six.

The name of
one of the
chiefe Indi-
ans about us.

How may wee come to know Jesus Christ? 1 *Quest.*

Our first answer was, That if they were able to read 1 *Answ.*
our Bible, the book of God, therein they should see
most cleerely what Jesus Christ was : but because they could not do
that ; therefore,

Secondly, we wisht them to thinke, and meditate of so much as
had been taught them, and which they now heard out of
Gods booke, and to thinke much and often upon it, 2 *Answ.*
both when they did lie downe on their Mats in their
Wigwams, and when they rose up, and to goe alone in the fields
and woods, and muse on it, and so God would teach them ; espe-
cially if they used a third helpe, which was,

Prayer to God to teach them and reveale Jesus Christ unto
them ; and wee told them, that although they could not
make any long prayers as the English could, yet if 3 *Answ.*
they did but sigh and groane, and say thus ; Lord make
mee know Jesus Christ, for I know him not, and if they did say so
againe and againe with their hearts that God would teach them
Jesus Christ, because hee is such a God as will bee found of them
that seeke him with all their hearts, and hee is a God hearing the
prayers of all men both *Indian* as well as *English*, and that *English*
men by this [p. 4.] meanes have come to the knowledge of Jesus
Christ.

The last helpe wee gave them was repentance, they must con-
fesse their sinnes and ignorance unto God, and mourne
for it, and acknowledge how just it is, for God to deny 4 *Answ.*
them the knowledge of Jesus Christ or any thing else
because of their sinnes.

These things were spoken by him who had preached to them in
their owne language, borrowing now and then some small helpe from
the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could oftentimes
expresse our minds more distinctly then any of us could ; but this
wee perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more re-
garded then many from the *Indian* Interpreter.

One of them after this answer, replied to us, that hee was a
little while since praying in his *Wigwam*, unto God and
Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart, 2 *Quest.*
and that while hee was praying, one of his fellow *Indi-*
ans interrupted him, and told him, that hee prayed in vaine, because
Jesus Christ understood not what *Indians* speake in prayer, he had
bin used to heare *English* man pray and so could well enough
understand them, but *Indian* language in prayer hee thought hee
was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore
could not understand them. His question therefore was, whether
Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand *Indian*
prayers.

This question sounding just like themselves, wee studied to give as familiar an answer as wee could, and therefore in

Answ. this as in all other our answers, we endeavoured to speake nothing without clearing of it up by some familiar similitude; our answer summarily was therefore this, that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things, and makes all men, not onely *English* but *Indian* men, and if hee made them both (which wee know the light of nature would readily teach as they had been also instructed by us) then hee knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts, and all his speeches, and so all his prayer; and if hee made *Indian* men, then hee knowes all *Indian* prayers also: and therefore wee bid them looke upon that *Indian* Basket that was before them, there was black and white strawes, and many other things they made it of, now though others did not know what those things were who [p. 5.] made not the Basket, yet hee that made it must needs tell all the things in it, so (wee said) it was here.

Another propounded this question after this answer, Whether
 3 *Quest.* English men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?

When wee perceived the root and reach of this question, wee gave them this answer, that there are two sorts of Eng-

Answ. lish men, some are bad and naught, and live wickedly and loosely, (describing them) and these kind of English men wee told them were in a manner as ignorant of Jesus Christ as the *Indians* now are; but there are a second sort of English men, who though for a time they lived wickedly also like other prophane and ignorant English, yet repenting of their sinnes, and seeking after God and Jesus Christ, they are good men now, and now know Christ, and love Christ, and pray to Christ, and are thankfull for all they have to Christ, and shall at last when they dye, goe up to heaven to Christ; and we told them all these also were once as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as the *Indians* are, but by seeking to know him by reading his booke, and hearing his word, and praying to him, &c. they now know Jesus Christ, and just so shall the *Indians* know him if they so seeke him also, although at the present they bee extremely ignorant of him.

How can there be an Image of God, because it's
 4 *Quest.* forbidden in the second Commandment?

Wee told them that Image was all one Picture, as the Picture of an *Indian*, Bow and Arrowes on a tree, with such

Answ. little eyes and such faire hands, is not an *Indian* but the Picture or Image of an *Indian*, and that Picture man makes, and it can doe no hurt nor good. So the Image or Picture of God is not God, but wicked men make it, and this Image can doe no good nor hurt to any man as God can.

Whether, if the father bee naught, and the child good, will God bee offended with that child, because in the second Commandment it's said, that hee visits the sinnes of fathers upon the children? 5 Quest.

Wee told them the plainest answer wee could thinke of, viz. that if the child bee good, and the father bad, God will not bee offended with the child, if hee repents of his owne and his fathers [p. 6.] sinnes, and followes not the steps of his wicked father; but if the child bee also bad, then God will visit the sins of fathers upon them, and therefore wisht them to consider of the other part of the promise made to thousands of them that love God and the *Evangelish Jehovah*, i. e. the Commandments of Jehovah. Answ.

How all the world is become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the Flood? 6 Quest.

Wee told them the story and causes of *Noahs* preservation in the Arke at large, and so their questioning ended; and therefore wee then saw our time of propounding some few questions to them, and so take occasion thereby to open matters of God more fully. Answ.

Our first question was, Whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke that there was no God, because they cannot see him? Quest. 1.

Some of them replied thus; that indeed they did desire to see him if it could bee, but they had heard from us that hee could not be seene, and they did beleive that though their eies could not see him, yet that hee was to bee seene with their soule within: Hereupon we sought to confirme them the more, and asked them if they saw a great or a great house, would they thinke that * *Racoones* or Foxes built it that had no wisdom? or would they thinke that it made it selfe? or that no wise workman made it, because they could not see him that made it? Answ.

No but they would beleieve some wise workman made it though they did not see him; so should they beleieve concerning God, when they looked up to heaven, Sunne, Moone, and Stars, and saw this great house he hath made, though they do not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to beleieve with their soules that a wise God, a great God made it.

We knowing that a great block in their way to beleiving is that there should bee but one God, (by the profession of the English) and yet this God in many places; therefore we asked them whether it did not seeme strange that there should bee but one God, and yet this God in * *Massachusetts*, at *Coneetacut*, at *Quimipeiock*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next every where. Quest. 2.

* A beast somewhat like a Fox.
* Three Indian names of places where the English sit downe.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as every thing else they heard preached was strange [p. 7.] also, and they were wonderfull things which they never heard of before ; but yet they thought it might bee true, and that God was so big every where : whereupon we further illustrated what wee said, by wishing them to consider of the light of the Sun, which though it be but a creature made by God, yet the same light which is in this *Wigwam* was in the next also, and the same light which was here at *Massachusetts* was at *Quinipeiock* also and in old England also, and every where at one and the same time the same, much more was it so concerning God.

Whether they did not finde somewhat troubling them within after the commission of sin, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thinke would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appeare before God, (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have.)

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them ; hee therefore who spake to them at first concluded with a dolefull description (so farre as his ability to speake in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite ; the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compasse of that hill, upon which their *Wigwams* then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them.

A true relation of our coming to the Indians the second time.

VPon November 11. 1646. we came the second time unto the same *Wigwam* of *Waawbon*, where we found many more Indians met together then the first time wee came to them : and having seates provided for us by themselves, and being sate downe [p. 8.] a while, wee began againe with prayer in the English tongue ; our beginning this time was with the younger sort of Indian children in Catechizing of them, which being the first time of instructing

them, we thought meet to aske them but only three questions in their own language, that we might not clog their mindes or memories with too much at first, the questions (asked and answered in the Indian tongue) were these three, 1 *Qu.* Who made you and all the world? *Answ.* God. 2. *Qu.* Who doe you looke should save you and redeeme you from sinne and hell? *Answ.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Qu.* How many commandments hath God given you to keepe? *Answ.* Ten. These questions being propounded to the Children severally, and one by one, and the answers being short and easie, hence it came to passe that before wee went thorow all, those who were last catechized had more readily learned to answer to them, by hearing the same question so oft propounded and answered before by their fellowes; and the other Indians who were growne up to more yeares had perfectly learned them, whom wee therefore desired to teach their children againe when wee were absent, that so when wee came againe wee might see their profiting, the better to encourage them hereunto, wee therefore gave something to every childe.

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz.* *Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth, and to tell you how evill and wicked men may come to bee good, so as while they live they may bee happy, and when they die they may goe to God and live in Heaven.* Having made this preface, hee began first to set forth God unto them by familiar descriptions, in his glorious power, goodnesse, and greatness, and then set forth before them what his will was, and what hee required of all men even of the Indians themselves, in the ten commandments, and then told them the dreadfull torment and punishment of all such as breake any one of those holy commandments, and how angry God was for any sinne and transgression, yet notwithstanding hee had sent Jesus Christ to die for their sinnes and to pacifie God by his sufferings in their stead and roome, if they did repent and beleieve the Gospell, and that hee would love the poore miserable Indians if now they sought God and beleeved [p. 9.] in Jesus Christ: threatening the sore wrath of God upon all such as stood out and neglected such great salvation which now God offered unto them, by those who sought nothing more then their salvation: thus continuing to preach the space of an houre, we desired them to propound some questions; which were these following. Before I name them it may not be amisse to take notice of the mighty power of the word which visibly appeared especially in one of them, who in hearing these things about sinne and hell, and Jesus Christ, powred out many teares and shewed much affliction without affectation of being seene, desiring rather to conceale his griefe which (as was gathered from his carriage) the Lord forced from him.

The first Question was suddenly propounded by an old man then present, who hearing faith and repentance preached upon
 1 *Quest.* them to finde salvation by Jesus Christ, hee asked whether it was not too late for such an old man as hee, who was neare death to repent or seeke after God.

This Question affected us not a little with compassion, and we held forth to him the Bible, and told him what God

Answ. said in it concerning such as are hired at the eleventh houre of the day: wee told him also that if a father had a sonne that had been disobedient many yeares, yet if at last that sonne fall downe upon his knees and weepe and desire his father to love him, his father is so mercifull that hee will readily forgive him and love him; so wee said it was much more with God who is a more mercifull father to those whom hee hath made, then any father can bee to his rebellious childe whom he hath begot, if they fall downe and weepe, and pray, repent, and desire forgiveness for Jesus Christ's sake; and wee farther added that looke as if a father did call after his childe to returne and repent promising him favour, the childe might then bee sure that his father would forgive him; so wee told them that now was the day of God risen upon them, and that now the Lord was calling of them to repentance, and that he had sent us for that end to preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that therefore they might bee sure to finde favour though they had lived many yeares in sinne, and that therefore if now they did repent it was not too late as the old man feared, but if they did not come when they were thus called, [p. 10.] God would bee greatly angry with them, especially considering that now they must sinne against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not any thing of God at all.

Having spent much time in clearing up the first question, the next they propounded (upon our answer) was this, *viz.*

2. *Quest.* How come the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?

Wee confessed that it was true that at first wee had all but one father, but after that our first father fell, hee had divers

Answ. children some were bad and some good, those that were bad would not take his counsell but departed from him and from God, and those God left alone in sinne and ignorance, but others did regard him and the counsell of God by him, and those knew God, and so the difference arose at first, that some together with their posterity knew God, and others did not; and so wee told them it was at this day, for like as if an old man an aged father amongst them have many children, if some of them bee rebellious against the counsell of the father, he shuts them out of doores, and lets them goe, and regards them not, unlesse they returne and re-

pent, but others that will bee ruled by him, they learne by him and come to know his minde ; so wee said English men seek God, dwell in his house, heare his word, pray to God, instruct their children out of Gods booke, hence they come to know God ; but Indians forefathers were stubborne and rebellious children, and would not heare the word, did not care to pray nor to teach their children, and hence Indians that now are, do not know God at all : and so must continue unlesse they repent, and returne to God and pray, and teach their children what they now may learne : but withall wee told them that many English men did not know God but were like to *Kitchamakins* drunken Indians ; Nor were wee willing to tell them the story of the scattering of *Noahs* children since the flood, and thereby to shew them how the Indians come to bee so ignorant, because it was too difficult, and the history of the Bible is reserved for them (if God will) to be opened at a more convenient season in their owne tongue.

Their third question was, How may wee come to 3. *Quest.*
serve God? [p. 11.]

Wee asked him that did propound it whether he did desire indeed to serve him? and hee said, yes. Hereupon wee said, first, they must lament their blindnesse and *Answ.* sinfulness that they cannot serve him ; and their ignorance of Gods booke (which wee pointed to) which directs how to serve him. Secondly, that they could not serve God but by seeking forgiveness of their sinnes and power against their sinnes in the blood of Jesus Christ who was preached to them. Thirdly, that looke as an Indian childe, if he would serve his father, hee must first know his fathers will and love his father too, or else he can never serve him, but if hee did know his fathers will and love him, then he would serve him, and then if hee should not doe some things as his father commands him, and yet afterwards grieve for it upon his knees before his father, his father would pity and accept him : so wee told them it was with God, they must labour to know his will and love God, and then they will bee willing to serve him, and if they should then sin, yet grieving for it before God he would pity and accept of them.

Their fourth Question was, How it comes to passe 4. *Quest.*
that the Sea water was salt, and the Land water fresh.

'Tis so from the wonderfull worke of God, as why are Straw-berries sweet and Cranberries sowre, there is no reason but the wonderfull worke of God that made them so : our study was chiefly to make them acknowledge God in his workes, yet wee gave them also the reason of it from naturall causes which they lesse understood, yet did understand somewhat appearing by their usuall signes of approving what they understand.

Answ.

A Berry which is ripe in the Winter and very sowre, they are called here Bearberries.

Their fifth Question was, that if the water was higher then the earth, how comes it to passe that it doth not overflow

5. *Quest.* all the earth ?

Wee still held God before them, and shewed that this must needs bee the wonderfull worke of God, and we tooke an

Answ. apple and thereby shewed them how the earth and water made one round globe like that apple ; and how the Sun moved about it ; and then shewed them how God made a great hole or ditch, into which hee put the waters of the Sea, so that though it was upon the earth and therefore above the earth, yet we told them that by making so deepe a hole the waters were kept within compasse [p. 12.] that they could not overflow, just as if Indians making a hole to put in much water, the water cannot overflow nor runne abroad, which they would if they had no such hole ; so it was with God, it was his mighty power that digged a hole for all Sea-waters, as a deepe ditch, and there by God kept them in from overflowing the whole earth, which otherwise would quickly drowne all.

They having spent much conference amongst themselves about these Questions and the night hastening, we desired

6. *Quest.* them to propound some other Questions, or if not, we would aske them some, hereupon one of them asked us ; If a man hath committed adultery or stolen any goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, nor by any law is hee punished, if also he restore the goods he hath stolen, what then ? whether is not all well now ? meaning that if Gods Law was broken and no man punished him for it, that then no punishment should come from God for it, and as if by restoring againe an amends was made to God.

Although man be not offended for such sinnes yet God is angry, and his anger burnes like fire against all sinners : and

Answ. here wee set out the holinesse and terrour of God in respect of the least sinne ; yet if such a sinner with whom God is angry fly to Jesus Christ, and repent and seeke for mercy and pardon for Christ's sake, that then God will forgive and pity. Upon the hearing of which answer hee that propounded the question drew somewhat backe and hung downe his head as a man smitten to the very heart, with his eyes ready to drop, and within a little while after brake out into a complaint, Mee little know Jesus Christ, otherwise he thought he should seeke him better : we therefore told him, that looke as it was in the morning at first there is but a little light, then there is more light, then there is day, then the Sun is up, then the Sun warmes and heates, &c. so it was true they knew but little of Jesus Christ now, but wee had more to tell them concerning him hereafter, and after that more and after that more, untill at last they may come to know Christ as the English doe ; and wee taught them but a little at a time, because they could

understand but little, and if they prayed to God to teach them, he would send his Spirit and teach them more, they and their fathers had lived in ignorance untill now, it hath [p. 13.] beene a long night wherein they have slept and have not regarded God, but now the day-light began to stirre upon them, they might hope therefore for more ere long, to bee made knowne to them.

Thus having spent some houres with them, wee propounded two Questions.

What do you remember of what was taught you since the last time wee were here? 1 *Quest.*

After they had spoken one to another for some time, one of them returned this answer, that they did much thanke God for our comming, and for what they heard, they were wonderfull things unto them. *Answ.*

Doe you beleeve the things that are told you, viz. that God is *musquantum*, i. e. very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes? 2 *Quest.*

They said yes, and hereupon wee set forth the terrour of God against sinners, and mercy of God to the penitent, and to such as sought to know Jesus Christ, and that as sinners should bee after death, *Chechainuppan*, i. e. tormented alive, (for wee know no other word in the tongue to expresse extreame torture by) so beleevers should after death *Woweinwicke Jehovah*, i. e. live in all blisse with *Jehovah* the blessed God: and so we concluded conference.

Having thus spent the whole afternoone, and night being almost come upon us; considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and did thinke that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, one of us therefore prepared to pray in their own language, and did so for above a quarter of an houre together, wherein divers of them held up eies and hands to heaven; all of them (as wee understood afterwards) understanding the same; but one of them I cast my eye upon, was hanging downe his head with his rag before his eyes weeping; at first I feared it was some sorenesse of his eyes, but lifting up his head againe, having wiped his eyes (as not desirous to be seene) I easily perceived his eyes were not sore, yet somewhat red with crying; and so held up his head for a while, yet such was the presence and mighty power of the Lord Jesus on his heart that hee hung downe his head againe, and covered his eyes againe and so [p. 14.] fell wiping and wiping of them weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended, after which hee presently turnes from us, and turnes his face to a side and corner of the Wigwam, and there fals a weeping more abundantly by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him encouraging words; at the hearing of which hee fell a weeping more and more; so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto

mee (being newly gone out of the Wigwam) and told mee of his teares, so we resolved to goe againe both of us to him, and speake to him againe, and wee met him comming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake againe to him, and he there fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that wee could not forbear weeping over him also : and so wee parted greatly rejoycing for such sorrowing.

Thus I have as faithfully as I could remember given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our owne bounds ; which cannot but bee matter of more serious thoughts what further to doe with these poore Natives the dregs of mankind and the saddest spectacles of misery of meere men upon earth : wee did thinke to forbear going to them this winter, but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewell : to which we are the more incouraged, in that the next day after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondering at the things they heard preacht amongst them ; another Indian comming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked sort of Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

Whence these Indians came here to inhabit is not certaine, his reasons are most probable who thinke they are Tartars passing out of *Asia* into *America* by the straits of *Anian*, who being spilt by some revenging hand of God upon this continent like water [p. 15.] upon the ground are spread as farre as these *Atlanticke* shores, there being but few of them in these parts in comparison of those which are more contiguous to the *Anian* straits, if we may credit some Historians herein : what ever these conjectures and uncertainties bee, certaine it is, that they are inheritors of a grievous and fearefull curse living so long without Ephod or Teraphim, and in nearest alliance to the wilde beasts that perish ; and as God delights to convey blessings of mercy to the posterity of some, in respect of his promise to their fathers, so are curses entailed and come by naturall descent unto others, for some great sinnes of their Ancestors, as no doubt it is in respect of these. Yet notwithstanding the deepest degeneracies are no stop to the overflowing grace and blood of Christ, when the time of love shall come, no not to these poore outcasts, the utmost ends of the earth being appointed to bee in time, the Sonne of Gods possession.

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our Countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of Natives ;

such men have surely more spleene then judgement, and know not the vast distance of Natives from common civility, almost humanity it selfe, and 'tis as if they should reproach us for not making the windes to blow when wee list our selves, it must certainly be a spirit of life from God (not in mans power) which must put flesh and sinewes unto these dry bones: if wee would force them to baptisme (as the Spaniards do about *Cusco*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts, to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time, into the name of Churches; but wee have not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle. Although I thinke we have much cause to bee humbled that wee have not endeavoured more then wee have done their conversion and peace with God, who enjoy the mercy and peace of God in their land. Three things have made us thinke (as they once did of building the Temple) it is not yet time for God to worke, 1. Because till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as [p. 16.] they thinke from some Apocalyptically places. 2. That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extremo ad extremum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extreemly degenerate, must bee brought to some civility before religion can prosper, or the word take place. 3. Because wee want miraculous and extraordinary gifts without which no conversion can bee expected amongst these; But me thinkes now that it is with the Indians as it was with our New-English ground when we first came over, there was scarce any man that could beleieve that English graine would grow, or that the Plow could doe any good in this woody and rocky soile. And thus they continued in this supine unbelieve for some yeares, till experience taught them otherwise, and now all see it to bee scarce inferiour to Old-English tillage, but beares very good burdens; so wee have thought of our Indian people, and therefore have beene discouraged to put plow to such dry and rocky ground, but God having begun thus with some few it may bee they are better soile for the Gospel then wee can thinke: I confesse I thinke no great good will bee done till they bee more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few, to awaken others by degrees? nor doe I expect any great good will bee wrought by the English (leaving secrets to God) (although the English surely begin and lay the first stones of Christs Kingdome and Temple amongst them) because God is wont ordinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some of their owne country men who are nearest to them, and can best speake, and most of all pity their brethren and countrimen, but yet if the least beginnings be made by the conversion of two or three, its worth all our time and travailes, and cause of much thankfulness

for such seedes, although no great harvests should immediately appeare; surely this is evident, first that they never heard heart-breaking prayer and preaching before now in their owne tongue. that we know of, secondly, that there were never such hopes of a dawning of mercy toward them as now, certainly those abundant teares which wee saw shed from their eies, argue a mighty and blessed presence of the spirit of Heaven in their hearts, which when once it comes into such kinde of spirits will not easily out againe.

The chiefe use that I can make of these hopefull beginnings, [p. 17.] besides rejoycing for such shinings, is from *Esay 2. 5. Oh house of Israel, let us walke in the light of the Lord*; Considering that these blinde Natives beginne to looke towards Gods mountaine now.

The observations I have gathered by conversing with them are such as these.

That none of them slept Sermon or derided Gods messenger :

1. Woe unto those English that are growne bold to doe that, which Indians will not, Heathens dare not.

That there is need of learning in Ministers who preach to Indians, much more to English men and gracious Christians, for

2. these had sundry philosophicall questions, which some knowledge of the arts must helpe to give answer to; and without which these would not have beene satisfied: worse then Indian ignorance hath blinded their eies that renounce learning as an enemy to Gospell Ministeries.

That there is no necessity of extraordinary gifts nor miraculous signes alway to convert Heathens, who being manifest

3. and professed unbeleevvers may expect them as soone as any; (signes being given for them that beleeve not 1 *Cor.* 14. 22.) much lesse is there any need of such gifts for gathering Churches amongst professing Christians, (signes not being given for them which beleeve,) for wee see the Spirit of God working mightily upon the hearts of these Natives in an ordinary way, and I hope will; they being but a remnant, the Lord using to shew mercy to the remnant; for there be but few that are left alive from the Plague and Pox, which God sent into those parts, and if one or two can understand they usually talke of it as wee doe of newes, it flies suddainely farre and neare, and truth scattered will rise in time, for ought we know.

If English men begin to despise the preaching of faith and repentance, and humiliation for sinne, yet the poore Hea-

4. thens will be glad of it, and it shall doe good to them; for so they are, and so it begins to doe; the Lord grant that the foundation of our English woe, be not laid in the ruine and contempt of those fundamentall doctrines of faith, repentance, humiliation for sin, &c. but rather relishing the novelties and dreaumes of

such men as are surfetted with the ordinary food of the Gospell of Christ. [p. 18.] Indians shall weepe to heare faith and repentance preached, when English men shall mourne, too late, that are weary of such truths.

That the deepest estrangements of man from God is no hindrance to his grace nor to the Spirit of grace, for what Nation or people ever so deeply degenerated since *Adams* fall 5.
as these Indians, and yet the Spirit of God is working upon them?

That it is very likely if ever the Lord convert any of these Natives, that they will mourne for sin exceedingly, and consequently love Christ dearely, for if by a little measure of light such heart-breakings have appeared, what 6.
may wee thinke will bee, when more is let in? they are some of them very wicked, some very ingenious, these latter are very apt and quick of understanding and naturally sad and melancholly (a good servant to repentance,) and therefore there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings, if ever God brings them effectually home, for which we should affectionately pray.

A third meeting with the Indians.

November 26. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word the more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatning death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, about temptations of the Devill, how hee tempted to all manner of sinne, and how the evill heart closed with them, and how a good heart abhorred them; the Indians were this day more serious then ever before, and propounded divers questions againe; as 1. Because some Indians say that we must pray to the Devill for all good, and some to God; they would know whether they might pray to the Devill or no. 2. They said they heard the word humiliation oft used in our Churches, and they would know what that meant? 3. Why the English call them Indians, because before they came they had another name? 4. What a Spirit is? 5. Whether they should beleve Dreames? 6. How the English come to know God so much [p. 19.] and they so little? To all which they had fit answers; but being not present I shall not set them downe: onely their great desire this time was to have a place for a Towne and to learne to spinne.

Sir, I did thinke I should have writ no more to you concerning the Indians; but the Ship lingers in the Harbour, and the Lord Jesus will have you see more of his conquests and triumphes among

these forlorne and degenerate people ; surely hee heares the prayers of the destitute and that have long lien downe in the dust before God for these poore prisoners of the pit : surely some of these American tongues and knees must confesse him, and bow downe before him : for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from that man of God who then preached to them)

The name of there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage
an Indian. Indian, as a messenger sent to him from the rest of the company, to offer unto him his owne sonne and three more Indian children to bee trained up among the English, one of the children was nine yeares old, another eight, another five, another foure : and being demanded why they would have them brought up among the English, his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should doe if they were constantly among the English.

This *Wampas* came also accompanied with two more Indians, young lusty men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English that by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ ; these are two of those three men whom wee saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten at our second meeting above mentioned, and continue still much affected, and give great hopes ; these two are accepted of and received into two of the Elders houses, but the children are not yet placed out because it is most meet to doe nothing that way too suddainly, but they have a promise of acceptance and education of them either in learning or in some other trade of life in time convenient, to which *Wampas* replied that the Indians desired nothing more.

These two young men who are thus disposed of, being at an Elders house upon the Sabbath day night, upon some conference [p. 20.] with them, one of them began to confesse how wickedly he had lived, and with how many *Indian* women hee had committed filthinesse, and therefore professed that hee thought God would never looke upon him in love. To which hee had this answer, that indeed that sinne of whoredome was exceeding great, yet if hee sought God for Christs sake to pardon him, and confesse his sinne and repented of it indeed, that the Lord would shew him mercy ; and hereupon acquainted him with the story of Christs conference with the Samaritan woman, *John 4.* and how Jesus Christ forgave her although shee lived in that sinne of filthinesse, even when Christ began to speake to her : whereupon he fell a weeping and lamenting bitterly, and the other young man being present and confessing the like guiltinesse with his fellow, hee burst out also into a great mourning, wherein both continued for above halfe an houre together at that time also.

It is wonderfull to see what a little leven and that small mustard-

seed of the Gospell will doe, and how truth will worke when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it on, even upon hearts and spirits most. incapable; for the last night after they had heard the word this third time, there was an English youth of good capacitie who lodged in *Waubons Wigwam* that night upon speciall occasion, and hee assured us that the same night *Waubon* instructed all his company out of the things which they had heard that day from the Preacher, and prayed among them, and awaking often that night continually fell to praying and speaking to some or other of the things hee had heard, so that this man (being a man of gravitie and chiefe prudence and counsell among them, although no * *Sachem*) is like to bee a meanes of great good to the That is King. rest of his company unlesse cowardise or witchery put an end (as usually they have done) to such hopefull beginnings.

The old man who askt the first question the second time of our meeting (*viz.* whether there was any hope for such old men or no) hath six sonnes, one of his sonnes was a *Pawwaw*, and his wife a great *Pawwaw*, and both these God hath con- That is Sor- vinced of their wickednesse, and they resolve to heare cerers and the word and seeke to the devill no more. This, the Witches. two *Indians* who are come to us acquaint us with, and that they now say, that *Chepian*, *i. e.* [p. 21.] the devill is naught, and that God is the author onely of all good as they have been taught. Hee therefore who preacheth to the *Indians* desired them to tell him who were *Pawwaws* when hee went againe to preach amongst them; and upon speciall occasion this *Decemb.* 4. being called of God to another place where the *Indians* use to meet, and having preacht among them, after the Sermon, hee that was the *Pawwaw* of that company was discovered to him, to whom hee addressed himselfe and propounded these questions, *viz.* 1. Whether doe you thinke that God or *Chepian* is the author of all good? he answered, God. 2. If God bee the author of all good, why doe you pray to *Chepian* the devill? The *Pawwaw* perceiving him to propound the last question with a sterne countenance and unaccustomed terrour, hee gave him no answer, but spake to other *Indians* that hee did never hurt any body by his *Pawwawing*, and could not bee got by all the meanes and turnings of questions that might bee, to give the least word of answer againe; but a little after the conference was ended, hee met with this *Pawwaw* alone and spake more lovingly and curteously to him, and askt him why hee would not answer, he then told him that his last question struck a terrour into him and made him afraid, and promised that at the next meeting hee would propound some question to him as others did.

And here it may not bee amisse to take notice of what these two *Indians* have discovered to us concerning these *Pawwaws*: for they were askt how they came to bee made *Pawwaws*, and they answer-

ed thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then the next day they tell the other *Indians* of it, and for two dayes after the rest of the *Indians* dance and rejoyce for what they tell them about this Serpent, and so they become their *Pawwaws*: Being further askt what doe these *Pawwaws*, and what use are they of; and they said the principall imployment is to cure the sick by certaine odde gestures and beatings of themselves, and then they pull out the sicknesse by applying their hands to the sick person and so blow it away: so that their *Pawwaws* are great witches having fellowship with the old Serpent, to whom they pray, and by whose meanes they heale sicke persons, and (as they [p. 22.] said also) will shew many strange jugglings to the wonderment of the *Indians*. They affirmed also that if they did not cure the sick party (as very often they did not) that then they were reviled, and sometime killed by some of the dead mans friends, especially if they could not get their mony againe out of their hands, which they receive aforehand for their cure.

Wee have cause to be very thankfull to God who hath moved the hearts of the generall court to purchase so much land for them to make their towne in which the *Indians* are much taken with, * and it is somewhat observable that while the Court were considering where to lay out their towne, the *Indians* (not knowing of any thing) were about that time consulting about Lawes for themselves, and their company who sit downe with *Waaubon*; there were ten of them, two of them are forgotten.

* This towne the *Indians* did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should bee called Noonatomen, which signifies in English rejoycing, because they hearing the word, and seeking to know God, the English did rejoyce at it, and God did rejoyce at it, which pleased them much; & therefore that is to be the name of their towne.

Their Lawes were these.

1. That if any man be idle a weeke, at most a fortnight, hee shall pay five shillings.
2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, hee shall pay twenty shillings.
3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall bee tied behind him and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.
4. Every young man if not anothers servant, and if unmarried, hee shall be compelled to set up a *Wigwam* and plant for himselfe, and not live shifting up and downe to other *Wigwams*.
5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up but hang loose or be cut as mens haire, she shall pay five shillings.
6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts they shall pay two shillings six pence.
7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.
8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay

five shillings. This Law though ridiculous to English eares yet tends to preserve cleanliness among *Indians*.

'Tis wonderfull in our eyes to understand by these two honest [p. 23.] *Indians*, what Prayers *Waubon* and the rest of them use to make, for hee that preacheth to them profeseth hee never yet used any of their words in his prayers, from whom otherwise it might bee thought that they had learnt them by rote, one is this.

Amanaomen Jehovah tahassen metagh.

Take away Lord my stony heart.

Another.

Chechesom Jehovah kekowhogkow,

Wash Lord my soule.

Another.

Lord lead mee when I die to heaven.

These are but a taste, they have many more, and these more enlarged then thus expressed, yet what are these but the sprinklings of the spirit and blood of Christ Jesus in their hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry barren and long-accursed ground should yeeld such kind of increase in so small a time. I would not readily commend a faire day before night, nor promise much of such kind of beginnings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for wee know the profession of very many is but a meere paint, and their best graces nothing but meere flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled and as soone go out and are extinct againe, yet God doth not usually send his Plough & Seedsman to a place but there is at least some little peece of good ground, although three to one bee naught: and mee thinkes the Lord Jesus would never have made so fit a key for their locks, unlesse hee had intended to open some of their doores, and so to make way for his comming in. Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gracious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, & do good by. I did think never to have opened my mouth to any, to desire those in England to further any good worke here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this businesse, that it were well if you did lay before those that are prudent and able these considerations.

1. That it is prettie heavy and chargeable to educate and traine up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, cloathing, diet and attendance, which they must have.

2. That in all probabilitie many *Indians* in other places, especially [p. 24.] under our jurisdiction, will bee provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes fare so well among the English, and the civill authoritie here so much favouring and countenancing of these, and if many more come in, it will bee more heavy to such as onely are fit to keepe them, and yet have their hands and knees infeeble so many wayes besides.

3. That if any shall doe any thing to incourage this worke, that it may bee given to the Colledge for such an end and use, that so from the Colledge may arise the yeerly revenue for their yeerly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular mans hand for feare of cousenage or misplacing or carelesse keeping and improving; but at the Colledge it's under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the country who have been & will be exactly carefull of the right and comely disposing of such things; and therefore, if any thing bee given, let it bee put in such hands as may immediately direct it to the President of the Colledge, who you know will soone acquaint the rest with it; and for this end if any in England have thus given any thing for this end, I would have them speake to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it bee withheld I thinke 'tis no lesse then sacriledge: but if God moves no hearts to such a work, I doubt not then but that more weake meanes shall have the honour of it in the day of Christ.

A fourth meeting with the Indians.

THis day being *Decemb. 9.* the children being catechised, and that place of *Ezekiel* touching the dry bones being opened, and applied to their condition; the *Indians* offered all their children to us to bee educated amongst us, and instructed by us, complaining to us that they were not able to give any thing to the English for their education: for this reason there are therefore preparations made towards the schooling of them, and setting up a Schoole among them or very neare unto them. Sundry questions also were propounded by them to us, and of us to them; one of them being askt what is sinne? hee answered a naughty heart. Another old man complained to us of his feares, *viz.* that hee [p. 25.] was fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, but still hee was in feare whether he should goe to hell or heaven; and thereupon the justification of a sinner by faith in Christ was opened unto him as the remedy against all feares of hell. Another complaind of other *Indians* that did revile them, and call them Rogues and such like speeches for cutting off their Locks, and for cutting their Haire in a modest manner as the New-English generally doe; for since the word hath begun to worke upon their hearts, they have discerned the vanitie and pride which they placed in their haire, and have therefore of their owne accord (none speaking to them that we know of) cut it modestly; they were therefore encouraged by some there present of chiefe place and account with us, not to feare the reproaches of wicked *Indians*, nor their witch-craft and *Pawwaws* and poysonings, but let them know that if they did not dissemble but would seeke God unfainedly, that they would stand by them, and that God also would be with them. They told us also of divers *Indians*

who would come and stay with them three or foure dayes, and one Sabbath, and then they would goe from them, but as for themselves, they told us they were fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, to which wee encouraged them, and night drawing on were forced to leave them, for this time.

FINIS.

THE
Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel
BREAKING FORTH
UPON THE
INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND.

O R,
An Historicall Narration of Gods
Wonderfull Workings upon sundry of the
INDIANS, both chief Governors and Common-people,
in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to
the Ordinances of the Gospel; and framing their
hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge
of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ
the Saviour of the World.

By Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD Minister of the Gospel of
Jesus Christ at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

Isaiah 2. 2, 3. *And it shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountain of the
Lords house shall bee established in the top of the mountains, and shall bee ex-
alted above the hills; and all Nations shall flow unto it.*
*And many people shal go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the
Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his wayes, and
we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the
word of the Lord from Jerusalem.*

London, Printed by *R. Cotes* for *John Bellamy* at the three golden
Lions in *Cornhill* near the Royall Exchange, 1648.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
LORDS & COMMONS

Assembled

In High Court of Parliament.

Right Honorable,

THese *few* sheets *present* unto your view a *short* but welcome *discourse* of the visitations of the *most High* upon the *saddest* spectacles of *degeneracy* upon earth, The *poore Indian People* : the *distance* of place, (if our *spirits* be right) will be no *lessening* of the mercy, nor of our *thankfulness*, That *Christ* is glorified, that the *Gospel* doth any where find *footing* ; and *success* is a *mercy* as well worthy the *praise* of the *Saints* on Earth, as the *joy* of the *Angels* in heaven. The *report* of this mercy is *first* made to you, who are the *Representative* of this Nation, That in you *England* might bee stirred up, to be Rejoycers in, and Advancers of these promising beginnings. And because to you an *account* is *first* due of the *success* of the Gospel in those *darke* corners of the World, which have been so much *inlightned* by Your favour, *enlivened* by Your resolutions, *encouraged* by Your fore-past indeavours for God, & hope stil being parts of Your selves, to be *further* strenghtned by Your benigne aspects and bountifull influences on them.

The present *troubles* have not so far *obliterated* and worn out the sad *mispressions* which *former* times have made upon our spirits, but we can *sadly* remember those *destructive* designes which were on foot, and carryed on for the *Introduction* of so great *evils* both into *Church* and *State*; In order to which it was the *endeavour* of the *Contrivers* and *Promoters* of those designes, *to wast* the number of the godly, as those who would never be brought to *comply* in such destructive enterprises; which was attempted by *banishing* and *forcing* some abroad, by *burthening* and *afflicting* all at home. Among those who *tasted* of the *first*, I say not the *worst* sort of their cruelty, were these our *Brethren*, who to enjoy the *liberties* of the Gospel, were *content* to sit downe, and pitch their *tents* in the *utmost* parts of the Earth, hoping that there they might be out of the *reach* of their malice, as they were assured they were beyond the *bounds* of their love. God who doth often make mans *evill* of sin, serviceable to the *advancement* of the *riches* of his owne Grace; The most *horrid* act that ever was done by the *sonnes* of men, the *murther* of Christ, God made *serviceable* to the highest *purposes* of Grace and mercy that ever *came* upon his breast; That God doth shew that hee had *mercifull* ends, in this their *malicious* purpose: as hee suffer'd *Paul* to be cast into prison, to
 Acts 16. 30, *convert* the Jaylor, to be shipwrackt at *Melita*,
 33, 34.
 Acts 28. 1. 11. to *preach* to the *barbarous*, so he *suffer'd* their way to be *stopped* up here, and their persons to be *banished* hence, that hee might *open* a passage for them in the *Wildernesse*, and make them *instruments* to draw soules to him, who had been so long *estranged* from him.

It was the end of the *adversary* to suppress, but Gods to *propagate* the Gospel; theirs to *smother* and put out the light, Gods to *communicate* and disperse it to the *utmost* corners of the Earth; that as one saith
 Cæcitas Pauli
 totius orbis il-
 luminatio.
 Acts 9. 9. of *Paul*, his *blindnesse* gave *light* to the whole *World*, so we hope God will make their distance and *estrangednesse* from us, a meanes of *bringing* many near and in to acquaintance with him.

Indeed *a long time* it was before God let them see any farther end of their coming over, then to *preserve* their consciences, *cherish* their Graces, *provide* for their sustenance: But when *Providences* invited their return, he let them *know* it was for some farther Arrand that hee *brought* them thither, giving them some *Bunches* of Grapes, some *Clusters* of Figs in *earnest* of the prosperous *successe* of their endeavours upon those *poor outcasts*: The *utmost* ends of the earth are *designed* and promised to be *in time* the possessions of Christ; And hee *sends his Ministers into every place where he himself intends to come*, and take possession. Where the *Ministry* is the *Harbinger* and goes before, Christ and *Grace* will *certainly* follow after.

This little we see is *something* in hand, to *earnest* to us those things which are in hope; something in *possession*, to assure us of the *rest* in promise, when the *ends* of the earth shall see his glory, and the *Kingdomes of the world shall become the Kingdomes of the Lord and his Christ*, when hee shall have *Dominion from Sea to Sea, and they that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him*. And if the *dawn of the morning* be so delightfull, what will the *clear day* be? If the *first fruits* be so precious, what will the *whole harvest* be? if some *beginnings* be so full of joy, what will it be when God shall *perform his whole work*, when *the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea*, and East and West shal sing together the song of the Lamb?

In order to this what doth God *require* of us, but that we should *strengthen* the hands, *incourage* the hearts of those who are at *work* for him, *conflicting* with difficulties, *wrestling* with discouragements, to *spread* the Gospel, & in that, the *fame* and honor of this Nation, to the *utmost* ends of the earth? It was the *design* of your *enemies* to make them *little*, let it be your *endeavor* to make them *great*, their *greatnesse* is your strength. Their

enemies threatned *their* hands should *reach* them for evil, God *disappointed* them ; And let your *hands* reach them now for good ; there is enough in them to speak them fit *objects* of your incouragement, they are men of *choice* spirits, not *frighted* with dangers, *softned* with allurements, nor *discouraged* with difficulties, *preparing* the way of the Lord in those *unpassable* places of the earth, dealing with such *whom* they are to *make* men, before they can *make* them Christians. They are such who are *impressed* for your service in the *service* of Christ, can *stand* alone, but desire to have *dependence* on you, they feare not the *malice* of their enemies, but *desire* the countenance and incouragement of their friends ; And shal your *Honors* in *consideration* of their *former* sufferings, their *present* service, and *reall* deservings, *help the day of small things among them* ; shal you interest them in your assistances, as you are interested in their affections, you wil thereby not only *further* these *beginnings* of God by *incouraging* their hearts, and *strengthening* their hands to *work* for him, but also (as we humbly conceive) much add to the *comfort* of your owne *accounts* in the day of the Lord, and lay greater obligations on them *yet more* to *pray* for you, to *promote* your counsels, and together with us your *unworthy servants* to *write down* themselves,

Yours humbly devoted in the service of the Gospel.

Stephen Marshall
Jeremy Whitaker
Edm. Calamy
William Greenhill

John Downam
Philip Nye
Syd. Symptson
William Carter

Tho. Goodwin
Tho. Case
Simeon Ashe
Samuel Bolton.

TO THE
Godly and well affected of this
Kingdome of *ENGLAND*;

who pray for, and rejoyce in, the
thrivings of the Gospel of our
LORD JESVS.

Christian Reader,

I*F ever thou hadst experience of this day of power, these visitations of Christ upon thine own spirit; I suppose thee to be one who hast embarqu'd many prayers for the successe of the Gospel in these darke corners of the earth; to strengthen thy faith, enlarge thy heart, and assure thy soul that God is a God hearing prayers: An account is here given to thee of the conquests of the Lord Iesus upon these poor out-casts, who have thus long been estranged from him, spilt like water upon the ground and none to gather them. Formerly thou had, The Day-break, some dawns of light, after a long and black night of darkenes, here thou seest the sun is up, which wee hope will rejoyce like the strong man to run its race, scattering those thick clouds of darknesse, and shining brighter and brighter till it come to a perfect day. These few sheets give thee some footing for such thoughts, and some further encouragements to wait & pray for the accomplishment of such things. Here thou mayst see, the Ministry is precious, the feet of them who bring glad tidings beautifull, Ordinances desired, the Word frequented, and attended, the Spirit also going forth in power and efficacy with it, in awakening and humbling of them, drawing forth those affections of sorrow, and expressions of tears in abundance, which no tortures or extremities were ever observed to force from them, with lamenting: we read here, their leaving of sinne, they forsake their former evill wayes, and set up fences never to returne, by making laws for the punishment of those sins wherein they have lived, and to which they have been so much addicted. They set up prayers in their families morning and evening, and are in earnest in them; And with more affection they crave Gods blessing upon a little parched corn, & Indian stalks, then many of us do upon our greatest plenty and abundance. They rest on the Lords day, and make laws for the observation of it, wherein they meet together to pray & instruct one another in the things of God, which have been commu-*

The Epistle

nicated to them. They renounce their diabolicall Charms and Charmers, and many of those who were practitioners in these sinfull and soul-undoing Arts, being made naked, convinced and ashamed of their evill, forsake their way, and be-take themselves to prayer, preferring the Christian Charm, before their diabolicall Spells: herein God making good that promise Zeph. 2. 11. I will famish al the Gods of the earth, (which he doth by withdrawing the worshippers, and throwing contempt upon the worship) And men shal worship me alone every one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heathens.

All these are hopefull presages that God is going out in his power and grace to conquer a people to himself; That he begins to cast an owning look on them, whom he hath so long neglected & despised. And indeed God may wel seek out for other ground to sow the seed of his Ordinances upon, seeing the ground where it hath been sown hath brought forth no better fruit to him; he may well bespeak another people to himself, seeing he finds no better entertainment among the people he hath espoused to him, and that by so many mercies, priviledges, inderments, ingagements. We have as many sad symptomcs of a declining, as these poor outcasts have glad presages of a Rising Sun among them. The Ordinances are as much contenned here, as frequented there; the Ministry as much discouraged here, as embraced there; Religion as much derided, the ways of godliness as much scorned here, as they can be wished and desired there; generally wee are sick of plenty, wee surfet of our abundance, the worst of Surfets, and with our loathed Manna and disdained food, God is preparing them a Table in the wildernes; where our satieties, wil be their sufficiencies; our complaints, their contents; our burthens, their comforts; if he cannot have an England here, he can have an England there; & baptize & adopt them into those priviledges, which wee have looked upon as our burthens. We have sad decayes upon us, we are a revolting Nation, a people guilty of great defection from God. Some fall from the worship of God to their old superstitions, and corrupt worship, saying with those in Ieremy, It was better with us then now. Some fall from the doctrin of grace to errors, some to damnable, others to defiling, some to destructive, others to corruptive opinions. Some fall from professed seeming holynes, to sin & profanenes; who like blazing comets did shine bright for a time, but after have set in a night of darknes. We have many sad symptomcs on us, we decay under all the means of nourishment, are barren under all Gods sowings, dry under al the dews, droppings showres of heaven, like that Country whereof Historians speak, where drought causeth dirt, and showres causeth dust. And what doth God threaten herein, but to remove the

Siccitas dat
lutum, imbres
pulverem.

Candlesticks, to take away the Gospel, that pretious Gospel, the streams whereof have brought so many ships laden with blessings to our shoar, that Gospel under the shadow whereof we have sate down and been refreshed these many years? where the power is lost, God will not long continue the form, where the heat is gone, he wil not long continue the light. The temple did not preserve the Iews when their hearts were the Synagogues of Satan, nor shall any outward priviledge hold us up, when the inward power is down in our spirits. God hath forsaken other Churches as eminent as ever England was : where are the churches of Asia, once famous for the gospel, for general Councils, now places for Zim and Ochim, their habitation desolate? where are those ancient people of the Iews who were (*segulla micol hagnámim*) his peculiar and chosen people of al nations? they are scattered abroad as a curse, and their place knows them no more. And shall I tel you? God hath no need of us, he can cal them Gnammi, his people, who were Lo gnammi, not his people, and them beloved, who were not beloved. Indeed he hath held up us, as if he had not known where to havé another people, if he should forsake us; we have been a Goshen, when others have been an Egypt, a Canaan, when others an Akeldama, the garden of God, when others have been a wilderness, our fleece hath been wet, when others have been dry : But know, God hath no need of us, he can want no people if he please to call; If he speake, all the ends of the Psal. 22. 27, 28. &c. world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all 1 Esa 9. 10. the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before him.

If he set up his standard, to him shal the Gentiles flock, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. It is not for need but for love that God abides with England, and there is nothing out of himselfe Amat deus, non aliunde hoc habet, sed ipse est unde amat. Aug. the incentive of this love : there can be no reason given why God should fence us, and suffer other places to lye wast, that we should bee his Garden, and other places a Wildernes, that he should feed us with the bread of

Heaven, and suffer others to starve, men of the same mould, his offspring as well as we, and such (did he conquer to himselfe) were likely to doe him more service, bring him more glory then we have done. Wee see something here done in order to such a work, our Harvest is much over, we see little incomes, there we see the fields are ripe for harvest; here the ministry is contemned, there the feet of them that bring glad tydings are beautifull; we have outlived the power and efficacy of Ordinances, there God goes forth with life and power; we can outfit the most speaking and winning discoveries of Christ, there every notion, breeds motion in them; the glory of the Lord is much departed from us, there his rising is conspicuous and glorious. The blind man found it good to be in the way where Christ came: And who would be in Ægypt when there is light in

Goshen? *Oh that England would be quickened by their risings, and weep over her own declinings! What a wonder is it that they should doe so much, and we so little, that they should be men in their infancy, and we such children in our manhood, that they so active, we so dead? That which was Hieroms complaint may be*

Heu! quod præstat infidelitas quod non præstitit fides. Ignis qui in parentibus fuit Calidus, in nobis Lucidus. *ours, O that Infidelity should do that which those who professe themselves beleevvers cannot do! We have the light of former times, but want the heat, knowledge abounds as the waters cover the sea, but we want the salt; we have a form of Godlinesse, but want the power: And it wil be smal comfort should God continue to us the form, and cary to others the power, to suffer us to wast our selvs with unnecessary brangles (which are the sweat of the times) and in the mean to cary the life and power of Religion unto others.*

Let these poor Indians stand up incentives to us, as the Apostle set up the Gentiles a provocation to the Jews: who knows
 Rom 11. 14. *but God gave life to New England, to quicken Old, and hath warmed them, that they might heat us, raised them from the dead, that they might recover us from that consumption, and those sad decayes which are come upon us?*

This smal Treatise is an Essay to that end, an Indian Sermon, though you will not hear us, possibly when some rise from the dead you will hear them. The main Doctrin it preacheth unto all, is to value the Gospel, prize the Ministry, loath not your Manna, surfet not of your plenty, be thankfull for mercies, fruitfull under means: Awake from your slumber, repair your decayes, redeem your time, improve the seasons of your peace; answer to cals, open to knocks, attend to whispers, obey commands; you have a name you live, take heed you bee not dead, you are Christians in shew, be so indeed: least as you have lost the power, God take away from you the form also.

And you that are Ministers learn by this not to despond though you see not present fruit of your labors, though you fish all night and catch nothing, God hath a fulnesse of time to perform all his purposes. And the deepest degeneracies, & widest estrangements from God, shall be no bar or obstacle to the power and freenesse of his owne grace when that time is come.

And you that are Merchants, take incouragement from hence to scatter the beames of light, to spread and propagate the Gospel into those dark corners of the earth; whither you traffick you take much from them, if you can carry this to them, you wil make them an abundant recompence. And you that are Christians indeed, rejoyce to see the Curtaines of the Tabernacle enlarged, the bounds of the Sanctuary extended, Christ advanced, the Gospel propagated, and souls saved. And if ever the love of God did center in your hearts, if

ever the sense of his goodness hath begot bowels of compassion in you, draw them forth towards them whom God hath singled out to be the objects of his grace and mercy ; lay out your prayers, lend your assistance to carry on this day of the Lord begun among them. They are not able (as Moses said) to bear the burthen of that people alone, to make provision for the children whom God hath given them ; & therefore it is requisite the spiritual community should help to bear part with them. Many of the young ones are given and taken in, to be educated & brought up in Schooles, they are naked and must be clad, they want all things, and must be supplied. The Parents also, and many others being convinced of the evill of an idle life, desire to be employed in honest labor, but they want instruments and tooles to set them on work, and cast-garments to throw upon those bodies, that their loins may blesse you, whose souls Christ hath cloathed. Some worthy persons have given much ; and if God shall move the heart of others to offer willingly towards the building of Christ a Spirituall temple, it will certainly remain upon their account, when the smallest rewards from God, shall be better then the greatest layings out for God. But we are making a relation, not a collection ; we leave the whole to your Christian consideration, not doubting but they who have tasted of mercy from God, will be ready to exercise compassion to others, & commend you unto him who gave himself for us, that hee might redeem us Tit 9. 14. from all iniquity, and purifie as well as purchase unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

*Stephen Marshall
Ier. Whitaker
Edmund Calamy
William Greenhill*

*John Downam
Philip Nye
Sy. Simpson
William Carter*

*Tho. Goodwin
Tho. Case
Simeon Ashe
Samuel Bolton.*

THE
CLEARE SVNSHINE
OF THE
G O S P E L L ,
Breaking forth upon the INDIANS
in *New-England*.

Much Honored and deare Sir,

THat glorious and sudden rising of Christ Jesus upon our poore *Indians* which began a little before you set saile from these shores, hath not been altogether clouded since, but rather broken out further into more light and life, wherewith the most High hath visited them; and because some may call in question the truth of the first relation, either because they may thinke it too good newes to be true, or because some persons maligning the good of the Countrey, are apt, as to aggravate to the utmost any evill thing against it, so to vilifie and extenuate any good thing in it: and because your selfe desired to heare how farre since God hath carried on that worke, which your owne eyes saw here begun; I shall therefore as faithfully and as briefly as I can, give you a true relation of the progresse of it, which I hope may be a sufficient confirmation of what hath been published to [p. 2.] the world before, having this as the chiefe end in my owne eye, that the precious Saints and people of God in *England*, beleeving what hath been and may bee reported to them, of these things, may help forward this work together with us by their prayers and prayses, as we desire to doe the like for the worke of Christ begun among them there. I dare not speake too much, nor what I thinke about their conversion, I have seen so much falsenesse in that point among many English, that I am slow to beleeeve herein too hastily concerning these poore naked men; onely this is evident to all honest hearts that dwell neer them, and have observed them, that the work of the Lord upon them (what ever it bee) is both unexpected and wonderfull in so short a time; I shall set downe things as they are, and then your selfe and others to whom these may come, may judge as you please of them.

Soon after your departure hence, the awakening of these *Indians* in our Towne raised a great noyse among all the rest round about us, especially about *Concord* side where the
* An inferiour Prince. * *Sachim* (as I remember) and one or two more of his men, hearing of these things and of the preaching of the Word, and how it wrought among them here, came therefore
* An Indian town so called. hither to * *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, and what the Lord spake to his heart wee know not, only it seems hee was so farre affected, as that he desired to become more like to the English, and to cast off those *Indian* wild and sinfull courses they formerly lived in; but when divers of his men perceived their *Sachins* mind, they secretly opposed him herein; which opposition being known, he therefore called together his chiefe men about him, & made a speech to this effect unto them, “viz. That they had no reason at all to oppose those courses the English were now taking for their good, for (saith hee) all the time you have lived after the *Indian* fashion under the power and protection of higher *Indian* *Sachems*, what did they care for you? they onely sought their owne ends out of you, and therefore would exact upon you, and take away your skins and your *Kettles* & your *Wampam* from you at their own pleasure, & this was al that they regarded: but you may evidently see that the English mind no such things, care for none of your goods, but onely seeke your good and welfare, and in stead of taking away, are ready to give to you; with many other things I now [p. 3.] forget, which were related by an eminent man of that town to me. What the effect of this speech was, we can tell no otherwise then as the effects shewed it; the first thing was, the making of certain Lawes for their more religious and civill government and behaviour, to the making of which, they craved the assistance of one of the chiefe *Indians* in *Noonanetum*, a very active *Indian* to bring in others to the knowledge of God; desiring withall an able faithfull man in *Concord* to record and keep in writing what they had generally agreed upon. Another effect was, their desire of * Mr.
* Teacher of the Church of Roxbury, that preacheth to the Indians in their own Language. *Eliots* coming up to them, to preach, as he could find time among them; and the last effect was, their desire of having a Towne given them within the bounds of *Concord* neare unto the English. This latter when it was propounded by the *Sachim* of the place, he was demanded why hee desired a towne so neare, when as there was more roome for them up in the Country. To which the *Sachim* replied, that he therefore desired it because he knew that if the *Indians* dwelt far from the English, that they would not so much care to pray, nor would they be so ready to heare the Word of God, but they would be all one *Indians* still; but dwelling neare the English he hoped it might bee otherwise with them then. The Town

therefore was granted them ; but it seemes that the opposition made by some of themselves more malignantly set against these courses, hath kept them from any present settling downe : and surely this opposition is a speciall finger of *Satan* resisting these budding beginnings ; for what more hopefull way of doing them good then by cohabitation in such Townes, neare unto good examples, and such as may be continually whetting upon them, and dropping into them of the things of God ? what greater meanes at least to civilize them ? as is evident in the *Cusco* and *Mexico Indians*, more civill then any else in this vast Continent that wee know of, who were reduced by the politick principles of the two great conquering Princes of those Countries after their long and tedious wars, from these wild and wandering course of life, unto a settling into particular Townes and Cities : but I forbear, only to confirme the truth of these things, I have sent you the orders agreed on at *Concord* by the *Indians*, under the hand of two faithfull witnesses, who could testifie more, if need were, of these matters : I have sent you their [p. 4] owne Copy and their own hands to it, which I have here inserted.

*Conclusions and Orders made and agreed upon by divers
Sachims and other principall men amongst the Indians at
Concord, in the end of the eleventh moneth, An. 1646.*

1. **T**HAT every one that shall abuse themselves with wine or strong liquors, shall pay for every time so abusing themselves, 20 s.
2. That there shall be no more *Pawwowing* amongst the *Indians*. And if any shall hereafter * *Pawwow*, both he that shall *Powwow*, & he that shall procure him to *Powwow*, shall pay 20 s. apeece.
3. They doe desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God.
4. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions, and temptations.
5. That they may fall upon some better course to improve their time, then formerly.
6. That they may be brought to the sight of the sinne of lying, and whosoever shall be found faulty herein shall pay for the first offence 5 s. the second 10 s. the third 20 s.
7. Whosoever shall steale any thing from another, shall restore four-fold.
8. They desire that no *Indian* hereafter shall have any more but one wife.
9. They desire to prevent falling out of *Indians* one with another, and that they may live quietly one by another.

* *Pawwows*
are *Witches*
or *Sorcerers*
that cure by
help of the
devill.

10. That they may labour after humility, and not be proud.
11. That when *Indians* doe wrong one to another, they may be lyable to censure by *fine* or the like, as the *English* are.
12. That they pay their debts to the *English*.
13. That they doe observe the Lords-Day, and whosoever shall prophane it shall pay 20*s*.
14. That there shall not be allowance to *pick Lice*, as formerly, and eate them, and whosoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny. [p. 5.]
15. They will weare their *haire* comely, as the *English* do, and whosoever shall offend herein shall pay 5*s*.
16. They intend to reforme themselves, in their former greasing themselves, under the Penalty of 5*s*. for every default.
17. They doe all resolve to set up prayer in their *wigwams*, and to seek to God both before and after meate.
18. If any commit the sinne of fornication, being single persons, the man shall pay 20*s*. and the woman 10*s*.
19. If any man lie with a beast he shall die.
20. Whosoever shall play at their former games shall pay 10*s*.
21. Whosoever shall commit adultery shall be put to death.
22. Wilfull murder shall be punished with death.
23. They shall not disguise themselves in their mournings, as formerly, nor shall they keep a great noyse by howling.
24. The old Ceremony of the Maide walking alone and living apart so many dayes 20*s*.
- * A Canoe is a small Boate. 25. No *Indian* shall take an English mans * *Canoe* without leave under the penaltie of 5*s*.
26. No *Indian* shall come into any *English* mans house except he first knock : and this they expect from the *English*.
27. Whosoever beats his wife shall pay 20*s*.
28. If any *Indian* shall fall out with, and beate another *Indian*, he shall pay 20*s*.
29. They desire they may bee a towne, and either to dwell on this side the *Beare Swamp*, or at the east side of Mr. *Flints Pond*.

Immediately after these things were agreed upon, most of the *Indians* of these parts, set up Prayer morning and evening in their families, and before and after meat. They also generally cut their haire, and were more civill in their carriage to the *English* then formerly. And they doe manifest a great willingnesse to conform themselves to the civill fashions of the *English*. The Lords day they keepe a day of rest, and minister what edification they can to one another. These former orders were put into this forme by Captaine *Simond Willard* of *Concord*, whom the *Indians* with unanimous consent intreated to bee their Recorder, being very soli-

citous that what they did agree upon might be faithfully preserved without alteration.

Thomas Flint. Simon Willard.

[p. 6.] These things thus wrought in a short time about *Concord* side, I looke upon as fruits of the ministry of the Word ; for although their high esteem bred lately in them, especially the chief and best of the *English*, together with that mean esteem many of them have of themselves, and therefore will call themselves sometimes *poore Creatures*, when they see and heare of their great distance from others of the *English* ; I say, although these things may be some causes of making these orders and walking in these courses, yet the chiefe cause seemes to bee the power of the Word, which hath been the chiefe cause of these Orders, and therefore it is that untill now of late they never so much as thought of any of these things.

I am not able to acquaint you very much from my owne eye and eare wnesse of things, for you know the neare relation between me and the fire side usually all winter time, onely I shall impart two or three things more of what I have heard and seen, and the rest I shall relate to you as I have received from faithfull witnesses, who testifie nothing to me by their writings, but what is seene in the open Sun, and done in the view of all the world, and generally known to be true of people abiding in these parts wee live in.

As soone as ever the fiercenesse of the winter was past, March. 3. 1647. I went out to *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, where Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Allen*, of *Dedham*, Mr. *Dunster*, beside many other Christians were present ; on which day perceiving divers of the *Indian* women well affected, and considering that their soules might stand in need of answer to their scruples as well as the mens ; & yet because we knew how unfit it was for women so much as to aske questions publicly immediatly by themselves ; wee did therefore desire them to propound any questions they would bee resolved about by first acquainting either their Husbands, or the Interpreter privately therewith : whereupon we heard two questions thus orderly propounded ; which because they are the first that ever were propounded by *Indian* women in such an ordinance that ever wee heard of, and because they may bee otherwise usefull, I shall therefore set them downe.

The first question was propounded by the wife of one *Wampooas* a well affected *Indian*, viz. "Whether (said she) do I pray "when [p. 7.] my husband prayes if I speak nothing as he doth, "yet if I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it? (for the *Indians* will many times pray with their wives, and with their children also sometime in the fields) shee therefore fearing lest prayer should onely be an externall action of the lips, enquired if it might not be also an inward action of the heart, if she liked of what he said.

The second question was propounded by the Wife of one *Tother-swampe*, her meaning in her question (as wee all perceived) was this, *viz.* “Whether a husband should do well to pray with his wife, and “yet continue in his passions, & be angry with his wife? But the modesty and wisdom of the woman directed her to doe three things in one, for thus shee spake to us, *viz.* “Before my husband did pray “hee was much angry and froward, but since hee hath begun to “pray hee was not angry so much, but little angry : wherein first shee gave an honorable testimony of her husband and commended him for the abatement of his passion ; secondly, shee gave implicitly a secret reproofe for what was past, and for somewhat at present that was amisse ; and thirdly, it was intended by her as a question whether her husband should pray to God, and yet continue in some unruly passions ; but she wisely avoyded that, lest it might reflect too much upon him, although wee desired her to expresse if that was not her meaning.

At this time (beside these questions) there were sundry others propounded of very good use, in all which we saw the Lord Jesus leading them to make narrow inquiries into the things of God, that so they might see the reality of them. I have heard few Christians when they begin to looke toward God, make more searching questions that they might see things really, and not onely have a notion of them : I forbore to mention any of them, because I forget the chiefe of them ; onely this wee tooke notice of at this dayes meeting, that there was an aged *Indian* who proposed his complaint in propounding his question concerning an unruly disobedient son, and “what one should do with him in case of obstinacy and disobedience, “and that will not heare Gods Word, though his Father command “him, nor will not forsake his drunkennesse, though his father forbid him? Unto which there were many answers to set forth the sinne of disobedience [p. 8.] to parents ; which were the more quickned and sharpened because wee knew that this rebellious sonne whom the old man meant, was by Gods providence present at this Lecture : Mr. *Wilson* was much enlarged, and spake so terribly, yet so graciously as might have affected a heart not quite shut up, which this young *desperado* hearing (who well understood the *English* tongue) instead of humbling himself before the Lords Word, which touched his conscience and condition so neare, hee was filled with a spirit of Satan, and as soone as ever Mr. *Wilsons* speech was ended hee brake out into a loud contemptuous expression ; So, saith he : which we passed by without speaking againe, leaving the Word with him, which we knew would one day take its effect one way or other upon him.

The latter end of this yeare Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Eliot*, and my selfe were sent for by those in *Yarmouth* to meet with some other Elders of *Plimouth pattice*, to heare and heale (if it were the will of Christ)

the difference and sad breaches which have been too long a time among them, wherein the Lord was very mercifull to us and them in binding them up beyond our thoughts in a very short time, in giving not only that bruised Church but the whole Towne also a hopefull beginning of settled peace and future quietnesse ; but Mr. *Eliot* as hee takes all other advantages of time, so hee tooke this, of speaking with, and preaching to the poore *Indians* in these remote places about *Cape Cod* : in which journey I shall acquaint you with what all of us observed.

Wee first found these *Indians* (not very farre from ours) to understand (but with much difficulty) the usuall language of those in our parts, partly in regard of the different dialect which generally varies in 40. or 60. miles, and partly and especially in regard of their not being accustomed unto sacred language about the holy things of God, wherein Mr. *Eliot* excells any other of the *English*, that in the *Indian* language about common matters excell him : I say therefore although they did with much difficulty understand him, yet they did understand him, although by many circumlocutions and variations of speech and the helpe of one or two Interpreters which were then present.

Secondly, wee observed much opposition against him, and hearing of him at the day appointed, especially by one of the chiefest [p. 9.] *Sachims* in those parts, a man of a fierce, strong and furious spirit whom the *English* therefore called by the name *Jehu* : who although before the day appointed for preaching, promised very faire that he would come and bring his men with him ; yet that very morning when they were to bee present, he sends out almost all his men to Sea, pretending fishing, and therefore although at last he came late himselfe to the Sermon, yet his men were absent, and when he came himself, would not seem to understand any thing, although hee did understand as some of the *Indians* themselves then told us, when Mr. *Eliot* by himself and by them inquired of him if he understood what was spoken : yet he continued hearing what was said with a dogged looke and a discontented countenance.

Thirdly, notwithstanding this opposition wee found another *Sachim* then present willing to learne, and divers of his men attentive and knowing what was said : and in the time which is usually set apart for propounding questions, an aged *Indian* told us openly, "That these very things which Mr. *Eliot* had taught them as the Commandements of God, and concerning God, and the making of the world by one God, that they had heard some old men who were now dead, to say the same things, since whose death there hath been no remembrance or knowledge of them among the *Indians* untill now they heare of them againe. Which when I heard solemnly spoken, I could not tell how those old *Indians* should attaine to such knowledge, unlesse perhaps by means of the *French*

Preacher cast upon those coasts many yeers since, by whose ministry they might possibly reape and retaine some knowledge of those things ; this also I hear by a godly and able Christian who hath much converse with them ; that many of them have this apprehension now stirring among them, *viz.* "That their forefathers did know God, but that after this, they fell into a great sleep, and when they did awaken they quite forgot him, (for under such metaphoricall language they usually expresse what eminent things they meane :) so that it may seem to be the day of the Lords gracious visitation of these poore Natives, which is just as it is with all other people, when they are most low, the wheele then turnes, and the Lord remembers to have mercy. [p. 10.]

Fourthly, a fourth and last observation wee took, was the story of an *Indian* in those parts, telling us of his dreame many yeers since, which he told us of openly before many witnesses when we sate at meat : the dreame is this, hee said "That about two yeers before the *English* came over into those parts there was a great mortality among the *Indians*, and one night he could not sleep above half the night, after which hee fell into a dream, in which he did think he saw a great many men come to those parts in cloths, just as the *English* now are apparelled, and among them there arose up a man all in black, with a thing in his hand which hee now sees was all one *English* mans book ; this black man he said stood upon a higher place then all the rest, and on the one side of him were the *English*, on the other a great number of *Indians* : this man told all the *Indians* that God was *moosquantum* or angry with them, and that he would kill them for their sinnes, whereupon he said himself stood up, and desired to know of the black man what God would do with him and his *Squaw* and *Papooses*, but the black man would not answer him a first time, nor yet a second time, untill he desired the third time, and then he smil'd upon him, and told him that he and his *Papooses* should be safe, and that God would give unto them *Mitcheu*, (*i. e.*) victualls and other good things, and so hee awakened. What similitude this dream hath with the truth accomplished, you may easily see. I attribute little to dreams, yet God may speak to such by them rather then to those who have a more sure Word to direct and warn them, yet this dream made us think surely this *Indian* will regard the black man now come among them rather then any others of them : but whether Satan, or fear, and guilt, or world prevailed, we cannot say, but this is certaine, that he withdrew from the Sermon, and although hee came at the latter end of it, as hoping it had been done, yet we could not perswade him then to stay and hear, but away he flung, and we saw him no more till next day.

From this third of *March* untill the latter end of this Summer I could not be present at the *Indian* Lectures, but when I came this

last time, I marvelled to see so many *Indian* men, women and children in *English* apparell, they being at *Noonanetum* generally clad, especially upon Lecture dayes, which they have got [p. 11.] partly by gift from the *English*, and partly by their own labours, by which some of them have very handsomely apparelled themselves, & you would scarce know them from *English* people. There is one thing more which I would acquaint you with, which hapned this Summer, viz. June 9. the first day of the Synods meeting at *Cambridge*, where the forenoon was spent in hearing a Sermon preached by one of the *Elders* as a preparative to the worke of the Synod, the afternoon was spent in hearing an *Indian* Lecture where there was a great confluence of *Indians* [from] all parts to heare Mr. *Eliot*, which we conceived not unseasonable at such a time, partly that the reports of Gods worke begun among them, might be seen and beleevd of the chief who were then sent and met from all the Churches of Christ in the Countrey, who could hardly beleieve the reports they had received concerning these new stirs among the *Indians*, and partly hereby to raise up a greater spirit of prayer for the carrying on of the work begun upon the *Indians*, among all the Churches and servants of the Lord Jesus: The Sermon was spent in shewing them their miserable condition without Christ, out of *Ephes.* 2. 1. that they were dead in trespasses and sinnes, and in pointing unto them the Lord Jesus, who onely could quicken them.

When the Sermon was done, there was a convenient space of time spent in hearing those questions which the *Indians* publicly propounded, and in giving answers to them; one question was, *What Countrey man Christ was, and where he was borne?*

Another was, *How farre off that place was from us here?*

Another was, *Where Christ now was?*

And another, *How they might lay hold on him, and where, being now absent from them?* with some other to this purpose; which received full answers from severall hands. But that which I note is this, that their gracious attention to the Word, the affections and mournings of some of them under it, their sober propounding of divers spirituall questions, their aptnesse to understand and beleieve what was replyed to them, the readinesse of divers poore naked children to answer openly the chief questions in Catechism which were formerly taught them, and such like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvellously affect all the wise and godly Ministers, Magistrates, & people, and did [p. 12.] raise their hearts up to great thankfulness to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of among such as never heard of him before: So that if any in *England* doubt of the truth of what was formerly writ, or if any malignant eye shall question and vilifie this work, they will now speak too late, for what was here done at *Cambridge* was not

set under a Bushell, but in the open Sunne, that what *Thomas* would not beleeve by the reports of others, he might be forced to beleeve, by seeing with his own eyes and feeling Christ Jesus thus risen among them with his own hands.

I have done with what I have observed my self; I shall therefore proceed to give you a true relation of what I have heard from others, and many faithfull witnesses have seene: and first I shall speake a little more of the old man who is mentioned in the story now in print; this old man hath much affection stirred up by the Word, and coming to Mr. *Eliots* house (for of him I had this story) Mr. *Eliot* told him that because he brought his wife & all his children constantly to the Lecture, that he would therefore bestow some Cloths upon him, (it being now winter & the old man naked:) which promise he not certainly understanding the meaning of, asked therefore of another *Indian* (who is Mr. *Eliots* servant and very hopefull) what it was that Mr. *Eliot* promised him? he told him that hee said hee would give him some Cloths; which when hee understood, hee affectionately brake out into these expressions, *God I see is mercifull*: a blessed, because a plain hearted affectionate speech, and worthy *English* mens thoughts when they put on their Cloths; to thinke that a poor blind *Indian* that scarce ever heard of God before, that he should see not only God in his Cloths, but mercy also in a promise of a cast off worne sute of Cloths, which were then given him, and which now he daily weares. But to proceed;

This same old man, (as I think a little before hee had these Cloths) after an *Indian* Lecture, when they usually come to propound questions; instead of asking a question, began to speak to the rest of the *Indians*, and brake out into many expressions of wondring at Gods goodnesse unto them, that the Lord should at last look upon them and send his Word as a light unto them [p. 13.] that had been in darknesse and such grosse ignorance so long; me wonder (saith he) at God that he should thus deale with us. This speech expressed in many words in the *Indian* Language, and with strong actings of his eyes and hands, being interpreted afterward to the *English*, did much also affect all of them that were present this Lecture also.

There were this winter many other questions propounded, which were writ down by Mr. *Edward Jackson* one of our Town, constantly present at these Lectures, to take notes both of the questions made by the *Indians* and returned by Mr. *Eliot* to them; this man having sent me in his notes, I shall send you a tast of some of them.

1 *Why some men were so bad, that they hate those men that would teach them good things?*

2 *Whether the devill or man were made first?*

3 *Whether if a father prayes to God to teach his sons to know him, and he doth teach them himself and they will not learn to know*

God, what should such fathers doe? (this was propounded by an old man that had rude children.)

4 A * Squaw propounded this question, *Whether she might not go & pray in some private place in the woods, when her husband was not at home, because she was ashamed to pray in the Wigwam before company?* * Indian woman.

5 How may one know wicked men, who are good and who are bad?

6 To what Nation Jesus Christ came first unto, and when?

7 If a man should be inclosed in Iron a foot thick and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soule, whether could the soule come forth thence or not?

8 Why did not God give all men good hearts that they might bee good?

9 If one should be taken among strange Indians that know not God, and they would make him to fight against some that he should not, and he refuse, and for his refusall they kill him, what would become of his soule in such a case? This was propounded by a * stout fellow who was affected. * They hold that all their stout and valiant men have a reward after death.

10 How long it is before men beleve that have the Word of God made known to them?

11 How they should know when their faith is good, and their prayers good prayers? [p. 14.]

12 Why did not God kill the Devill that made all men so bad, God having all power?

13 If we be made weak by sinne in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctifie a Sabbath?

There were many more questions of this kind, as also many Philosophicall about the Sunne, Moon, Stars, Earth and Seas, Thunder, Lightning, Earthquakes, &c. which I forbear to make mention of, lest I should clog your time with reading, together with the various answers to them: by these you may perceive in what streame their minds are carried, and that the Lord Jesus hath at last an enquiring people among these poor naked men, that formerly never so much as thought of him; which questionings and enquiries are accounted of by some as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward, wherever they are found among any people, the good and benefit that comes to them hereby is and will be exceeding great.

We had this year a malignant drunken Indian, that (to cast some reproach, as wee feared, upon this way) boldly propounded this question, Mr. Eliot (said he) *Who made Sack? who made Sack?* but he was soon snib'd by the other Indians, calling it * a Papoose question, and seriously and gravely answered (not so much to his question, as to his spirit) by Mr. Eliot, which hath cooled his boldnesse ever since, * That is a childish question.

while others have gone on comfortably in this profitable and pleasant way.

The man who sent me these and the like questions with their severall answers in writing, concluded his letter with this story, which I shall here insert, that you may see the more of God among these poore people: "Upon the 25. of *Aprill* last (saith he)

* An Indian Sachim. "I had some occasion to go to speak with * *Wabun*

"about Sun-rising in the morning, and staying some half an hours time, as I came back by one of the *Wigwams*, the man of that *Wigwam* was at prayer; at which I was so much affected, that I could not but stand under a Tree within hearing, though I could not understand but little of his words, and consider that God was fulfilling his Word, viz. *The ends of the earth shall remember themselves and turne unto him*; and that Scripture, *Thou art the God that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come*.

"Also this present *September* I have observed one of them to [p. 15.] call his children to him from their gathering of Corne in the field, and to crave a blessing, with much affection, having but a homely dinner to eate.

These things me thinks should move bowels, and awaken *English* hearts to be thankfull, it is no small part of Religion to awaken with God in family prayer, (as it seemes these doe it early) and to crave a blessing with affectionate hearts upon a homely dinner, perhaps parcht Corne or *Indian* stalks: I wish the like hearts and wayes were seen in many *English* who professe themselves Christians, and that herein and many the like excellencies they were become *Indians*, excepting that name, as he did in another case, except his bonds: and that you may see not only how farre Religion, but civility hath taken place among them, you may be pleased therefore to peruse this Court Order, which is here inserted.

The order made last Generall Court at Boston the 26. of May, 1647. concerning the Indians, &c.

VPon information that the *Indians* dwelling among us, and submitted to our government, being by the Ministry of the Word brought to some civility, are desirous to have a course of ordinary Judicature set up among them: It is therefore ordered by authority of this Court, that some one or more of the Magistrates, as they shall agree amongst themselves, shall once every quarter keep a Court at such place, where the *Indians* ordinarily assemble to hear the Word of God, and may then hear and determine all causes both civil and criminall, not being capitall, concerning the *Indians* only, and that the *Indian Sachims* shall have libertie to take order in the

nature of Summons or Attachments, to bring any of their own people to the said Courts, and to keep a Court of themselves, every moneth if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civill nature, and such smaller criminall causes, as the said Magistrates shall referre to them; and the said *Sachims* shall appoint Officers to serve Warrants, and to [p. 16.] execute the Orders and Judgements of either of the said Courts, which Officers shall from time to time bee allowed by the said Magistrates in the quarter Courts or by the Governour: And that all fines to bee imposed upon any *Indian* in any of the said Courts, shall goe and bee bestowed towards the building of some meeting houses, for education of their poorer children in learning, or other publick use, by the advice of the said Magistrates and of Master *Eliot*, or of such other Elder, as shall ordinarily instruct them in the true Religion. And it is the desire of this Court, that these Magistrates and Mr. *Eliot* or such other Elders as shall attend the keeping of the said Courts will carefully indeavour to make the Indians understand our most usefull Lawes, and the principles of reason, justice and equity whereupon they are grounded, & it is desired that some care may be taken of the *Indians* on the Lords dayes.

Thus having had a desire to acquaint you with these proceedings among the *Indians*, and being desirous that you might more fully understand, especially from him who is best able to judge, I did therefore intreat my brother *Eliot* after some conference about these things, to set down under his own hand what he hath observed lately among them: which I do therefore herein send unto you in his owne hand writing as he sent it unto mee, which I think is worthy all Christian thankfull eares to heare, and wherein they may see a little of the Spirit of this man of God, whom in other respects, but especially for his unweariednesse in this work of God, going up and down among them and doing them good, I think we can never love nor honour enough.

*The Letter of Mr. Eliot to T. S. concerning the late work
of God among the Indians.*

Deare Brother,

AT your desire I have wrote a few things touching the *Indians* which at present came to my mind, as being some of those passages which took principall impression in my heart, [p. 17.] wherein I thought I saw the Lord, and said the finger of God is here.

That which I first aymed at was to declare & deliver unto them
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the Law of God, to civilize them, w^{ch} course the Lord took by *Moses*, to give the Law to that rude company because of transgression, *Gal.* 3. 19. to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also to humble them. But when I first attempted it, they gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I said. A while after God stirred up in some of them a desire to come into the *English* fashions, and live after their manner, but knew not how to attain unto it, yea despaired that ever it should come to passe in their dayes, but thought that in 40. yeers more, some *Indians* would be all one *English*, and in an hundred yéers, all *Indians* here about, would so bee: which when I heard, (for some of them told me they thought so, and that some wise *Indians* said so) my heart moved within mee, abhorring that wee should sit still and let that work alone, and hoping that this motion in them was of the Lord, and that this mind in them was a preparative to imbrace the Law and Word of God; and therefore I told them that they and wee were already all one save in two things, which make the only difference betwixt them and us: First, we know, serve, and pray unto God, and they doe not: Secondly, we labour and work in building, planting, clothing our selves, &c. and they doe not: and would they but doe as wee doe in these things, they would be all one with *English* men: they said they did not know God, and therefore could not tell how to pray to him, nor serve him. I told them if they would learn to know God, I would teach them: unto which they being very willing, I then taught them (as I sundry times had indeavored afore) but never found them so forward, attentive and desirous to learn till this time, and then I told them I would come to their *Wigwams*, and teach them, their wives and children, which they seemed very glád of; and from that day forward I have not failed to doe that poore little which you know I doe.

I first began with the *Indians* of *Noonanetum*, as you know; those of *Dorchester mill* not regarding any such thing: but the better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the *English*, both to Magistrates, and all the good people, it pleased God to step in and bow their hearts to desire to be taught to know God, [p. 18.] and pray unto him likewise, and had not I gone unto them also, and taught them when I did, they had prevented me, and desired me so to do, as I afterward heard.

The effect of the Word which appears among them, and the change that is among them is this: First, they have utterly forsaken all their *Powwaws*, and given over that diabolicall exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God; yea sundry of their *Powwaws* have renounced their wicked employment, have condemned it as evill, and resolved never to use it any more; others of them, seeing their employment and gaines were utterly gone here, have fled to other places, where they are still entertained, and have

raised lies, slanders, and an evill report upon those that heare the Word, and pray unto God, and also upon the English that indeavour to reclaine them and instruct them, that so they might discourage others from praying unto God, for that they account as a principall signe of a good man, and call all religion by that name, praying to God; and beside they mock and scoffe at those *Indians* which pray, and blaspheme God when they pray; as this is one instance. A sober *Indian* going up into the countrey with two of his sons, did pray (as his manner was at home) and talked to them of God and Jesus Christ: but they mocked, & called one of his sons *Jehovah*, and the other *Jesus Christ*: so that they are not without opposition raised by the *Powwaws*, and other wicked *Indians*.

Againe as they have forsaken their former Religion, and manner of worship, so they doe pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their *Wigwams* at such times; as also when they goe to meat they solemnly pray and give thanks to God, as they see the English to doe: so that that curse which God threatens to poure out upon the families that call not on his name, is through his grace, and tender mercy stayed from breaking forth against them, and when they come to English houses, they desire to be taught; and if meat bee given them, they pray and give thanks to God: and usually expresse their great joy, that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them.

Furthermore they are carefull to instruct their children, that so when I come they might be ready to answer their Catechize, [p. 19.] which by the often repeating of it to the children, the men and women can readily answer to.

Likewise they are carefull to sanctifie the Sabbath, but at first they could not tell how to doe it, and they asked of mee how they should doe it, propounding it as a question whether they should come to the English meetings or meet among themselves; they said, if they come to the English meetings they understand nothing, or to no purpose, and if they met together among themselves, they had none that could teach them. I told them that it was not pleasing to God, nor profitable to themselves, to hear and understand nothing, nor having any that could interpret to them. Therefore I counselled them to meet together, and desire those that were the wisest and best men to pray, and then to teach the rest such things as I had taught them from Gods Word, as well as they could; and when one hath done, then let another do the like, and then a third, and when that was done aske questions, and if they could not answer them, then remember to aske me, &c. and to pray unto God to help them therein: and this is the manner how they spend their Sabbaths.

They are also strict against any prophanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, &c. and have a Law to punish such as are

delinquents therein by a fine of 10*s.* and sundry cases they have had, wherein they have very strictly prosecuted such as have any way prophaned the Sabbath. As for example, upon a Sabbath morning *Cutchamaquin* the *Sachim* his wife going to fetch water met with other women, and she began to talk of worldly matters, and so held on their discourse a while, which evill came to *Nabantons* eare, who was to teach that day (this *Nabanton* is a sober good man, and a true friend to the English ever since our comming) so he bent his discourse to shew the sanctification of the Sabbath, & reproved such evils as did violate the same; & among other things worldly talk, and thereupon reproved that which he heard of that morning. After hee had done, they fell to discourse about it, and spent much time therein, hee standing to prove that it was a sinne, and she doubting of it, seeing it was early in the morning, and in private; and alledging that he was more to blame then she, because he had occasioned so much discourse in the publick meeting: but in conclusion they determined [p. 20.] to refer the case to me, and accordingly they did come to my house on the second day morning and opened all the matter, and I gave them such direction as the Lord directed me unto, according to his holy Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day towards night two strangers came to *Wabans Wigwam* (it being usuall with them to travaile on that day, as on any other;) and when they came in, they told him that at a place about a mile off they had chased a *Rackoone*, and he betook himself into an hollow tree, and if they would goe with them, they might fell the tree and take him: at which tidings, *Waban* being willing to be so well provided to entertain those strangers (a common practise among them, freely to entertain travellers and strangers) he sent his two servants with them, who felled the tree, and took the beast. But this act of his was an offence to the rest, who judged it a violation of the Sabbath, and moved agitation among them: but the conclusion was, it was to bee moved as a question upon the next Lecture day; which was accordingly done, and received such answer as the Lord guided unto by his Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day their publick meetting holding long, and somewhat late, when they came at home, in one *Wigwam* the fire was almost out, and therefore the man of the house, as he sate by the fire side took his Hatchet and split a little dry peece of wood, which they reserve on purpose for such use, and so kindled his fire, which being taken notice of, it was thought to bee such a worke as might not lawfully be done upon the Sabbath day, and therefore the case was propounded the Lecture following for their better information.

These instances may serve to shew their care of the externall observation of the Sabbath day.

In my exercise among them (as you know) wee attend foure

things, besides prayer unto God, for his presence and blessing upon all we doe.

First, I catechize the children and youth ; wherein some are very ready & expert, they can readily say all the Commandements, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, &c. wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition [p. 21.] thereof to the children, and are able to teach it to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly, I Preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainnesse, and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly, if there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure ; unto which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainnesse, and without shiftings, and excuses : I will instance in two or three particulars ; this was one case, a man named *Wampoowas*, being in a passion upon some light occasion did beat his wife, which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times it was very usuall) and they had made a Law against it, and set a fine upon it ; whereupon he was publicly brought forth before the Assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present : the man wholly condemned himself without any excuse : and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him ? he did not in the least measure blame her but himself, and when the quality of the sinne was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against Gods Commandement, and that passion was a sinne, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, &c. he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest indeavor to hide it ; and such was the modest, penitent, and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a Barbarian, and all did forgive him, onely this remained, that they executed their Law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this, *Cutshamaquin* the *Sachim* having a son of about 14. or 15. yeers old, he had bin drunk, & had behaved himself disobediently, and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sinne they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe when I catechized him, when he should say the fift Commandement, he did not freely say, *Honor thy father*, but wholly left out *mother*, and so he did the Lecture day before, but when this sinne of his was produced, he was called forth before the Assembly, [p. 22.] and hee confessed that what was said against him was true, but hee fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that hee would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink Sack, and I know not

what else : which behavior wee greatly disliked, shewed him the evill of it, and Mr. *Wilson* being present laboured much with him, for hee understood the English, but all in vaine, his heart was hard and hopelesse for that time, therefore using due loving perswasions, wee did sharply admonish him of his sinne, and required him to answer further the next Lecture day, and so left him ; and so stout he was, that when his father offered to pay his fine of 10 s. for his drunkennesse according to their Law, he would not except it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as before. Then wee turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of his sonnes way, by confessing his own sinnes whereby hee had given occasion of hardnesse of heart to his sonne ; which thing was not suddain to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and hee was very willing to hearken to that counsell, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy ; and accordingly he did, he confessed his maine and principall evils of his own accord : and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew hee had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise ; and put it after this manner, Are you now sorry for your drunkennesse, filthines, false dealing, lying, &c. which sinnes you committed before you knew God ? unto all which cases, he expressed himself sorrowfull, and condemned himself for them : which example of the *Sachim* was profitable for all the Indians. And when he had thus confessed his sinnes, we turned againe to his sonne and laboured with him, requiring him to confesse his sinne, and intreat God to forgive him for Christ his sake, and to confesse his offence against his father and mother, and intreat them to forgive him, but he still refused ; and now the other Indians spake unto him soberly, and affectionatly, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some severall times. Mr. *Wilson* againe did much labour with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all, [p. 23.] and intreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping : hee did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others ; and many English being present, they fell a weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side ; and then we went to prayer, in all which time *Cutshamquin* wept, in so much that when wee had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his teares.

Another case of admonition was this, a hopefull young man who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking Sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised ; which when I heard I reprov'd him, and he humbled himself, with confession of his sinne, and teares. And the next Lecture day I called him forth before the Assembly, where he did confesse his sinne with many teares.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not bee too tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. It was *George* that wicked *Indian*, who as you know, at our first beginnings sought to cast aspersions upon Religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, *who made Sack?* and this fellow having kild a young Cow at your Towne, and sold it at the Colledge instead of *Moose*, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. *Dunster* was loath he should be directly charged with it when we called him forth, but that wee should rather inquire. But when he was called before the Assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, onely hee added one thing which wee think was an excuse; thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly, the last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions, and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was *Wabbakoxets* question, who is reputed an old *Powwow*, it was to this purpose, seeing the English had been 27. yeers (some of them) in this land, why did wee never teach them to know [p. 24.] God till now? had you done it sooner, said hee, wee might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin, &c. To whom we answered, that we doe repent that wee did not long agoe, as now we doe, yet withall wee told them, that they were never willing to hear till now, and that seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the paines we can now to teach them.

Another question was, that of *Cutshamaquin*, to this purpose, Before I knew God, said he, I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinfull then ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to mee; and at this day my heart is but very little better then it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad againe as it was before, and therefore I sometime wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not? This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coynd feigned thing, but a reall matter gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children, Whither their little children goe when they dye, seeing they have not sinned?

Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them original sin, and the damned state of all men: And al-o, and especially it gave occasion to teach them the Covenant of God, which he hath made with all his people, and with their children, so that when God

chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, he chooses all their children to be so also: which doctrin was exceeding gratefull unto them.

Another great question was this, when I preached out of *1 Cor.* 6. 9, 10, 11. old Mr. *Brown*, being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much, though covered it what hee could; and after that there was a generall question, which they sent unto mee about, by my man, as the question of them all, *Whether any of them should goe to Heaven, seeing they found their hearts full of sinne, and especially full of the sinne of lust,* which they call *nanwunwudsquas*, that is, mad after women; and the next meeting, being at *Dorchester mill*, Mr. *Mather* and Mr. [p. 25.] *Wareham*, with divers others being present, they did there propound it, expressing their feares, *that none of them should bee saved*; which question did draw forth my heart to preach and presse the promise of pardon to all that were weary and sick of sinne, if they did beleve in Christ who had died for us, and satisfied the justice of God for all our sinnes, and through whom God is well pleased with all such repenting sinners that come to Christ, and beleve in him; and the next day I took that Text, *Matth.* 11. 28, 29. and this doctrin some of them in a speciall manner did receive in a very reverent manner.

There is another great question that hath been severall times propounded, and much sticks with such as begin to pray, namely, *If they leave off Powwawing, and pray to God, what shall they do when they are sick?* for they have no skill in physick, though some of them understand the vertues of sundry things, yet the state of mans body, and skill to apply them they have not: but all the refuge they have and relie upon in time of sicknesse is their *Powwaws*, who by antick, foolish and irrationall conceits delude the poore people; so that it is a very needfull thing to informe them in the use of Physick, and a most effectuall meanes to take them off from their *Powwawing*. Some of the wiser sort I have stirred up to get this skill; I have shewed them the anatomy of man's body, and some generall principles of Physick, which is very acceptable to them, but they are so extreemely ignorant, that these things must rather be taught by sight, sense, and experience then by precepts, and rules of art; and therefore I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a singular good work, if the Lord would stirre up the hearts of some or other of his people in England to give some maintenance toward some Schoole or Collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be Anatomies and other instructions that way, and where there might be some recompence given to any that should bring in any vegetable or other thing that is vertuous in the way of Physick; by this means we should soon have all these things which they know, and others of our Countrey men that are skilfull that way, and now their skill lies

buried for want of encouragement, would be a searching and trying to find out the vertues of things in this countrey, which doubtlesse are many, and would not a [p. 26.] little conduce to the benefit of the people of this Countrey, and it may bee of our native Countrey also; by this meanes wee should traine up these poore *Indians* in that skill which would confound and root out their *Powwaws*, and then would they be farre more easily inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God, whose gift Physick is, and whose blessing must make it effectuell.

There is also another reason which moves my thought and desires this way, namely that our young Students in Physick may be trained up better then yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now.

This very day that I wrote these things unto you, I have been with the *Indians* to teach them, as I was wont to doe, and one of their questions among many other was to know what to say to such *Indians* as oppose their praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ, and for their own information also, What get you, say they, by praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ? you goe naked still, and you are as poore as wee, and our Corne is as good as yours, and wee take more pleasure then you; did we see that you got any thing by it, wee would pray to God and beleeve in Jesus Christ also as you doe? Unto which question I then answered them. First, God giveth unto us two sorts of good things, one sort are little ones, which I shewed by my little finger; the other sort are great ones, which I shewed by my thumbe, (for you know they use and delight in demonstrations :) the little mercies are riches, as cloths, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures, these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life; the great mercies are wisdom, the knowledge of God, Christ, eternall life, repentance, faith, these are mercies for the soule, and for eternall life: now though God do not yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deale better, which the wicked *Indians* cannot see. And this I proved to them by this example; when *Foxun* the *Mohegan* Counsellor, who is counted the wisest *Indian* in the Country, [p. 27.] was in the *Bay*, I did on purpose bring him unto you; and when he was here, you saw he was a foole in comparison of you, for you could speak of God and Christ, and heaven and repentance and faith, but he sate and had not one word to say, unlesse you talked of such poor things as hunting, wars, &c. Secondly, you have some more cloths then they, and the reason why you have no more is because you have but a little wisdom, if

you were more wise to know God, and obey his Commands, you would work more then you do, for so God commandeth, *Six dayes thou shalt work, &c.* and thus the English do : and if you would bee so wise as to worke as they do, you should have cloths, houses, cattle, riches as they have, God would give you them.

This day they told me this news, that some of them having been abroad in the Country at *Titacut*, divers of those *Indians* would be glad to know God, and to pray unto God, and would be glad if I would come and teach them, but some of them opposed and would not. They askt me this day, why God made the Rainbow. These things are now fresh in my mind, that makes me so large in them, but I'll forbear any more of their questions of this nature.

There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometime such, as it's needfull for me to decline ; where I may, I advise them to some issue. One great case that hath come severall times to mee, is about such debts as they owe by gaming, for they have been great gamesters, but have moved questions about it, and are informed of the unlawfulnessse of it, and have thereupon wholly given over gaming for any wagers, and all games wherein is a lot, onely use lawfull recreations, and have a Law against unlawfull gaming ; but other *Indians* that are of another mind, come and challenge their old debts, and now they refuse to pay, because it was a sinne so to game, and they now pray to God, and therefore must not pay such sinfull debts. Now the case being serious, and such as I saw a snare underneath, the first counsaile they had was, who ever would challenge such a debt should come to our Governor, and he would take order to rectifie the matter. But the Creditors liked not that way, and therefore soon after there came another case of the same kinde, and an issue was very necessary ; [p. 28.] therefore I first dealt with the creditor, and shewed him the sinfulnessse of such games, and how angry God was at them ; and therefore perswaded him to be content to take half his debt, unto which he very willingly condescended ; then I dealt with the debtor, and askt him if he did not promise to pay him all that debt ? and he answered yea, he did so ; then I shewed him that God commands us to performe our promises, and though he sinned in gaming, he must repent of that, but seeing he hath promised payment, he should sin to break his promise : at which he was utterly silenced ; but then I asked him, if hee would willingly pay half, if I should perswade the other to accept it ; yea said hee very willingly, and so the matter ended : and in this way they usually end such cases since that time. Their young men, who of all the rest, live most idly and dissolutely, now begin to goe to service, some to *Indians*, some to *English* ; and some of them growing weary, broak out of their services, and they had no help among them for it ; so that some propounded what they should doe to remedy that evill ; they were

answered, that the English bring such servants to the Court, and our Magistrates rectifie those evils; then they desired that they might have a Court among them for government, at which motion wee rejoiced, seeing it came from themselves, and tended so much to civilize them, since which time I moved the Generall Court in it, and they have pleased to order a way for exercising government among them: the good Lord prosper and blesse it.

They moved also as you know for a School, and through Gods mercy a course is now taken that there be Schooles at both places where their children are taught.

You know likewise that wee exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, stone walls, upon the banks, and promised to helpe them with Shovels, Spades, Mattocks, Crows of Iron; and they are very desirous to follow that counsell, and call upon me to help them with tooles faster then I can get them, though I have now bought pretty store, and they (I hope) are at work. The women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured Wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin to grow industrious, and find something to sell at Market all the yeer long: all winter they sell Brooms, Staves, Elepots, [p. 29.] Baskets, Turkeys. In the Spring, Craneberies, Fish, Stawberies; in the Summer Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish: in the Autumn they sell Craneberies, Fish, Venison, &c. and they find a good benefit by the Market, and grow more and more to make use thereof; besides sundry of them work with the English in Hay time, and Harvest, but yet it's not comparable to what they might do, if they were industrious, and old boughs must be bent a little at once; if we can set the young twiggs in a better bent, it will bee Gods mercy. Deare brother I can go no further, a weary body, and sleepy eyes command me to conclude, if I have not satisfied your desire in this little I have wrote, let me understand it from you, and I shall be willing to do my indeavour: and thus with my deare love remembred to your self and your beloved yoakfellow, and desiring your prayers for Gods grace and blessing upon my spirit and poor indeavours, I take leave at this time and rest

*Roxbury this 24. of
Septemb.
1647.*

*Your loving brother in
our Saviour Christ,*

JOHN ELIOT.

Let me adde this Postscript, that there be two reasons that make me beleieve the Lords time is come to make a preparative at least for the comming of his grace, and kingdome among them. First, that he hath bowed their hearts, who were as averse, and as farre off from God, as any heathen in the world; and their hearts begin to bow more and more. Secondly, because the Lord hath raised a mighty spirit of prayer in this behalfe in all the Churches.

This Relation of Mr. *Eliots* I know many things therein to be true, & all the rest I have heard confirmed by credible persons, eye & eare witnesses of these things, and they are familiarly known in these parts. I know also that Mr. *Eliot* writes (as his spirit is) modestly and sparingly, and speaks the least in sundry particulars; for in his story of the repentance and publike admonition of his own man, page 23. hee saith he manifested many teares in publike, but I heard it from many then present that there were so many, as that the dry place of the *Wigwam* where hee stood [p. 30.] was bedirtied with them, powring them out so abundantly. *Indians* are well known not to bee much subject to teares, no not when they come to feele the sorest torture, or are solemnly brought forth to die; and if the Word workes these teares, surely there is some conquering power of Christ Jesus stirring among them, which what it will end in at last, the Lord best knows. If Mr. *Brightmans* interpretation of *Daniels* prophesie be true, that *Anno* 1650. Europe will hear some of the best tidings that ever came into the world, *viz.* rumors from the Easterne Jews, which shall trouble the Turkish tyrant and shake his Pillars when they are comming to repesesse their own land, for which they will be wrastling (if my memory failes not, according to his notion) about 40. yeers; I shall hope then that these Western *Indians* will soon come in, and that these beginnings are but preparatives for a brighter day then we yet see among them, wherein East & West shall sing the song of the Lambe: but I have no skill in prophesies, nor do I beleeve every mans interpretation of such Scripture; but this is certain, God is at work among these; and it is not usual for the Sun to set as soon as it begins to rise, nor for the Lord Jesus to lose an inch of ground in the recovering times of his Churches peace and his own eclipsed and forgotten glory, (if these bee such times) untill hee hath won the whole field, and driven the Prince of darknesse out of it, who is but a bold usurper of the Lord Jesus inheritance, to whom are given the utmost ends of the earth. When *Charles* the Great had broken the chief power of the barbarous and fierce *Saxons* in *Germany*, he made this the onely article of peace, that they should entertain such a Gospel as good then as the degenerate Christian world could afford, and for that end admit

of a Monastery among them of such men as might instruct them, and this course prevailed, if wee may beleve * *Crantzius* the Historian of those times; and shall wee think that when the Lord Jesus hath set up not a Monastery of workes but Churches of Saints in these coasts to encourage the ministry and this work of Christ, that his blessed Gospel cannot or shall not in these dayes take some effect since it hath broke so far? I dare conclude nothing, onely it will be our comfort in the day of our accounts, that wee have endeavored something this way; and it may be this very indeavour [p. 31.] shall be our peace. *Gildas* our

* *Crantzius*
lib. 1. ch. 1, 2.

British Historian observing that one cause why God let loose the *Saxons* to scourge and root out the *Brittaines*, was their deep carelesnesse of communicating unto them the Christian Religion, when they had their spirits at fit advantage : but I dare not discourse of these matters.

One thing more I remember concerning Mr. *Eliots* conference with a *Narraganset Sachim* a sober man this yeer ; after that he had taught this *Sachim* the Law of God, and had shewen him the means of salvation by Christ ; he then asked him if he did know and understand those things ? and he said, yes. He then asked him if he did beleieve them ? but hee could not get any answer from him that way, but did seeme to take them into more serious thoughts. He then asked him, why they did not learn of Mr. *Williams* who hath lived among them divers yeers ? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because hee is no good man but goes out and workes upon the Sabbath day ; I name it not to shew what glimmerings nature may have concerning the observation of the Sabbath, but to shew what the ill example of English may doe, and to see what a stumbling block to all Religion the loose observation of the Sabbath is, however mans shifting wits may find out evasions, to get loose from out of that net.

But this may serve to satisfie your own or others desires concerning the progresse of the Gospel among the *Indians* : the Lord Jesus seemes at this day to bee turning upside down the whole frame of things in the world, Kings, Parliaments, Armies, Kingdomes, Authorities, Churches, Ministers, and if out of his free grace hee looks not upon these hopefull beginnings, these will be so turned also ; for opposition there is from men and devils against it, and I have feared in my own heart that within these few moneths there hath been some coolings among the best of these *Indians* ; but wee find it so also among many people that are *English* in their first work, but the Lord Jesus revives again ; and therefore Mr. *Eliot* of late having told them that hee was afraid that they began to bee weary, they took it to heart, and propounded in my hearing at a late *Indian Lecture* at *Noonanetum* many profitable questions, viz. *When they* [p. 32.] *prayed and heard the Word aright ? and how they might know when they were weary of them ? And what time it might bee before the Lord might come and make them know him ? And what the first sinne of the Devils was ?* (Hee discoursing to them about the danger of Apostasie.) At this time they are (as you may perceive by Mr. *Eliots* writings) about fencing in their ground and Town given them some hundreds of Acres, with a stone fence, for which end Mr. *Eliot* provides them Mattocks, Shovels and Crowes of Iron, &c. and to encourage their slothfulnesse, promised to give a groat or sixpence a rod, if they would thus farre attend their own good, and work for themselves : all the poor *Indians* at *Noonanetum*

are generally clad with such cloths as wee can get them, and the *Wigwams* of the meanest of them equallize any *Sachims* in other places, being built not with mats but barks of Trees in good bignesse, the rather that they may have their partitions in them for husbands and wives together, and their children and servants in their places also, who formerly were never private in what nature is ashamed of, either for the sun or any man to see. It's some refreshing to thinke that there is (if there was no more but) the name of Christ sounding in those darke and despicable *Tartarian* Tents; the Lord can build them houses in time to pray in, when hee hath given unto them better hearts, and when perhaps hee hath cursed and consumed theirs who have disdained to give that worship and homage to Christ in their seiled houses, which poor *Indians* rejoyce to give to him in their poor Tents and *Wigwams*: I desire you to gather what stock of prayers you can for them. I had almost forgot to tell you of Mr. *Eliots* going up the Country lately with Mr. *Flint*, Captain *Willard* of *Concord*, and sundry others, towards *Merrimath* River unto that *Indian* *Sachim* *Passaconaway*, that old Witch and *Powwaw*, who together with both his sons, fled the presence of the light, and durst not stand their ground, nor be at home when he came, pretending feare of being killed by a man forsooth that came only with a book in his hand, and with a few others without any weapons only to bear him company and direct his way in those deserts; but in it you may see the guilt of the man, & that *Satan* is but a coward in his *Lyons* skin even upon his own dunghill, as also the hatred and [p. 33.] enmity against the Word which is in some, which argues that the attention which others give to it, is a power of God, and not meerly to flatter and get favour with the English: but the rest of *Passaconnawaies* men attended to the things which were spoken and asked divers questions, the *Indians* in our parts accompanying Mr. *Eliot* and giving blessed examples to the others herein, as also in saying Grace before and after meat, praying in their *Wigwams* with them, and some of them singing of Psalmes, which they have learnt among the English: discoursing also with them about the things of God. It is somewhat observable (though the observation bee more cheerfull then deep) that the first Text out of which Mr. *Eliot* preached to the *Indians* was about the dry bones, *Ezek. 37.* where it's said, *Vers. 9, 10. that by prophesying to the wind, the wind came and the dry bones lived*; now the *Indian* word for Wind is *Waubon*, and the most active *Indian* for stirring up other *Indians* to seek after the knowledg of God in these parts, his name is *Waubon*, which signifies Wind, (the *Indians* giving names to their children usually according to appearances of providences) although they never dreamt of this, that this their *Waubon* should breathe such a spirit of life and encouragement into the rest of the *Indians*, as hee hath indeavored in all parts of the Countrey, both at *Concord*, *Merrimeck* and

elsewhere ; but some of the *Indians* themselves that were stir'd up by him took notice of this his name and that Scripture together, and the English also have much observed him herein, who still continues the same man, although we thinke there be now many others whom he first breathed encouragement into that do farre exceed him in the light and life of the things of God : Mr. *Eliot* also professing that he chose that Text without the least thought of any such application in respect of *Waubon*.

There have been many difficult questions propounded by them, which we have been unwilling to engage our selves in any answer unto, untill wee have the concurrence of others with us.

First, suppose a man before hee knew God, hath had two wives, the first barren and childlesse, the second fruitfull and bearing him many sweet children, the question now propounded was, *Which of these two wives he is to put away?* if hee puts away ; the first who hath no children, then hee puts away her whom God and Religion undoubtedly binds him unto, there [p. 34.] being no other defect but want of children : if hee puts away the other, then he must cast off all his children with her also as illegitimate, whom hee so exceedingly loves. This is a case now among them, and they are very fearefull to do any thing crosse to Gods will and mind herein.

Secondly, suppose a man marry a *Sqaw*, and shee deserts and flies from her husband, and commits adultery with other remote *Indians*, but afterward it come to passe that shee hearing the Word, and sorry for what shee hath done, she desires to come to her husband againe, who remaines still unmarried ; *Whether should this husband upon her repentance receive her againe? and whether is he not bound thereunto so to doe?*

At the last Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *September*, there were divers questions asked : one was propounded by an old *Sqaw*, a Widow ; viz. *If when men know God, God loves them, why then is it that any one are afflicted after that they know him?* I shall mention no more, but conclude with the solemn speech of a sober and hopefull *Indian* at this Lecture, whose name is *Wampooas*, who in stead of propounding a question fell into these expressions, viz. "That because wee pray to God, other *Indians* abroad in the coun-
"trei hate us and oppose us, the English on the other side suspect
"us, and feare us to be still such as doe not pray at all ; but (saith
"he) God who knowes all things, he knowes that wee do pray to him.
To which speech Mr. *Eliot* replyed, that it was true indeed, that some of the English did so far suspect them for sundry reasons ; but I doe not so, and others of us, who know you and speake with you, we do not so think of you ; and then gave them gracious and serious encouragements to goe forward and make more progresse in the things of God. This their own testimony of themselves being propounded with much sweetnesse and seriousnesse of affection, may be



the last, although it be the least confirmation of some inward worke among them; which I looked upon as a speciall providence that such a speech should be spoken and come to my eare just at such a time as this, wherein I was finishing the story, to confirme in some measure what hath been written; the Lord himself I beleieve and no man living, putting these words into their own hearts, to give this modest testimony concerning themselves. The beginning of this enlargement of Christs Kingdome should inlarge our hearts with [p. 35.] great joy. If I should gather and summe up together the severall gracious impressions of God upon them from what hath been scattered here and there in the story, I thinke it might make many Christians ashamed, who may easily see how farre they are exceeded by these naked men in so short a time thus wrought upon by such small and despicable means. My brother *Eliot* who is Preacher to them, professing he can as yet but stammer out some peeces of the Word of God unto them in their own tongue; but God is with him, and God is wont to be *maximus in minimis*, and is most seene in doing great things by small meanes. The Sword of Gods Word shall and will pierce deep, even when it is half broken, when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying of it on: and the Scripture herein is, and must be fulfilled, that as soon as the heathen heare Christ they shall submit, *Psal.* 18. 43, 44. and such nations whom Christ knew not shall run unto him, *Isai.* 55. 5. The fall of the unbelieving Jewes was the rising of the Gentiles; my prayer to God therefore for *Europe* is, that the fall of the Churches, (little bettered by the devouring Sword which is still thirsty) may not bee the rising of these *American* Gentiles, never pitied till *Alsted* in *Apoc.* now. I wish that *Alstedius* prophesie herein may never prove true; but rather that the rising of these may be a provoking and raising up of them, especially of the English, to lament after that God whom they have forsaken; and to lament after him, together with us, for these poor *Indians* who never yet knew him.

Sir, I had ended these relations once or twice, but the stay of the Vessell increaseth new matter; which because 'tis new and fresh, you shall have it as I heard of it from a faithfull hand: There were sundry questions propounded at the *Indian* Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *Octob.* 13. by the *Indians*: the first was propounded to Mr. *Eliot* himself upon occasion of his Sermon out of *Ephes.* 5. 11. *Have no fellowship with unfruitfull workers of darknes, viz. What English men did thinke of Mr. Eliot because he came among wicked Indians to teach them?*

Secondly, *Suppose two men sinne, the one knowes he sinneth, and the other doth not knowe sinne, will God punish both alike?*

Thirdly, *Suppose there should be one wise Indian that teacheth good things to other Indians, whether should not he be as a father*



or brother unto [p. 36.] such Indians he so teacheth in the wayes of God? This last question seemes to argue some motions stirring in some of their hearts to pity and teach their poor Countrey men; and surely then will bee the most hopefull time of doing good among them, when the Lord shall raise up some or other like themselves to go among them and preach the Word of life unto them with fatherly or brotherly bowels; and yet I limit not the most High, who can make use of what Instruments hee pleaseth for this work. I shall conclude therefore with a story I had both by writing and word of mouth, from a faithfull * man which hee *Mr. Edward Jackson.* saw with his own eyes this *Octob. 7.* There was one of the *Indians* at *Noonanetum*, hath had a child sick of a Consumption many a day, and at that time died of it; when it was dead, some of the *Indians* came to an honest man to enquire how they should bury their dead; the man told them how and what the *English* did when they buried theirs; hereupon rejecting all their old superstitious observances at such sad times (which are not a few) they presently procured a few boards, and buy a few nayles of the *English*, and so make a pretty handsome Coffin, (for they are very dextrous at any thing they see once done) and put the child into it, and so accompanied it to the grave very solemnly, about 40. *Indians* of them: when the earth was cast upon it and the grave made up, they withdrew a little from that place, and went all together and assembled under a Tree in the Woods, and there they desired one *Tutaswampe* a very hopefull *Indian* to pray with them; now although the *English* do not usually meet in companies to pray together after such sad occasions, yet it seemes God stird up their hearts thus to doe; what the substance of their prayer was I cannot certainly learn, although I have heard some things that way, which I therefore name not, onely I have and shall endeavour to get it, if it bee possible for the poor *Indian* to expresse the substance of it, and so shall send it if the ship stayes long, onely this is certaine by him who was occasionally an eye and eare wnesse of these things, that they continued instant with God in prayer for almost half an houre together, and this godly mans words to mee (who understands a little of their language) are these; that this *Tutaswampe* did expresse such zeale in prayer with such variety of gracious expressions, and abundance [p. 37.] of teares, both of himself and most of the company, that the woods rang againe with their sighes and prayers; and (saith he) I was much ashamed of my self and some others, that have had so great light, and yet want such affections as they have, who have as yet so little knowledge. All this he saw standing at some good distance alone from them under a Tree.

Thus you see (Sir) that these old obdurate sinners are not altogether senselesse of Gods afflicting hand and humbling providences; and though naturall affection may be much stirring in such times, yet

you see how God begins to sanctifie such affections among them : and I wish that many English were not outstript herein by these poor *Indians*, who have got the start I feare of many *English*, that can passe by such sad providences without laying them in this manner to heart. I confesse these and many such things which wee see in divers of them, do make some to thinke that there is more of God and his Spirit in some of their hearts then we yet can discover, and which they hope will break out in time.

Thus you have a true, but somewhat rent and ragged relation of these things ; it may be most sutable to the story of naked and ragged men : my desire is that no mans Spectacles may deceive him, so as to look upon these things either as bigger or lesser, better or worser then they are ; which all men generally are apt to doe at things at so great distance, but that they may judge of them as indeed they are, by what truth they see here exprest in the things themselves. I know that some thinke that all this worke among them is done and acted thus by the *Indians* to please the *English*, and for applause from them ; and it is not unlikely but so 'tis in many, who doe but blaze for a time ; but certainly 'tis not so in all, but that the power of the Word hath taken place in some, and that inwardly and effectually, but how far savingly time will declare, and the reader may judge of, by the story it self of these things. Some say that if it be so, yet they are but a few that are thus wrought upon ; Be it so, yet so it hath ever been, *many called, few chosen* : and yet withall I beleieve the calling in of a few *Indians* to Christ is the gathering home of many hundreds in one, considering what a vast distance there hath been between God and them so long, even dayes without number ; considering [p. 38.] also how precious the first fruits of *America* will be to Jesus Christ, and what seeds they may be of great harvests in after times ; and yet if there was no great matter seen in these of grown yeers, their children notwithstanding are of great hopes both from *English* and *Indians* themselves, who are therefore trained up to Schoole, where many are very apt to learne, and who are also able readily to answer to the questions propounded, containing the principles and grounds of all Christian Religion in their own tongue. I confesse it passeth my skill to tell how the Gospel should be generally received by these *American* Natives, considering the variety of Languages in small distances of places ; onely hee that made their eares and tongues can raise up some or other to teach them how to heare, and what to spake ; and if the Gospel must ride circuit, Christ can and will conquer by weake and despicable meanes, though the conquest perhaps may be somewhat long. The beginnings and foundations of the *Spaniard* in the Southerne parts of this vast continent, being laid in the blood of nineteene Millions of poor innocent Natives (as *Acosta* the Jesuite a bird of their own nest relates the story) shall certainly



therefore bee utterly rooted up by some revenging hand; and when he is once dispossessed of his Golden Mansions and Silver Mines, it may be then the oppressed remnant in those coasts also may come in. In the meane while if it bee the good pleasure of Christ to look upon any of the worst and meanest of these outcasts in these Coasts of *New-England*, let us not despise this day of small things, but as the Jews did of old, so let us now cry mightily to God and say, and sing, *Let the people praise thee O God, yea let all the people praise thee, then shall the earth bring forth her increase, and God even our God will blesse us.*

I have sent you two witnesses beside my own of the truth of the Indian story printed, you may publish them if you please as they have writ, and subscrib'd with their own hands.

T H O M A S S H E P H A R D .

FINIS.

THE
Glorious Progress
OF THE
G O S P E L ,
AMONGST THE
Indians in New England.

MANIFESTED

By three Letters, under the Hand of
that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. JOHN ELIOT,
And another from Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* jun : both Preachers of
the Word, as well to the *English* as *Indians* in *New England*.

WHEREIN

The riches of Gods Grace in the effectuall calling of
many of them is cleared up : As also a manifestation of the hung-
ring desires of many People in sundry parts of that Country,
after the more full Revelation of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*,
to the exceeding Consolation of every Christian Reader.

TOGETHER,

With an Appendix to the foregoing Letters, holding forth
Conjectures, Observations, and Applications.
By *I. D.* Minister of the Gospell.

Published by EDWARD WINSLOW.

Mal. 1. 11. *From the rising of the Sun, even unto the going down
of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in
every place incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure
Offering ; for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith
the Lord of Hosts.*

LONDON. Printed for *Hannah Allen* in *Popes-head-Alley*. 1649.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
Parliament of England
AND THE COUNCELL
OF STATE.

Right Honourable,

THat former Narative called, *The clear Sunshine of the Gospel, breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England*; dedicated to your Honours by divers Reverend and eminent Ministers of the Gospell in and about the City of London, found such acceptance in your House, as it begat a debate amongst your selves, how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, to help forward such a work begun; which conduced so abundantly to the glory of God, and good of men in the salvation of their soules. And in order thereunto your Honours were pleased to refer it to the Committee of forraign Plantations, to prepare and bring in an Ordinance *for the encouragement and advancement of Learning and Piety in New England*, as appeareth by your Order March 17. 1647. This Honourable Committee with great readiness and chearfulness took it into their serious consideration, and presented the result of their mature debates to this honourable House: But so many and weighty have been the occasions and businesses of the House, that however the nature of the work and my duty (being appointed Agent though unworthy) on the behalf of New-England to this Parliament: yet

durst not presse too hard to interrupt the great affaires your Honours have been in hand withall. Nevertheles, I do now crave leave, humbly to acquaint you, that what was then judged deficient in the power granted to the Feoffees in that Ordinance, is since corrected and amended, and attendeth your Honours leisure for compleating and finishing the same.

Undoubtedly the common enemy of mans salvation hath rejoyced that this work so happily begun, hath not as yet received that countenance and encouragement from hence, which your Honours intended and resolved many months since. Nevertheles, I trust the most wise God hath turned this appearing losse into gaine, by affording your Honours and the Nation a more clear account of the reall and glorious Progres of the Gospel among those poor Indians in AMERICA, by such Intelligence I very lately received from thence under the hands of those Reverend & learned Ministers, which are principally employed in preaching the Gospel to them in their own Language. And as I am daily and earnestly called upon to publish the same, that the whole Nation may be acquainted therewith: So I took it to be my duty to present it in the first place to this honourable House, and the Councel of State; that your Honours might perceive how these poor Creatures cry out for help; Oh come unto us, teach us the knowledge of God, tarry longer with us, come and dwell amongst us, at least depart not so soon from us. And others of them whose dwellings are near the Habitations of the English, (whose hearts God hath touched) calling for and demanding a free and full participation of all the Ordinances of Jesus Christ. All which, and much more is evidently held forth in the following Narrative, which I have with all faithfulness collected and transcribed, according as I received the same from persons that were Actors therein, and are of known Integrity.

There are two great questions Right Honourable, which have much troubled ancient and modern writers, and men of greatest depth and ability to resolve: the first,

what became of the ten Tribes of Israel, that were carried into Captivity by the King of Siria, when their own Countrey and Cities were planted and filled with strangers? The second is, what Family, Tribe, Kindred, or people it was that first planted, and afterwards filled that vast and long unknown Countrey of America? Now however I confesse questions are sooner asked then resolved; yet let me acquaint your Honors, that a godly Minister of this City writing to Rabbi-ben-Israel, a great Dr. of the Jewes, now living at Amsterdam, to know whether after all their labor, travells, and most diligent enquiry, they did yet know what was become of the ten Tribes of Israel? His answer was to this effect, if not in these words, That they were certainly transported into America, and that they had infallible tokens of their being there. Unto which if I may take the boldnesse to adde what my self, with many others in New England have observed in the practice of the Indians there, in relation to some things enjoyned in the ceremoniall Law of Moses, about the purification of weomen, which no men at this day do observe, nor beside the Jewes were ever known in that strictness to observe, as these Indians there daily do: As also if the principles of the most grave and sober amongst them, not only in reference to a Deity, the soule of man, the immortality of the soule, and an eternity after death in happines or misery; but also their manifold daily expressions, bewailing the losse of that knowledge their Ancestors had about God, and the way of his Worship; the general deluge, and of one man only that ever saw God, which they hold forth to be a long time since, (even with the greatest expression of length of time that may be) which certainly *I* believe to be *Moses*. As also if many other Circumstances well known to many, (but not fit to be at large expressed in any Epistle) be duly considered, It is not lesse probable that these Indians should come from the Stock of *Abraham*, then any other Nation this day known in the world: Especially considering the juncture of time wherein God hath opened their hearts to entertain the Gospel, being

so nigh the very years, in which many eminent and learned Divines, have from Scripture grounds, according to their apprehensions foretold the conversion of the *Jewes*. However Right Honourable, the work so communicating and encreasing the light of the Gospel is glorious in reference to *Jewes & Gentiles*. And as God hath set a signall marke of his presence upon your Assembly, in strengthening your hands to redeem and preserve the civill Rights of the Common-weale : so doubtlesse may it be a comfortable support to your Honours in any future difficulties, to contemplate, that as the Lord offered you (in this designe) an happy opportunity to enlarge and advance the Territories of his Sonnes Kingdom : So he hath not denyed you (as I am confident he will not) an heart to improve the same ; and in as much as lies in you to make all the Nations of the Earth, the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ ; that so your Honours may still preserve your interest in his favour, which is and shall be the prayers of

Your Honours most humble Servant,

EDWARD WINSLOW.

THE
GLORIOUS PROGRESSE
of the Gospel amongst the *Indians*
in *New-England*.

IN the year of our Lord, 1646. it seemed good to the most high God, to stirre up some reverend Ministers of the Gospel in *New-England*, to consider how they might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, as well towards the Natives of that Countrey, (as to their owne Congregations and Churches, over which the Lord had set them) in bringing them to a right understanding of God and themselves; and so by degrees to hold forth unto them that Salvation by Jesus Christ to all that should beleeve and obey his Commands; perswading themselves, that God might have a select people amongst these Heathens, and that for that end amongst many others he had planted so many Christian Congregations so neer them. And however the *English* were not wholly negligent this way, but had in sundry parts of the Countrey long before brought divers to a pretty competency of right understanding in the mystery of salvation, who lived orderly, and dyed hopefully; yet till such time as they were more generally acquainted with our conversation amongst our selves, and with our demeanor towards them, as well in peace, as in such warres they had unavoidably drawn upon themselves; whereby they had such experience of the justice, prudence, valour, temperance, and righteousness of the *English*, as did not onely remove their former jealousies and feares concerning us, and convict them of their owne uneven walking; but begat a good opinion of our persons, and caused them to affect our Laws and Government. [p. 2.]

Till now (together with the want of language) we had but some few that were wrought upon; But in this acceptable year of the Lord, (being it seems the appointed season for their visitation) God having stirred up these Ministers to seek a Blessing upon their endeavours, and direct them in a right way; they found the answer of their prayers by the good acceptation they had amongst the poore *Indians* where they first went, &c. who soon became in love also with our Religion, and mightily hungred and thirsted after the Knowl-

edge of God in Christ, as was published and made apparant to this Nation by a short Treatise, called, *The day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England.*

In the year 1647. being here upon some speciall service for the Countrey, Letters came to my hands with some Papers from Mr. *Tho. Shepard*, Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge* there, which held forth a greater warmth of heavenly heat upon their (former frozen) spirits; which I communicated to some eminent Ministers of and neere the City of *London*; viz. Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Downham*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Case*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Sydrack Simpson*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Carter*, and Mr. *Bolton*: And such was the esteem these reverend men had of it, as by two severall Epistles under their hands they recommended it to the Parliament of *England*, as a thing worthy their notice, care, and furtherance: And secondly, to the godly and well-affected of this Nation, who pray for, and rejoyce in the thrivings of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus. This Narrative was also published, and called, *The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England.*

In the year 1648. our Letters miscarried many of them, in that the Ship that brought them was taken by the Prince of *Wales*, to the Countries great prejudice, as well as many other Vessels and their lading formerly; by which miscarriage I was wholly hindred from giving any further account till this instant, 1649.

And now having received some Letters, and others brought to me by divers of quality here residing at present, that appertaine to *New-England*; and being exceedingly pressed to publish them by many godly and well-affected of the City and parts adjacent, I shall by Gods help publish them all, or so many of them as concernes the *Indian* work; and if any doubt my faithfulness herein, (as I hope none will that know me) I shall most willingly shew them the Originalls themselves. And before I come to this years Letters, I received from Mr. [p. 3.] *Eliot*, shall begin with one came to my hands, (dated *Nov. 16. 47.*) after the last Treatise was put out. And I the rather take this course, lest the young man should be discouraged in his labours so hopefully begun; his name is Mr. *Mayhew*, who teacheth the Word both to *English* and *Indians* upon an Island called formerly *Capawack*, by us *Morthas Vineyard*, by which you may see 'tis not one Minister alone that laboureth in this great work: His Letter followeth:

SIR,

THE encouragements I met withall touching the *Indians* conversion, next unto Gods glory, and his gracious promises was, the notable reason, judgement, and capacitie that God hath given unto many of them; as also their zealous enquiring after true happinesse, together with the knowledge I had of their tongue, besides severall providences which hath advantaged my progresse therein; as for instance:

Mr. Mayhews
Letter from
Capawack,
Novemb. 18,
1647.

1. There was one *Jeogiscat* about 60. years of age, who was sick of a consuming disease, insomuch as the *Indian Pawwawes* gave him over for a dead man: Upon which resolution of all the * *Pawwawes* in the Island, the sick distressed Heathen upon a Lords day came unto mee (the rest of the *English* being then present) to desire me to pray unto God for him: And so when I had by reasoning with him convinced him of the weaknesse and wickednesse of the *Pawwaws* power; and that if health were to be found, it must be had from him that gave life, and breath, and all things; I commended this case unto the Lord, whereof he rejoiced, gave me thanks, and he speedily recovered unto his former strength.

* Suchas cure
by devillish
sorcery, and
to whom the
devil appeares
sometimes.

2. In this present year 1647. the eldest sonne of one *Vakapannessue*, a great Sagamore of the Island, being very sick, took occasion to send for me to come unto him; and when I came unto him, I found him not more weak in body, then strong in earnest desires, that I should pray unto God for him; so I instructed him, and prayed for him: And when I had ended, of his own accord he spake these words, *Taubot mannit nuh quam Cowin. viz.* I thank thee God, I am heavy to sleep; and so I left him holding forth good affections: But shortly after he was changed altogether, [p. 4.] and contrary to the perswasion of other *Indians* of severall Townes, sought againe unto Witches. The Heathen seeing this, they forsook the * *Wigwam*, saying, We leave the house for the Devill and them that would tarry. This newes being brought me, I much mervailed thereat, yet sent him this message, *viz.* Tell *Saul*, (for the sick man was by the *English* so called) that when I was with him, I thought as then I told him, that he would live, because he sought for life unto the living God, where if any where it was to be found: But tell him now, that I think he will dye. I also added the example of *Ahaziah*, who because he had the knowledge of the great God, and sought unto an inferiour God, God was angry with him and killed him: And so for that this *Saul* was informed of the true God, and is fallen from him to the earthen gods here below; that God will kill him also; and so it shortly came to passe.

* The Indians
so call their
houses.

3. Not long after a * *Sagamore*, called, *Towanquattick* had his eldest sonne, whose name is *Sachachanimo*, very sick of a Feaver; this young man sent for me to come unto him; and when I came, his father and himself desired me to pray for him, the which I did in their owne language, and promised to come againe unto him very shortly, if he mended not, and use some other meanes also for his recovery: When I came againe unto him, I found him very ill, asked him (together with his friends) whether they were willing I should let him blood? acquainting them that we used so to do in such cases. After some consideration, they consented thereunto, notwithstanding the *Pawwaws* had told them before, that he should dye, because he sought not unto them: so I bound his arme, and with my Pen-knife let him blood; he bled freely, but was exceeding faint, which made the Heathen very sad; but in a short time, he begun to be very cheerfull, whereat they much rejoyced, &c. So I left them, and it pleased the Lord the man was in a short time after very well.

In these providences the Lord hath manifested both mercy and judgement, and it is, that he may raise up the Tabernacle of *David* that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and raise up its ruines, and build it as in the dayes of old, that they may possesse the Covenant of *Edom*, and of all the Heathen which are called by my Name, saith the Lord that doth this. [p. 5.]

But I pray you take notice of a speech of *Towanquatticks* (being the Father of the young man recovered) who lamenting the losse of their knowledge said unto me, * *That a long time agon, they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowlege, but they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them: and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeares, yet then they go without wisdom unto their graves.* He also told me, that he wondred the *English* should be almost thirty yeers in the Country, and the *Indians* fools still; but he hoped that the time of knowledge was now come; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God unto them in their own tongue. And when he came

to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me, that * *I should be to them, as one that stands by a running River, filling many vessels: Even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge.* So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soon as the first exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend: but once a Fortnight is our settled course. This I present to your consideration, entreating you to present us unto the Lord for wisdom, to preach unto the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ, that so the root of *Iesse* standing

* A Prince or Ruler amongst them.

An Indian speech worthy our consideration.

The better sort of them are full of such like expressions, affecting to speak in Parables.

for an Ensigne of the people, the Gentiles may seek unto it, and his rest shall be glorious, *Amen.*

Great Harbour in the Vineyard
18. of the 9. 1647.

Yours in the best Bonds
Tho. Mayhew, junior.

In the next place, I shall present you with some Letters of that painfull yet unwearied Minister of the Gospel, Mr. John Eliot, who notwithstanding his faithfull labours in teaching that Church or Congregation of the English, over which the Lord hath set him at Roxbury in the Government of the Massachusets, yet taketh all occasions, (neglecting no opportunity, whether more remote, or neere at hand) to advance the glory of God, in calling those poor heathen to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and satisfying those hungry soules by administring the bread of life unto them. And how-ever I cannot give you his first large Letter (as he tearmes it) being sent by way of Spaine, and by that meanes not yet come to my hands, yet take his second in his own words, which will minister abundance of sweet consolation to every [p. 6.] Christian Reader, that God should in these latter times so magnifie his glorious grace in extending his everlasting mercies to those poor naked Indians. His Letter followeth.

Worthy Sir,

YOUR cordiall and faithfull endeavours, &c. I am bold now by the way of *Virginia*, to trouble you with a few lines, to expresse the thankfulness of my heart unto you, for that one part of your care, love, and labour in furthering this work of preaching Christ to these poor *Indians*, and declaring to them the way of eternall life and salvation; which work I blesse the Lord goeth on not without successe, beyond the ability of the Instruments: It is the Lord, the Lord only who doth speak to the hearts of men, and he can speak to theirs, and doth, (blessed be his name) so effectually, that one of them I beleeeve verily is gone to the Lord; a * woman, who though she was not the first that came into the knowledge of Christ and the Gospel, yet she was the first of ripe yeares that hath dyed since I taught them the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, and the onely one. And though of the living I will not say much, yet of the dead I may freely speak; After I began to preach unto them, her husband and she did quickly come in; and after she came, she was a diligent hearer; and out of desire to live where the word of God was taught, they fetched all the corne they spent, sixteen miles upon their backs from the place of their planting: She was industrious, and did not goe about to

Mr. Eliots 2.
Letter in 48.
concerning the
progresse of the
Gospel among
the Indians.

A precious tes-
timony of an
Indian woman
conceived to
dye a Christian.

English houses a begging, as sundry doe, (though it is well reformed now with many of them) but kept home, kept her children to labour, making baskets to sell, &c. She quickly learned to spin well (for I got some wheels, but want meanes to supply them and order them.) Her life was blamelesse after she submitted to the Gospel, and was exemplary : She was the first woman that asked a question (by another man propounded for her) which was this ; *When my Husband prayeth in his house, my heart thinketh what he prayeth ; whether is this praying to God aright or no ?* I thought it a fit question for a woman. She dyed of a sicknesse she took in childbed : I severall times visited her, prayed with her, asked her about her spirituall estate ? *She told me she still loved God, though he made her [p. 7.] sick, and was resolved to pray unto him so long as she lived, and to refuse powwawing.* She said also, that she beleevd God would pardon all her sins, because she beleevd that *Jesus Christ dyed for her ; and that God was well pleased in him, and that she was willing to dye, and beleevd to goe to Heaven, and live happy with God and Christ there.*

It may be you may mervell at, and scarce credit such expressions : but they are the points of Catechisme which I constantly teach the Children ; and the Children can very readily answer me in them ; and they be truths now familiarly known by the attentive hearers, whereof she was one. And moreover of her own accord, she called her children to her, especially two up-grown daughters, which she had before she married this man, and said to them, *I shall now dye, and when I am dead, your Grand-
Father and Grand-mother, and Vncles, &c. will send
for you to come live amongst them, and promise you
great matters, and tell you what pleasant living it is
amongst them ; But doe not beleve them, and I charge
you never hearken unto them, nor live amongst them ; for they pray
not to God, keep not the Sabbath, commit all manner of sinnes and
are not punished for it : but I charge you live here, for here they
pray unto God, the word of God is taught, sins are suppressed and
punished by Lawes ; And therefore I charge you live here all your
dayes.* And soon after this she dyed, and it fell out indeed as she had said, for there was earnest sending and soliciting for the maids to live with them : so that the case was propounded to me on a Lecture day ; and their Father in law opposed it, not only as adjudging it evill, but because of their mothers charge ; and by this meanes I came to know the Story. And though they doe, as you know, abhor the remembrance of their dead friends ; yet when I take occasion to speak of her, and my reasons of hope that she is gone to heaven, they entertain it with joy, and sometimes with teares : I have been too tedious in this Story, yet I doubt not but it will be acceptable unto you.

A precious dying speech of an Indian woman to her children.

For the further progresse of the work amongst them, I doe perceive a great impediment; Sundry in the Country in divers places would gladly be taught the knowledge of God and Iesus Christ, and would pray unto God, if I could goe unto them, and teach them where they dwell: but to come to live here among or neer to the *English*, they are not willing, because they have neither [p. 8.] tooles, nor skill, nor heart to fence their grounds; and if it be not well fenced, their Corne is so spoyled by the *English* Cattell, and the *English* so loath to restore when they want fence, that its a very great discouragement to them and me; so that few come to dwell at the neer places where I ordinarily teach, onely some strangers do come to hear, and away again: So that I plainly see, the way to do them good must be this. A place must be found (both for this and sundry other reasons I can give) some what remote from the *English*, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, meanes of good subsistence provided, incouragements for the industrious, meanes of instructing them in Letters, Trades, and Labours, as building, fishing, Flax and Hemp dressing, planting Orchards, &c. Such a project in a fit place, would draw many that are well minded together: but I feare it will be too chargeable, though I see that God delighteth in small beginnings, that his great name may be magnified.

Few of our Southern Indians incline this way, onely some of *Tihtacutt*. Young *Ousamequin* is an enemy to praying to God, and the old man too wise to look after it. Our *Cutshamoquin* hath some subjects in *Marthas* Vineyard, and they hearing of his praying to God, some of them doe the like there, with some other ingenious Indians, and I have intreated Mr. *Mahew* (the young Scholler, son to old Mr. *Mayhew*) who preacheth to the *English* to teach them; and he doth take pains in their Language, and teacheth them not without successe, blessed be the Lord. And truly I think all the Ministers that live neer them should do well to do the like, I have earnestly solicited many so to do, and I hope God will in his time bow their hearts thereunto. But I perceive our Western Indians up into the Inland do more earnestly embrace the Gospel. *Shawanon* the great *Sachym* of *Nashawog* doth embrace the Gospel, and pray unto God. I have been foure times there this Summer, and there be more people by far, then be amongst us; and sundry of them do gladly hear the word of God, but it is neer 40. miles off, and I can but seldom goe to them; wherat they are troubled, and desire I should come oftner, and stay longer when I come.

There is a great fishing place upon one of the Falls of *Merimack* [p. 9.] River called *Pautucket*, where is a great confluence of

Indians every Spring, and thither I have gone these two yeares in that season, and intend so to doe the next Spring (if God will.) Such confluences are like Faires in *England*, and a fit season it is to come then unto them, to teach them to know God, and Iesus Christ, and call upon his name. For whereas there did use to be gaming and much evill at those great meetings, now there is praying to God, and good conference, and observation of the Sabbath, by such as are well minded; and no open prophanesse suffered as I heare of, and my comming amongst them is very acceptable in outward appearance. This last Spring I did there meet old *Papassaconnaway*, who is a great *Sagamore*, and hath been a great Witch in all mens esteem (as I suppose your self have often heard) and a very politick wise man. The last yeare he and all his sonnes fled when I came, pretending feare that we would kill him: But this yeare it pleased God to bow his heart to heare the word; I preached out of Malachi 1. 11. which I thus render to them; *From the rising of the Sun, to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians, and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name, pure prayers, for thy name shall be great among the Indians.* Whence I shewed them, what mercy God had promised to them; and that the time was now come wherein the Lord did begin to call them to repentance, and to beleeve in Christ for the remission of their sins, and to give them an heart to call upon his name, forsaking their former wayes of *pawwawing*, and praying to the Devill, &c. And when I had done preaching, they began to propound questions, and one of them propounded this; If it be thus as you teach, then all the world of Indians are gone to hell to be tormented for ever, untill now a few may goe to Heaven and be saved; Is it so? These principles of a twofold estate after this life, for good and bad people, Heaven and Hell, I put amongst the first questions that I instruct them in, and catechise the children in; and they doe readily embrace it for a truth, themselves by their own traditions having some principles of a life after this life, and that good or evill, according to their demeanour in this life. After a good space, this old *Papassaconnaway* speak to this purpose, that indeed he had never prayed unto God as yet, for he had never heard of God before, as [p. 10.] now he doth. And he said further, that he did beleeve what I taught them to be true. And for his owne part, he was purposed in his heart from thenceforth to pray unto God, and that hee would perswade all his sonnes to doe the same, pointing at two of them who were there present, and naming such as were absent. His sonnes present, especially his eldest sonne (who is a * *Sachim* at *Wadchuset*) gave his willing consent to what his father had promised, and so did the other who was but a youth. And this act of his was not onely a present motion that

The same signification with Sagamore viz one bearing rule among them.

soon vanished, but a good while after he spake to Capt. *Willard*, who tradeth with them in those parts for *Bever* and *Otter Skins*, &c. that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts to teach them, and that Capt. *Willard* would live there also: And that if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it. I doe endeavour to engage the *Sachims* of greatest note to accept the Gospel, because that doth greatly animate and encourage such as are well-affected, and is a damping to those that are scoffers and opposers; for many such there be, though they dare not appeare so before me.

Thus you see by this short intimation, that the sound of the Word is spread a great way; yea, farther then I will speake of; and it appeareth to me, that the Fields begin to look white unto the Harvest. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to raise up many labourers into this Harvest! But it is difficult, not only in respect of the language, but also in respect of their barbarous course of life and poverty; there is not so much as meat, drink, or lodging for them that go unto them to preach among them, but we must carry all things with us, and somewhat to give unto them: So that the comming of Jesus Christ into these parts of the world, is not as he formerly came amongst the Gentiles, a poore underling, and his servants poore, living upon the Gospel where it was accepted among the rich Gentiles: But Christ will come unto these, rich, potent, above them in learning, riches, and power; and they shall flock unto the Gospel, thereby to receive externall beneficence and advancement, as well as spirituall grace and blessings. And thus I bend my selfe to doe to my poor ability: I never go unto them empty, but carry somewhat to distribute among them; [p. 11.] and so likewise when they come unto my house, I am not willing they should go away without some refreshing, neither do I take any gratuity from them unrewarded; and indeed they doe account, that they have nothing worth the giving unto me; onely once when I was up in the Countrey, a poore creature came to me as I was about to take Horse, shaking me by the hand, and with his other hand thrust something into my hand, I looked what it was, and it was a pennyworth of * *Wampam*, upon a strawes end; I seeing so much hearty affection in so small a thing, I kindly accepted, onely inviting him to my house, that I might there shew my love to him.

A beade they make, and is highly esteemed among the Indians, equal to money with us.

There is another great fishing place about threescore miles from us, whether I intend (God willing) to go next Spring, which belongeth to the forenamed *Papassaconnaway*; which journey, though it be like to be both difficult and chargeable for horse and men, in fitting provisions, yet I have sundry reasons which bow and draw

my heart thereunto. I desire your prayers to the Lord for me and for them, that the Lord would open my mouth to speak in his Name to their understandings, that with their hearts they may embrace that message which from the Lord I shall bring unto them.

They have no meanes of Physick at all, onely make use of *Pawwawes* when they be sick, which makes them loath to give it over: But I finde, by Gods blessing, in some meanes used in Physick and Chyrurgery, they are already convinced of the folly of *Pawwawing*, and easily perswaded to give it over utterly as a sinfull and diabolical practise: but I much want some wholesome cordials, and such other medicines as I have here mentioned in the in closed.

The *Indians* about us which I constantly teach,¹ do still diligently and desirously attend, and in a good measure practise (for the outward part of Religion, both in their families and Sabbaths) according to their knowledge; and by degrees come on to labour. I should be over-tedious and troublesome to you to runne into particulars, onely let me give you a taste of their knowledge by their Questions, a few whereof I did sometimes set downe, though I have slipped many, and very materiall ones; these questions [p. 12.] being asked at sundry times, and at sundry meetings of the *Indians*.

Quest. *How many good people were in Sodome when it was burnt?*

I know not how to pray to Christ and the Spirit, I know a little how to pray to God?

Doth the Devill dwell in us as we dwell in an house?

When God saith, Honour thy Father, doth he mean three Fathers? our Father, and our Sachim, and God.

When the Soule goes to heaven, what doth it say when it comes there? And what doth a wicked Soule say when it commeth into Hell?

If one sleep on the Sabbath at meeting, and another awaketh him, and he be angry at it, and say, its because he is angry with him that he so doth, Is not this a sinne?

If any talk of anothers faults, and tell others of it when hee is [not] present to answer, is not that a sinne?

Why did Christ dye in our stead?

Seeing Eve was first in sinne, whether did she dye first?

Why must we love our enemies, and how shall we doe it?

How doth Christ redeem and deliver us from sinne?

When every day my heart thinks I must dye, and goe to hell for my sins, what shall I doe in this case?

May a good man sin sometimes? Or may he be a good man, and yet sin sometimes?

If a man think a prayer, doth God know it, and will he blesse him?

Who killed Christ ?

If a man be almost a good man, and dyeth ; whither goeth his soule ?

How long was Adam good before he sinned ?

Seeing we see not God with our eyes, if a man dream that he seeth God, doth his soule then see him ?

Did Adam see God before he sinned ?

Shall we see God in Heaven ?

If a wicked man pray, whether doth he make a good prayer ? or when doth a wicked man pray a good prayer ?

If a man repent, doth God take away his sinnes, and forgive him ?

Whether did God make hell before Adam sinned ? [p. 13.]

If two families dwell in one house, and one prayeth, and the other not, what shall they that pray do to them that do not ?

Did Abimeleck know Sarah was Abrahams wife ?

Did not Abraham sin in saying she is my sister ?

Seeing God promised Abraham so many children, like the starres for multitude, why did he give him so few ? and was it true ?

If God made hell in one of the six dayes, why did God make Hell before Adam had sinned ?

Now the Indians desire to goe to Heaven, what shall we do that we may go thither when we dye ?

How shall I bring mine heart to love Prayer ?

If one man repent, and pray once in a day, another man often in a day ; whether doth one of them go to Heaven, the other not ? or what difference is there ?

I finde I want wisdom, what shall I do to be wise ?

Why did Abraham buy a place to bury in ?

Why doth God make good men sick ?

How shall the Resurrection be, and when ?

Doe not Englishmen spoile their soules, to say a thing cost them more then it did ? and is it not all one as to steale ?

You say our body is made of clay, what is the Sunne or Moone made of ?

If one be loved of all Indians good and bad, another is hated of all saving a few that be good, doth God love both these ?

I see why I must feare Hell, and do so every day. But why must I feare God ?

How is the tongue like fire, and like poyson ?

What if false Witnesses accuse me of murther or some foul sin ?

What punishment is due to lyars ?

If I reprove a man for sinne, and he answer, why doe you speak thus angerly to me : Mr. Eliot teacheth us to love one another, is this well ?

Why is God so angry with murtherers ?

If a wife put away her husband because he will pray to God, and she will not, what must be done in this case?

If there be young women pray to God, may such as pray to God marry one that will not pray to God? or what is to be done in this case?

[p. 14.] *Whether doth God make bad men dream good Dreames?*

What is Salvation?

What is the Kingdome of Heaven?

If my wife doe some work in the house on the night before the Sabbath, and some work on the Sabbath night, whether is this a sin?

If I doe that which is a sinne, and do not know it is a sin, what will God say to that?

Whether is faith set in my heart, or in my minde?

Why did Christ dye for us, and who did kill him?

By these questions you may see they somewhat favour the things of God and Christ, and that their soules be in a searching condition after the great points of Religion and Salvation. And I will say this solemnly, not suddenly, nor lightly, but before the Lord, as I apprehend in my conscience, were they but in a settled way of Civility and Government cohabiting together, and I called (according to God) to live among them, I durst freely joyne into Church-fellowship amongst them, and could finde out at least twenty men and women in some measure fitted of the Lord for it, and soone would be capable thereof: And we doe admit in charity some into our Churches, of our owne, of whose spirituall estate I have more cause of feare, then of some of them: But that day of grace is not yet come unto them. When Gods time is come, he will make way for it & enable us to accomplish it. In the meane time, I desire to wait, pray, and beleeve. But I will proceed no further at this time to trouble you with these things, though I doubt not but they will be acceptable tidings to your heart, and will be an occasion of quickning your prayers for them, and for me also, that utterance may be given mee, and further knowledge of their language, wherein for want of converse, I can make but slow progresse. Thus commending you to the Grace, guidance and protection of God in Christ, I rest,

Yours to be commanded in Jesus Christ,

*Roxbury this 12.
of Nov. 1648.*

JO. ELIOT.

[p. 15.] *In the next place I shall offer a second Letter of his, written to a Gentleman of New-England, here residing at present, upon his urgent occasions; wherein the Reader may have further light concerning this great work now begun. Take his Letter as it followeth,*

Sir,

YOur faithfull and true love to Iesus Christ is expressed evidently to my heart, among other waies very much in your solicitous thoughts and care about the good of these poor Indians, and the furtherance of their conversion. God guided your discretion very seasonably in the Letters and Tokens you were pleased to send to those leading men, which reallity of love was very thankfully accepted by them, and they desire thanks to be returned for it, &c.

Your project for their Apparell which you first mention, is very fitting, but all the difficulty will be to get so much cloath as you speak of: Yet this they doe; some old things I have gotten and given them, and some they buy; and they carefully keep them till meeting times, and many of them at such times are pretty handsome, both men, women, and children also: And whereas some good people may think fitting to send some gifts that way for them, you shall find directions here inclosed, what will best sute with their condition.

Your next project for imployment of them in planting Orchards and Gardens, it suiteth very well with my apprehensions, and I have encouraged them that way, and have promised them many hundred trees, which I reserve in nurseries for them, & hope they shall set them out, or some of them the next Spring. The onely remora the fencing in of an Orchard, we yet being upon the fencing in of a great Corne field, where they have made (I think) 200. rod of ditching already, setting two rayles in the top, and are to stone up the banks as they raise stones in planting: And when the field is fenced, then they shall fence Orchards, but they are hindred for want of Tooles, and by bad Tooles discouraged; their skill also being weak though the tooles were good, but of 30. or 40. I have scarce any left. But we must endeavour to get a Magazine for them of all manner of Tooles, &c. They had Sawyers [p. 16.] at work last winter, and will have more this winter (I hope) for they saw very good board and planke, and could I be amongst them oftnr, they would both attend it better, and doe things more orderly.

They are willing to follow my advice in any reasonable thing: onely I am confident of what you write, they must not be bent too hard at first, and I find not many that do so duly consider that point as your self; but because they be not in all points of labour as the *English* be, think all is too little or no purpose. Its hard to look

upon the day of small things with patience enough. I find it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with Religion : and that maketh me have many thoughts that the way to doe it to the purpose, is to live among them in a place distant from the *English*, for many reasons ; and bring them to co-habitation, Government, Arts, and trades : but this is yet too costly an enterprize for *New-England*, that hath expended it self so far in laying the foundation of a Common-weale in this wilderness.

For their Schooling, a Gentleman in *London* (whose name I could never learn) did give ten pounds towards it the last yeare, which I thus disposed of ; five pounds I gave to a grave woman in *Cambridge*, who taught the Indian children last yeare ; And God so blessed her labours, that they came on very prettily. The other five pounds I gave to the School-master of *Dorchester*, and thither the Children of those Indians that lived thereabout went, with a like good successe, if not better, because the children were bigger and more capable. This 10. l. bill Captain *Harding* paid here, and was to take it at *London* : but I heare nothing from him, nor do I know whether the Gentleman will continue his gift : I feare for want of meanes both these Schooles will fall ; and the Children like to lose all that they have gotten the first yeare, which is a work had need be closely followed : because they are to learn our language as well as to read ; onely I take my constant course of catechising them every Lecture day, and I thank the Lord, they are (many of them) very ready in their answers in the principles of Religion. And in that exercise I endeavour also to use them to good manners.

Some of *Sudbury* Indians, some of *Concord* Indians, some of *Mestick* Indians, and some of *Dedham* Indians are ingenious, and [p. 17.] pray unto God, and sometimes come to the place where I teach to heare the word. *Linn* Indians are all naught save one, who sometimes commeth to heare the word, and telleth me that hee

prayeth to God : and the reason why they are bad is, partly and principally because their * *Sachim* is naught, and careth not to pray unto God : But I am overwearisome unto you, and therefore will go no further at this time ; onely this one thing more, whereas it hath pleased you to allow 40. s. to the payment of a man who should direct the Indians about their labour, and in planting of Orchards ; I shall be so bold as to appoint such as have deserved it to call for it, and it shall be employed God willing to their best furtherance as neer as I can. And thus desiring God, &c. I remaine.

*Roxbury this 13. of
the 9. 1649.*

*Yours to be commanded any thing in
Christ Jesus John Eliot.*

Another Letter Courteous Reader dated in February last, I received also from this our Indian Evangelist (if I may so terme him) and because it is replenished with many pithy questions of the Indians, which imply a further progresse in knowledge; and sundry other considerable passages worthy observation, and very delightfull to a Christian spirit, I thought it my duty to publish it to the world, that so it might be a meanes to stir up all that are faithfull in Christ Jesus by prayer and otherwise to help forward this precious work begun, so much conducing to the glory of God, and the good of men. His Letter followeth.

Much respected and longed for in the Lord,

WERE you not about the Lords businesse, an Instrument in his hand to manage some special affaires wherein his glory is much concerned, your long absence could not but be imbittered with manifold troubles to your own spirit, as it is like to be with losses and inconveniences to your outward estate; but I trust the Lord will have a speciall regard to all, &c. I perceive others to be silent in giving you information about the progresse of the Lords work amongst the poor Indians, and therefore I thought it necessary to do it, knowing it will add to your comfort to heare that the Lord is still at worke, but I have done it more largely already [p. 18.] in Letters by Mr. *Vsher*, by way of * *Maligo*, * These Letters and Passengers are not yet come as also by Mr. *Bracket* of *Braintree*, by the way of *Virginia*, in Letters both to your self, and also to Mr. *Pelham*, &c. I only write now by this Ship, lest it coming in before the other Ships, you should receive some discouragement concerning the work, as if it were sunk in the beginning; but blessed be the Lord it is not so, although the progresse is yet small: It is a day of small things, an Embrio which the Lord expecteth should be furthered by the prayers of the Saints and Churches: And therefore I earnestly begg your prayers, that the Lord would thrust forth more Laborers into this Harvest; and because the meanes is exceeding small and inconsiderable for so vast an enterprize as this is: there is the more eminent need of Faith and Prayer, that the Lord himself, by his speciall grace, favour, and providence, would appear in this matter: for the Lord must raigne in these latter dayes, and more eminently, & observably, overtop all Instruments and meanes: And I trust he will mightily appear in this businesse, as in other parts of the world.

I have intimated in my other Letters, what good hopes I have of sundry of them, and that they begin to enquire after baptisme and Church Ordinances, and the way of worshipping God as the Churches here do; but I

They shal ask the way to Syon. Ier. 50. 5.

shewing them how incapable they be to be trusted therewith, whilst they live so unfixed, confused, and ungoverned a life, uncivilized and unsubdued to labor and order; they begin now to enquire after such things. And to that end, I have propounded to them that a fit place be found out for Cohabitation, wherewith they may subsist by labor, and settle themselves in such a way: And then they may have a Church, and all the Ordinances of Christ amongst them. These and other things tending that way, I have propounded to them, and they seeme to me to accept them gladly, and the longer they consider, and the more they confer together of them, the more acceptable they are unto them: And I wayting to see how the Lord would carry on this work by the wise and gracious eye & hands of his providence, I took this

☞ to be one *speciall and eminent smile of God*, upon the work that he had stirred up, the *Parliament of England*, to take it into consideration, and to order the Committee of Lords and [p. 19.] Commons for forraign Plantations to think of some meet way how they might best advance it: And indeed the way you mention in your Letter which they have taken, (*which I trust is perfected long before this time*,) I conceive to be a way of God, and not only very acceptable to me, but honourable to themselves, and the Nation, to be engaged in so pious and charitable a work, if meanes may hereby be procured to a thorow carrying on the same.

I have also intimated in my other Letters, and sent word again in this, what manner of * provisions of all sorts will be necessary to be sent over, and that special care be had that the tooles for labour of all sorts may be of a good temper and well made; otherwise they will be discouraged, &c. the particulars as well for Phisick and Surgery, as for Cloathing and Instruments for labour of all sorts is inclosed therein: But I will trouble you no further at this time with what I have written in my other Letters, hoping the Lord will bring them to your hands: onely I shall intimate such things as have occurred since the writing of my former Letters.

There is an *Indian* living with Mr. *Richard Calicott* of *Dorchester*, who was taken in the *Pequott* Warres, though belonging to *Long Island*; this *Indian* is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it: He was the first that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter. Now of late, the Lord hath stirred up his heart to joyn unto the Church at *Dorchester*, and this day I am going to the Elders, meeting, to the examination and Tryall of this young man, in preparation for his admission into the Church.

* It would be neither pleasing nor profitable to mention them, and therefore are left out.

Likewise since I purposed to write to you of these matters, I have taken care to note such Questions as they propound, and I shall here set down such as have been propounded by them since my last Letters: For by them you may guesse at the progresse they make in knowledge.

[p. 20.] **Questions.**

WHy have not beasts a soul as man hath, seeing they have love, anger, &c. as man hath?

How is the spirit of God in us? and where is it principally present?

Why doth God punish in hell for ever? man doth not so, but after a time lets them out of prison again. And if they repent in hell, why will not God let them out again?

What is Faith?

Whether do you think I have Faith?

a How shall I know when God accepts my prayers?

How doth Christ make peace betwixt God and man?

And what is the meaning of that point?

Why did the Jewes give the Watchmen money to tell a lye?

If I heare Gods Word when I am young, and do not believe, but when I am old I believe: what will God say?

In wicked dreames doth the soule sin? b

Doth the soule in Heaven know things done here on earth?

Doth the soule in Heaven remember what it did here on earth before he dyed?

Who first gave Lawes to men?

What is Law?

If my heart be full of evil thoughts, c and I repent and pray, and a few houres after it is full again, and I repent and pray again; and if after this it be full of evill thoughts again, what will God say?

Why did the earth shake at Christs Resurrection?

What meaneth this, That God will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine?

What force of wicked men is lawfull, and what is not?

What if a Minister weare long hayre, as some other men do, what will God say?

If a man will make his Daughter marry a man whom she doth not love, what will God say? d

a A choice spirit looks after his prayers.

b See Eccles. 5. 7.

c A soft and serious spirit-ed Christian eyes his thoughts.

d forced marriages scrupled by Indians.

[p. 21.] Why doth Christ compare the Kingdom of heaven to a net ?
Why doth God so hate them that teach others to commit sin ?

S I R,

J *Am now streightned in time, and
must hasten away my Letters: I can
proceed no further at present, and
therefore with earnest desires of your
Prayers, I commit you to the gracious
protection of the Lord, who hath hith-
erto helped, and will never faile those
that trust in him.*

**Roxbury this
2. of the 12.
1648.**

**Yours in any service
I can in Jesus
Christ**

John Eliott.

[p. 22.] A N

APPENDIX TO THE

foregoing Letters, holding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Apply- cations of them.

THe works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that love them, saith the Psalmist, *Psal.* 111. 3. The word which we render, *sought out*, hath a mighty *Emphasis* in it: 'Tis a word used sometimes to *Denote* the *Elaborate* care of *digging* and *searching into mines*. And sometimes its made use of to expresse the *accurate labors of those who comment upon writings*. Indeed there is a *golden mine* in every work of God; and the *foregoing Letters* to a gracious eye, are as a discovery of a far more precious *mine* in *America*, then those *Gold* and *Silver* ones of *India*: For they bring tidings of the *unsearchable riches of Christ* revealed unto poore soules in those parts.

Or if thou wilt (Reader) thou mayest eye *this work of God* as a full *text*: affording, matter both for *Theoretick* and *practick* conclusions.

I must professe for my self, I could not passe over so rich a mine without digging: nor let passe so full a *text* (as this work of God in *America*) without some short comment: which the request of the worthy Publisher of these precious papers, hath prevailed with me to affix, and publish as an Appendix.

The palpable and present acts of providence, doe more then hint the approach of Jesus Christ: And the Generall consent of many judicious, and godly Divines, doth induce *considering minds* to beleieve, that the conversion of the Jewes is at hand. Its the expectation of some of the wisest Jewes now living, that about the year 1650. *Either we Christians shall be Mosaick, or else that themselves Jewes shall be Christians*. The serious consideration of the preceding Letters, induceth me to *Conjectures*. think, that there may be at least a remnant of the *Generation of Jacob* in *America*, [p. 23.] (peradventure some of the 10. Tribes dispersions.) And that those sometimes poor, now precious *Indians* (mentioned in those Letters) may be as the *first fruits* of the glorious harvest, of *Israels redemption*. The observation is not to be sleighted (though the observer * modestly said it was *more cheerfull then deep*) that the first Text out of which Mr. *Eliot* preach-

Mr. Shepherd
in the clear
Sunshine, &c.
pag. 33.

ed, was about the dry bones, Ezek. 37. 9. 10. *That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came and the dry bones lived*: It may be there is not much weight in the observation, that the word which the Indians use for wind, is *Waubon*: and that an *Indian* of that name is, and hath been very sedulous for their conversion: Yet to me there is ground for a very weighty thought; that, that portion of Scripture should be first of all openned to them, which clearly foretold the conversion of *Israel*, i. e. The 10. Tribes universally understood, and peculiarly meant by the name or notion of *Israel*, when distinct from *Judah*, (as in that prophesy it is) Why may we not at least conjecture, that God by a special finger pointed out that text to be first openned, which immediately concerned the persons to whom it was preached: Especially, if (as some credibly affirme) that the *Jewes of the Netherlands* (being intreated thereunto) *informe that after much inquiry they found some of the ten Tribes to be in America*. When our Lord came to *Nazaret*, and standing up to read: Its said there was delivered unto him the book of *Isaias*, and he openned the book, and found it written, *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, &c.* The bringing of that Scripture to our Lords hands so providentially, was a hint (at least) that the present hearers were in an eminent manner concerned in that prophesie. What ever may be in this observation (which I humbly offer to the *searching thoughts of judicious persons*) I am much inclined to conjecture, that there is a sprinkling at least of *Abrahams seed* in these parts, The reasons of my inclination hereunto are these,

1. *They have (at least) a traditionall knowledge of God, as the maker of heaven and earth.* Its true, they talk of other Gods; but yet they hold that the chief God is he, *who made all things*. Which agnition of God, was peculiar to the *Jewes*, in opposition to the *Gentiles*: Hence it was that when they were Captives in *Babylon*: this was that *Character*, by which they were taught to distinguish the true God (which the *Gentiles* knew not) that he was the *Maker of all things*, Jer. 10. 16.

[p. 24.] 2. *What ever they attribute unto others, this they peculiarly attribute unto this God, viz. that all things both good and evill, are managed by his Providence*, and if they doe but hurt themselves, they say 'tis a note of Gods displeasure: Hence

3. Before ever any of them received any instruction from our *English*, by tradition they were taught, and did upon observation of a bad year, or other ill successe, meet and weep as unto God; acknowledging it to be his hand of displeasure upon them: And on the other side, upon a good year, or good successe in any businesse, as of War, &c. they used to meet and make a kind of acknowledgment of thanks to God for it.

4. It is very observable; that they are carefull to preserve the memory of their Families, mentioning *Vncles, Grand-Fathers*, and

Grand-mothers, &c. and much studying the advancing of their houses and kindred: A thing which had a great tang of, and affinity to the *Jewes* care of preserving the memoriall of their *Tribes*.

5. Those of them who have been wrought upon, tell of *some face of Religion, wisdom, and manners which long agoe* their Ancestors had, but that it was lost.

6. (To omit other grounds of this conjecture.) The *better and more sober sort of them, delight much to expresse themselves in parables.* * A thing peculiar to the Jewes, as See pag. 5. those who read their writings, or consider Christs manner of expressing himself, will easily see.

These and the like considerations prevaile with me to entertain (at least) a *Conjecture*, that these *Indians in America*, may be *Jewes* (especially of the ten Tribes.) And therefore to hope that the work of Christ among them, may be as a preparatory to his own appearing.

If these reasons prevaile not with thee (Reader) to give quarter to my conjecture: yet I cannot but perswade my self, that the former Letters soberly & duly weighed, will cause thee to subscribe with me to this conclusion, that, *the work of God among the Indians in America, is glorious, and to be admired by all those, who look after and rejoyce in the appearance of our Lord Jesus*, Surely the *Sun of Righteousnesse* is risen, with *healing vertue under his wings*, upon those poor hearts, who sate *in darknesse, and the shadow of death*. And [p. 25.] these godly persons who fled into *America* for shelter from *Prelaticall persecution*, doe now appeare to be carried there by a sacred and sweet providence of Christ, to make known his name to those poor soules, who have been *Captives to Satan* these many Ages. The Christians when scattered abroad, went to and fro preaching the word. And I wish from my soul, that all these *Ministers of the Dispersion* (as I may call them) in *New-England*; would stirre up themselves to this work of the Lord, which (now it seems) he intended in his carrying of them thither. Surely these tydings as they are *grounds of rejoycing* to others a far off; so they should be much more *incouragements of putting to the hand* of such as are there unto this harvest of the Lord. And so much the rather, because the Gospel in its advancement amongst these *Western Indians*, appeares to be *not in word only* (as it was by the *Spaniards* among their Indians) 1 Thes. 1. *but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance*: Doe not these true reports shew *what manner of entrance the Gospel hath among them: and how they turn unto God from Idols* (from their *pawwawes*) to serve the *living and true God*, and to look for his *sonne* from *Heaven*, * &c.

(Reader) I intreat thee to beare with me, if in *Commenting*

upon this work of God, I offer a few notes to declare that in truth this work of God is not only in the *Letter*, but in the *Observation*. *Spirit* and power of the *Gospel*. These things I note (and pray doe thou) to this purpose.

1. The questions which are moved by the Indians comming and come in, are such as are of great and weighty concernment; And such as indeed evince a more then common working of the spirit by the word on them. Such are those that concerne *spirituall joyning in prayer*, and a *knowledge of Gods acceptation thereof*. Those questions also that relate to the *marrying of the godly with the wicked*: (much like that of the *Corinthians* to *Paul*. 1 *Cor.* 7. and 2 *Cor.* 8.) and those that concern the *evill of thoughts and dreames*, &c. See and consider the Questions.

2. The full casting off their *Pawwaws*; and not seeking to them: Although they much idolized them, and albeit they know not as yet, any meanes of help when sick, but them.

3. Their sweet and affectionate melting under the word of grace: and their exceeding hungry and thirsting after the *Vide pag. 27.* enjoyment [p. 26.] thereof. Together with enquiry after *Syon*, and their great joy they declare in their hopes thereof.

4. Lastly, and especially the reall and undenyable evidences of the work of grace in power upon some particular persons mentioned: and particular that of the *woman* in whom I cannot but note these things.

pag. 6, 7. 1. Her desire to live by the ordinance of the word, although with great trouble.

2. Her Exemplarines of life, after the Lord did work upon her.

3. Her resolutions to love God, *though he made her sick*. Oh! *could she love God, except he loved her first?*

4. Her belief that God was well pleased with her in Christ, and hereupon her willingnesse to dye, in assurance of going to Heaven.

5. Her care of her Children upon her first knowing of God: and her charging them not to live with their kindred, pressing it chiefly with this, that *they prayed not*, and that they *committed sin, and were not punished*: Oh holy and high attainment! to see an *evill in sinning and not being punished*. This was the great evill threatned. *Hosea* 9. 14.

What doe all these things declare? but this: That Christ hath made the *day of his power* to arise upon those poor *Application.* soules: In making them a *willing people*: And what improvement should we make of this comment upon the work of the Lord, if not this or the like;

First, To study and search into the works of the Lord, to see how he counterplots the enemy in his designes: In making the late Bishops persecuting of the Godly tend to the promoting of the Gospel.

Secondly, To take heed of dispising the *day of small things*. It being Gods way to lay most glorious workes upon little and despicable foundations: And to advance the Treasury of the Gospel in earthen vessels, even to the ends of the Earth.

Thirdly, To be ashamed of, and bewaile our want of affection to, and estimation of that glorious Gospel, and those great things of Christ: which these poor Heathens upon the little Glymmerings and tasts so exceedingly value and improve.

[p. 27.] Fourthly: Doth not the observation of the preceeding reports, clearly confirme the *Doctrine of the Sabbath*, and the *practise of prayer*: Oh tremble ye *Sabbath-slighters*, and *duty-dispisers*, Christ hath witnesses against you in *America*! Be ashamed ye pretended-*Men* and *fathers* in Christ for comming short of *Babes* and *Children*! In truth the very light of Nature will condemne you. Prayer in all ages (and that not mentall, but verball, and expresse) hath been that by which the *Deity* hath been *agnized* and worshipped. The *converted Heathens* in *New-England*, goe beyond you, O ye *Apostate Christians* in *England*!

Lastly, be encouraged to put to your helping hand unto the work of the Lord. And to that end,

1. *Arise ye heads of our Tribes in Old England*, and extend your help to further Christs labourers in *N.-England*. Rather steal from your sleep an houre, then suffer that good Ordinance to lye asleep so long; which if drawn into an Act, will exceedingly further this blessed work. Surely if you were petitioned to in the name of Christ, and his Gospel, to give money out of your own purse to exalt him in furthering it. Durst you deny it? How much lesse can you deny the passing of an Act to enable some to receive and dispose what others would gladly give. The work is so clear, that you need not many houres to debate it: And I hope you are so willing that I shall not need more words to presse it, only let me add this that as Ministers, so Statists do finde personall examples, the most powerfull motives to practick doctrines.

2. *Rouze up your selves my Brethren; ye Preachers of the Gospel*, this work concernes you. Contrive and plot, preach for, and presse the advancement hereof. Its cleare you may do much: Let not this be your condemnation, that you did nothing.

3. *Come forth ye Masters of money*, part with your Gold to promote the Gospel; Let the gift of God in temporal things make way, for the Indians receipt of spiritualls. If you give any thing *yearly*, remember Christ will be your *Pensioner*. If you give any thing into *banke*, Christ will keep *account* thereof, and reward it. You hear of what things are necessary in order to the advancement of that one *thing necessary*. Rest assured of this, what ever you give will be well and wisely improved. And as far as the Gospel is mediately advanced by your money, be sure you will be remembered. [p. 28.]

But to winde up all, *Fal down O all ye who love the Lord Jesus : & bow your knees to his father & yours in his name, to prosper the progresse made of the Gospel among the Indians in N-England.* Pray that an effectuall door may be openned there. Remember Mr. *Eliot*. Forget not Mr. *Mayhew*, and all other that labour in the work. Pray for them that Christs work may prosper in their hands. Christ calls upon you by these Letters, and saith. *The harvest is great, but the Labourers are few, pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest to send forth Labourers into his vineyard.* If you thus heare Christ, and obey his voice, you shall accomplish the end of this Appendix, and exceedingly rejoyce the heart of the Author thereof, who is

An unworthy Labourer in Christs work here, and an ardent desirer of further progresse thereof in New-England.

J. D.

F J N J S .

THe Lord, *who is wonderful in Councel, and excellent in working*, hath so wrought, that the scorching of some of *his people* with the *Sun of persecution*, hath been the enlightning of those who were *not his people*, with the *Sun of righteousness*. This present Narrative gives testimony, That our dear Brethren who withdraw from the heat of trouble in *Old England*, have been used as Instruments in the Lords hand to draw som (I might say many) of the poor Heathens to behold and rejoyce in the light of the everlasting Gospel in *New-England*. Surely 'tis cause of greater glorying that any of those Heathens have found the way of life and salvation among our brethren, then that our brethren have found place and safety (yea, then though they should finde the richest merchandize of gold and silver) among those Heathens. And how much doth it become Christians to let Heathens see that they seek *them* more then *theirs*; That the gaining of them to Christ is more in their eye, then any worldly gain.

Joseph Caryl.

The Light appearing more and more to-
wards the perfect Day.

O R ,

A farther Discovery of the present state
of the *INDIANS*

I N

New-England,

Concerning the Progresse of the *Gospel*
amongst them.

Manifested by Letters from such as preacht
to them there.

Published by *Henry Whitfeld*, late Pastor to the
Church of Christ at *Gilford* in *New-England*, who
came late thence.

*Zeph. 2. 11. The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth, and men
shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Iles of the
Heathen.*

London, Printed by *T. R. & E. M.* for *John Bartlet*, and are to be
sold at the Gilt Cup, neer *St. Austins* gate in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1 6 5 1 .

To the Right Honorable
THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
England
And the
COUNCEL of STATE.

Right Honorable,

HOW abundantly the Lord hath enlarged the hearts, and raised the resolutions of this present Parliament to serve him, the many good things, and great things done by you, sufficiently witnesse, and will be acknowledged, at least in another generation. It is not the smallest in the eyes of those that look up to God for you, both in Old England and New, that you have so readily contributed your power, upon the first notice of the manifestation of Gods gracious work upon the Indians, by an Act published by you, for promoting the same.

In order whereunto I crave leave in all humility to represent (having lived some yeers in the Countrey, and lately came thence) how happily the Lord carrieth on his work there, which I have done in this small Treatise following.

And for your more full satisfaction, give leave to remove such false surmises and aspersions, suggested on purpose to retard the work. Some are heard to question the affections of New-England towards the Parliament, and present state; To which I must answer, that the Magistrates, Ministers, and generally the people of New-England, so farre as I know or have observed, or can learn, have been faithful and cordial to the Parliament

The Epistle Dedicatory.

from the first, and do own this present Government, and Common-wealth, giving in this as a reall argument, in being your Honours Remembrancers at the throne of grace, both praying to God for you in your straits, and praising God for the enlargment of his good hand upon you. Others endeavour more directly to prejudice the work, by suggesting that the charity of the wel-affected hath been abused, in that there is no such work, or that there is a greater noise made of it in the world then there is cause; To this I can safely answer, that there hath been, I beleieve in no mans observation, greater faithfulness found in any businesse, both for truth of relation in what hath passed, or disposing what hath been contributed; the persons that are concerned in it, whether they be the Corporation established by you, or that have the managing of it in New-England, being persons of known integrity, and much honoured of all that know them, in this very respect; Most of these accounts I have seen, both what monies have been received and disbursed, both what, how, and to whom. These also are ready to give your Honours satisfaction about this, if need require, and it will be an ease, and an honour to them to be called to such an account.

And now the way being thus cleared, I proceed to make it my humble request to your Honours, that you would be pleased to accept of this my humble acknowledgment, and thankful remembrance of what you have already done; and that it would not be troublesome to you to be intreated, and stirred up by my meannesse, to proceed in the continuance of your favour, as to the whole Country, so especially towards this work, that your hands may be still held up to the farther advance, and perfecting these happy beginnings. And as you have given it feet, so you would give it wings, that it may get above all difficulties, which may be cast in the way. Truly the work is honorable, and worthy your care, and inmost affections, and to be laid in your bosomes, that it may feel the warmth and influence of your favour, and best respects, it tending so much to the good of the souls of these poor wild creatures, multitudes

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of them being under the power of Satan, and going up and downe with the chains of darknesse ratling at their heels. This I may also say for your Honours encouragement, there is farre greater cause of promoting this work then formerly, there being more persons, and places which have recived the Gospel amongst them. Our Lord Christ and his truth gets ground, and the Devil loseth, they daily break from him, and renounce him, and all his cursed works of darknesse, as you will find in this following Narrative. And lastly, let me adde but this, The Lord hath given the uttermost ends of the earth to Jesus Christ for his inheritance, let therefore your hands go on (Noble Worthies) to help him in taking the possession of his own, who hath kept you in yours with an out-stretched arme. But I shall be no farther troublesome to your Honours; The most wise and strong God, for Christs sake, strengthen your hearts and hands, sit amongst you in your daily assemblings, and help you to guide the Ship of this Common-wealth, under your care, in these tossing and troublesome times, that there may be peace and safety found for such as are quiet in the Land; and let me have the favour to be looked upon by you, as

Your Honours to serve you

in the things of Jesus Christ,

Henry Whitfield.

[p. 1.] *Christian Reader.*

I Have adventured to put this smal Treatise in thy hand, and to give some account of the publishing of it, conceiving it a means to advance that common comfort, which all good Christians do share in with the Angels of heaven, about the conversion of sinners to God. This will appear by shewing there is a doore of hope opened for the poore Indians, of whom it may be thou hast not yet heard; I thought also by relating the truth of things, as they stand at present, concerning the Indians you have heard of, and Gods dealing with them, I might undeceive such as are either apt, or do beleieve, that things reported of them are but a fable, and a device or engine used by some to cheat good people of their money, and so discourage them from yeelding any help towards this great work. The Lord forgive them this great sinne, that have raised these evill reports.

Understand therefore (good Reader) that my selfe intending (by Gods help) my returne into my native Countrey; It pleased the Lord by his providence, before we could come to the place where we were to take ship for England, that, by reason of contrary winds, we were faine to put in at an Iland called Martins Vineyard, which is the most Southerly Iland ^{Some call it} that lies in that tract of Land called New England, ^{Marthaes} Vineyard. where there is a small Plantation, and a Church gathered, where we stayed about ten dayes, in which time I had the more leasure and opportunity to informe my selfe of the state of the Indians there; having heard formerly that divers of them began to taste the knowledge of Christ: For this end I had recourse to Mr. Mahu, who is the Pastor of the Church, and having attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, and can speak it well, hath laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ amongst the Indians there by preaching unto them; who gave me full information of what I desired. I had also speech with some of the Indians (Mr. Mahu being my Interpreter.) Above the rest my desire was to speak with the Indian who now preacheth unto them every Lords day twice, whose name is Hiacoomes, who seemed to me to be a man of a prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a [p. 2.] man well reported of for his conversation both by the English and Indians. I thought him to be about 30 yeers of age; with this man I had often speech, and I asked him divers questions about Christian Religion, and

about his own estate before God. I remember once I asked him these questions. 1. Whether he had found sorrow for sin, as sin. 2. Whether he had sorrowed for his sins as they had pierced Christ. 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him; *Vnto all which he gave me a very good satisfactory and Christian answer. After this I had the opportunity to go to a private meeting of the Indians (of which you shall understand more in the Letter following) with Mr. Mahu, where having spent three or foure houres in Questions and Answers, which passed too and fro between the Indians and my self; at our parting I desired that one of them would desire a blessing upon what they had heard for their edification, which was accordingly done; for they chose out a young man who prayed a quarter of an houre, and somewhat more, with great reverence and affection, as farre as I could judge by his voyce and outward deportment: Master Mahu also told me that he had many pertinent and significant expressions in his prayer; so that God hath poured on some of them the gift, and I hope the spirit of prayer.*

The next day we rode to the Indian Lecture, where Mr. Mahu preached and catechised their children who answered readily and modestly in the Principles of Religion; some of them answered in the English some in the Indian tongue. Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the paines he took, I made some enquiry about Mr. Mahu himself, and about his subsistence, because I saw but small and sleader appearance of outward conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himself was modest, and I could get but little from him; but after, I understood from others how short things went with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him, to provide necessities for them; having not halfe so much yeerly coming in, in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is chearfull amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himself elsewhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, because I have some hope, that some pious minde, that reads this, might be inwardly moved to consider his condition, and come to his succor for his encouragement in this great work.

[p. 3.] At my parting from this Iland I desired Mr. Mahu that he would take the pains to write me the Story of Gods dealing with the Indians, from the first time of their coming thither, to this present time; which he accordingly did, and I received before

my going out of the Countrey ; which Letter of his to me, finding many remarkable passages in it, I thought fit to publish it, that the Lord might have the glory of his free grace, in regard of these poor Heathens who seeme to be the dregs and refuse of Adams lost posterity ; and to put an edge upon the prayers and prayes of Gods people, the fruit of which will returne into their owne bosomes. And if there be a right set of spirit in you, you will blesse God for such as present such kinde of matter to you, and do put an opportunity into your hands, whereby you may any way be instrumental to promote the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.

The Letter written with his own hand followeth.

S I R,

YOU being by especial providence of God, brought amongst us, and while you were here looking into the present mercy of God that these Indians were blessed with, you found an occasion farther to enquire what the former dispensations of God have beene to bring them hitherto. Now assuring my self that it is from your desire that the Lord may be glorified in the salvation of these poor Indian souls, I shall, by the assistance of God, declare the truth, and that which shall, by his grace, administer also a ground of prayer to be put unto the God of all blessings in Jesus Christ for us ; and I hope, unto any, whom the Lord shall call to the like service, a blessed experience of the Lords workings, turning all things, yea seeming hinderances, to the furtherance of the work of grace amongst them.

Now for your satisfaction you may please to know that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the yeere 1643. When the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived neer to the English Plantation, whose name is *Hiacoomes*, a man of a sad & a sober spirit, unto whose *Wigwam* or house some of the English repairing, & speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and publike meetings, [p. 4.] thinking that there might be better wayes and means amongst the English, for the attaining of the blessings of health and life, then could be found amongst themselves : Yet not without some thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might possibly gain thereby, at which time I took notice of him, and had oft discourse with him, inviting him to my house every Lords day at night. About this time it so fell out, that this Indian went with some English men to a little Iland, where meeting a surly *Sagamore* whose name was *Pake Ponesso*, who reproached him for his fellow-ship with the English, both in their civil and religious wayes, railing at him for his being obedient to them : *By this name they call their Kings and Governours.*

Hiacoomes replied that he was gladly obedient to the English, neither was it for the Indians hurt he did so; Upon which the Sagamore gave him a great blow on the face with his hand; but there being some English men present, they would not suffer the Sagamore to strike him again. The poor Indian thus wronged, made this use of it, and said, *I had one hand for injures, and the other for God, while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

There was a very strange disease this yeare amongst the Indians, they did run up and down till they could run no longer, they made their faces as black as a coale, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did no hurt; I have seen many of them in this case. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cause of all their wants, sicknesses, and death, upon their departing from their old heathenish ways, only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God: and being desirous to read, the English gave him a Primer, which he stil carries about with him.

Now whilst *Hiacoomes* was feeling after God, he met with another tryall; for going into an Indian house where there
1644. were many Indians, they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, *Here comes the English man*, who by their noyse awaked his old enemy *Pakeponesso*, who was asleep, who joyning with the other Indians, told him, *I wonder (said he) that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their wayes, and forsake the Pawwawes; what would you do if any of you should be sick? whither would you go for help? I say, if I were in your case there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwawes.* At this time he replied nothing, but told a friend of his that he then thought in his heart that the God in heaven did know and heare [p. 5.] all the evill words that *Pakeponesso* spake. Thus the changing of his way caused much hatred to him, neither was there so much as the least appearance of any outward argument amongst us, that might weigh against it.

After this there fell a great judgment of God on this Sagamore; for in the night when he and his company were in the
* *An Indian house or Wigwam is made with smal poles like an arbour covered with mats, and their fire is in the midst, over which they leave a place for the smoak to go out at.* * Wigwam, it beginning to raine, he and a young man stood up upon the floor of planks which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a Matt over the Chimnie, there came a great flash of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, yet full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man out-right, and strook *Pakeponesso* down dead for a long time, and he fell off from the floore of planks along upon the ground with one legge in the fire, and being much burned, it was took

out by some that lay in the other side of the Indian house. Now *Hiacoomes* (as himself saith) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did answer him, and that he was brought more to rejoyce in God, and rest more upon him.

Now in these times, as I did endeavour the good of these Heathens by discourse with diverse of them, so in particular with *Hiacoomes*, who did communicate that knowledge he had amongst those he could; for some of them could not endure the light he brought; some were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the Majesty of the Lord by these personal particular works; at last the Lord sent an universal sicknes, and it was observed by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing of good counsel, did not taste so deeply of it, but *Hiacoomes* and his family in a manner not at all. This put the Indians who dwell about six miles from us, upon serious consideration of the thing, being much affected, that he which had exposed himself to such reproaches and troubles, should receive more blessings then themselves; hereupon they sent a messenger to *Hiacoomes*, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his message, told him that he was come to pray him to go presently to *Myoxeo* the chief man of that place, and he should have a reward for his labour; for the Indians were very desirous to know from him all things that he knew, and did, in the wayes of God; so he being glad of the opportunity, went with the messenger, and when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongst which was *Towanquatick* the Sagamore; [p. 6.] then after many requests (the general whereof was this, that he would shew his heart unto them, how it stood towards God, and what they must do) he shewed unto them all things he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost; *Myoxeo* asking him how many Gods the English did worship, he answered one God, whereupon *Myoxeo* reckoned up about 37. principal gods he had, and shall I (said he) throw away these 37. gods for one? *Hiacoomes* replied, what do you think of your self? I have throwne away all these, and a great many more some yeers ago, yet am preserved as you see this day; you speak true said *Myoxeo*; therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you. *Hiacoomes* told them all, he did fear this great God only, and also in a speciall manner that the Son of God did suffer death to satisfie the wrath of God his Father, for all those that did trust in him, and forsake their sinnes, and that the spirit of God did work these things in the hearts of men, and that himself did feare this great God only, was sorry for his sinnes, desiring to be redeemed by Iesus Christ, and to walk in Gods commandments; this, with many truths more he shewed unto them, As *Adams* transgression, and the misery of the world by it,

and did conclude, that if they had such hearts as he, they should have the same mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many gods, going to Pawwawes; and *Hiacoomes* told me himself, that this was the first time that ever he saw the Indians sensible of their sins; formerly they did but hear it as a new thing, but not so nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, saying, also *now we have seen our sins*. Thus it pleased the Lord to give both light and courage to this poore Indian; for although formerly he had been a harmlesse man amongst them, yet, as themselves say, not at all accounted of, and therefore they often wondered that he which had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, is now become the Teacher of them all; I must needs give him this testimony, after some yeers experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit, and good conversation, and as he hath, as I hope, received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul and his neighbours with him.

Now, after these things it pleased God to move the heart of *Towanquatick*, encouraged by some others amongst them, to desire me to preach unto them. At my coming, this man spake thus unto [p. 7.] me; *That a long time ago they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeeres, yet then they go without wisdom to their graves.* He told me that he wondered the

English should be almost thirty yeers in the Country and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue; and when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me *That I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling many vessels*, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soone as the first Exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight in our settled course. He hath also since told me the reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodnesse, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the Word of God to his heart, to repent, and throw away his sins, and to be better, and after he was dead, to inherit a life in heaven.

Now there be three things in this beginning that were greatly inquired into. 1. Earthly riches, what they should get. 2. What

Though I have written this passage to Mr. Winslow in my Letter to him, which is printed, yet it is not so full a story as here, and therefore I have added it.

approbation they should get from other Sagamores and Governors. 3. How they should come off from the Pawwawes ; but in neither of these could they finde that which might give motion to a carnal minde ; for the first kept off many, I have had much discourse with several of them about it, wherein they have strongly stood for their own meetings, wayes and customes, being in their account more profitable then ours, wherein they meet with nothing but talking and praying. The second also remaines an obstacle, the Sagamores generally are against the way. The third is the strongest cord that binds them to their own way, for the Pawwawes by their witchcraft keep them in feare, many of the Indians got over the two first difficulties, and in some measure the third ; now there were about twelve which came to the meeting as it were halting between two opinions, others came to hear and see what was done, for although they had heard and seen something of the one God of heaven, yet such was their unspeakable darknesse, [p. 8.] their captivity in sin, and bondage to the Pawwawes, that they hardly durst for feare take the best way, for though a few of them were better enlightened, yet the Heathen round about stuck fast in their old brutishnesse.

We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towanquatick* met with a sad tryal, for he being at a Weare where some Indians were a fishing, where also was an 1647.

English man, as he lay along upon a matt on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces from him, let flie a broad headed arrow, purposing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it ; for notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart he hit the eye- *This man when I was in the land I often saw and spake with, seeing also the skar upon his eye-brow and nose,* brow, which like a brow of steele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing away, slit the top of his nose to the bottome. A great stirre there was presently, the Sagamore sate up, and bled much, but was not much hurt through the mercy of God ; the darknesse of the night hid the murtherer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next morning I went to see the Sagamore, and I found him praising God for his great deliverance, both himself and all the Indians, wondering that he was yet alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for his walking with the English ; and it is also conceived, both by them and us, that his forwardnesse for the meeting was one thing, which (with the experience I have had of him since) gives me matter of strong perswasion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord Jesus.

After this, through the mercy of God, we proceeded on with the meeting, to the rejoycing of some Indians, and the envie of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those that did follow the Lecture, and

in their way of wickednesse blaspheming the Name of God, which damped the spirits of some of them for a time in the wayes of God, and hindering others from looking thitherward, but the Lord gave courage and constancy to some of them, especially to *Hiacoomes* and *Towanquatick* who was hurt with the arrow, who were not ashamed of the way of God.

And hereupon they made farther progresse in the way of God, for without any knowledge thereof, they appointed a

1648. meeting, and there came some younger men, and brought with them the ancient men of their kindred

Although I was present at this meeting from the beginning to the end, yet it was done without my privacy or putting them on upon it, but it came meerly from themselves.

and acquaintance to speak for them, whereof [p. 9.] the very old man that your self saw and heard at the meeting, was one, who began the meeting with a relation of the old customes of the ancient Heathen, preferring them before those wayes of their own they were now in, yet acknowledging they were farre inferior to those wayes of God they had now begun: Then twelve of the young men went and took *Sacochanimo* by the hand one by one and told him that they did love him, and would go with him in Gods

This was Towanqueticks eldest sonne.

way, and some of them made a long speech to him to this purpose; and the old men encouraged them in their way, & desired them never to forget those promises they had now made; then one of the young men told me the ground of their meeting, *viz.* They were sorry to see that the meeting did go on no more strongly, and that there were no more at it, and that they were desirous to strengthen themselves in the way of God, to have good hearts, and one heart, and to walk together in love in the wayes of God. So after they had eaten together the victuals of their own providing, and we had sung part of a Psalm in their own language, and I had prayed with them, they returned with the manifestation of much joy and thankfulness; and this I can say, they are generally constant in the way of God, and I have great hopes of some of them, blessed be his name.

After this it pleased the Lord to stirre up the hearts of the Indians to appoint another meeting, and many Indians be-

1649. ing met, they fell to a great discourse about the Pawwawes power to kill men, and there were many stories told of the great hurt they had done by their witchcraft many wayes (here you must know, that though the Indians many of them were brought by the knowledge they had of God, to renounce the Pawwawes help in time of sicknesse or otherwise, yet they found it hard to get from under the yoke of cruelty that they and their forefathers had so long groaned under; for I know some, that then groaned under it, acknowledged they did see that in God which would free them from it, if they had but confidence to trust in him.)

Then the question was asked, Who is there that doth not fear the Pawwawes? answer was made by some who favoured them, there is not any man which is not afraid of the Pawwawes; then looking upon *Hiacoomes*, who was one that protested most against them, told him that the Pawwawes could kill him; he answered they could not; they asked him againe, why? he told them, because he did beleve in God and trust in him, and that therefore all the Pawwaws could not do him any hurt; [p. 10.] Then they all wondered exceedingly when he spake thus so openly. Then divers of them said one by one, though before I was afraid of the Pawwawes, yet now, because I hear *Hiacoomes* his words, I do not fear them, but beleve in God too. Then the meeting at this time was carried on, and *Hiacoomes* is desired by the Indians to reckon up their sins unto them; he presently found 45. or 50. and as many good duties; his work was very well liked, and in the conclusion twenty two Indians were found to resolve against those evils, and to walk with God, and attend the word of God. But I 1650.

may not here forget an Indian called *Hummanequem*, who exceeded all the rest, to the wonderment of the Indians; he with much sorrow, hatred, and courage, related about twenty of his own sins, and professed to follow the one God against all opposition; He told them he was brought into this condition by *Hiacoomes* his counsel from the Word of God, which at first he said he liked not, afterwayes laid it by him as a thing to be considered, not knowing well what to do; at last, looking over things again, he came to this resolution which you have now heard; I confesse this action makes me think he spake more then from a natural principle, considering that the man hath been since an earnest seeker of more light both publike and private; as also for refusing the help of a Pawwaw which lives within a bow shoot of his doore, when his wife was three dayes in travel, and waited patiently upon God, till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer.

And whilst we were making progresse in the work of the Lord on a Lecture day, an Indian stood up, and said he had been a sinner, and committed many evill things, but now was sorry for them, and did repent, desired to forsake his sins, and to walk in Gods way. Then he went to the Sagamore *Towanquetick*, and took him by the hand, saying, *I do love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for Gods sake*; the like also he said to some others, and then came to me in like manner, saying, *I pray love me, and I do love you, and am desirous to go with you for Gods sake*; so he was received with many thanks, and since I know him to be diligent and laborious. I confesse I marvelled to see them act with such a spirit, but I considered, it was sutable to their own meeting in 48.

Now the Indian accompanied his friend that suddenly lost his two

sons ; he I say remaining still in his obstinacy, is also found out, and feelles the wrath of God, being stricken with a dead Palsie, all one [p. 11.] side of him, but his eye and eare ; The dead Palsie is a strange and unwonted disease amongst the Indians ; I have beene sometimes with him ; when I spake to him, he fetched many sighs ; he is at this day a living and a dead monument of the Lords displeasure, having hurt himself most, and done them most good he hated.

Another thing is a remarkable combate between two Indians and a Pawwaw, who, on the Lords day after meeting, came in very angry, saying, I know the meeting Indians are lyars ; you say you care not for the Pawwawes ; then calling two or three of them by name, and railing at them, told them that they were deceived, for the Pawwawes could kill all the meeting Indians if they did set about it ; with that one of the young men replied with much courage, saying, it is true, I do not fear the Pawwawes, neither do I desire any favour at their hands, pray kill me if you can. And *Hiacoomes* told him also that he would be in the midst of all the Pawwawes of the Iland that they could procure, and they should do their utmost they could against him, and when they did their worst by their witchcrafts to kill him, he would without feare set himself against them, by remembring *Jehovah* ; he told him also that he did put all the Pawwawes under his heel, pointing unto it ; which answers did presently silence the Pawwawes devillish spirit, and he had nothing to say, but that none but *Hiacoomes* was able so to do.

I have observed the wise disposing hand of God in another Providence of his ; there have not as I know, any man, woman or child died of the meeting Indians since the meeting began, untill now of late the Lord took away *Hiacoomes* his child which was about five dayes old ; he was best able to make a good use of it, and to carry himself well in it, and so was his wife also ; and truly they gave an excellent example in this also, as they have in other things ; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor hellish howlings over the dead, but a patient resigning of it to him that gave it ; There were some English at the burial, and many Indians to whom I spake something of the Resurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told me he was much refreshed in being freed from their old customes, as also to hear of the Resurrection of good men and their children to be with God.

There are now by the grace of God thirty nine Indian men of [p. 12.] this meeting, besides women that are looking this way, which we suppose to exceed the number of the men, though not known by open entrance into Covenant as the men, but are now near it. These in general have the knowledge of the fundamental

points of Religion; your self when you were with us, had some tryal of it; it was a great while my maine work to administer light in general to them; and there now, through mercy, appears some life, hoping that some of them have received this great mercy of God in Christ. This is a great incouragement to me, as also that their hearts are engaged in the way of the Lord for the salvation of their own souls upon Gods ends. One of these meeting Indians said (and I hope feelingly) that if all the world, the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it were presented without God, or God without all these, I would take God. And another said, that if the greatest Sagamore in the Land should take him in his armes, and proffer him his love, and riches and gifts to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord (and to the same purpose) in complaining against head knowledge and lip prayers, without heart holinesse, loathing the condition of such a man, saying, I desire my heart may taste the word of God, repent of my sinnes, and leane upon the Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them having a discourse with *Vzzamequin* a great Sachem or Governour on the maine Land (coming amongst them) about the wayes of God, he enquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demanding of them what they had gotten by all they had done this way? one of them replied, we serve not God for cloathing, nor for any outward thing. I have observed many such like passages; but my occasions at present will not permit me to set them down, I only bring you those things which are most ready in my minde.

The last thing that I took special notice of, is, the receiving of the five men when your self was present, into the meeting Indian number, one of them (the young man you saw) was sent at first about two or three months before by one of the greatest Pawwawes upon the Iland to learn and spy what was done at the meeting, and carry him word, but at the last he learned so much as he then openly profest to hate the Pawwawes and their witchcrafts, and that he did repent of his sinnes, and desired to go with the meeting Indians in Gods ways; another said he desired to joyn with the meeting Indians that he might have a renewed good heart, the [p. 13.] other were much like affected, only one of them reckoned up the commandments, and as he proceeded he protested against the sins forbidden, and professed obedience to the duties commanded; the last answered the question put to him by your self, *viz.* by what power they did think to do this? who answered, First, by his good desire; and secondly, by the help and blessing of Jesus Christ.

Just now whilst I am a writing, there comes an Indian unto me, and tels me his minde in these words, I shall long for your returne back again out of the Bay, that we may hear the good word of God; the former sins of my heart in the time of my youth I now remem-

ber; when I hear the word of God, and when I walk in the woods alone, I have much talk with God, and great repentance for my sins, and now I throw behind me all my strange gods, and my heart goes right to God in prayer.

The way that I am now in (through the grace of God) for the carrying on of this great work, is by a Lecture every fortnight, whereunto both men women and children do come; and first I pray with them, teach them, chatechise their children, sing a Psalm, and all in their own language. I conferre every last day of the week with *Hiacoomes* about his subject matter of preaching to the Indians the next day, where I furnish him with what spiritual food the Lord is pleased to afford me for them, wherein God hath much assisted him for his own and their spiritual good and advantage, who is diligent and conscionable to hold forth the grace of Christ to the Indians. For this purpose your fervent and frequent prayers together with all those who rejoyce in advancing the Scepter of Christ, are by me earnestly desired, and for me that I may preach him amongst the Heathen, to the praise of the excellency of his own power, and not mine; and that the Indians in this small beginning, being Gods husbandry, and Gods building, may be a fruitful glorious spreading Vine, and builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, unto whom I commend you in Jesus, and in him rest

*From Great Harbor
in Martins Vineyard
Sept. 7. 1650.*

Yours in the Lord to

be commanded,

THOMAS MAYHOW.

[p. 14.] **N**ow to speak somewhat farther of the proceeding of the things of Christ amongst the Indians of Mattacusets and thereabouts since the last books came forth; Somewhat I saw and understood concerning those Indians which are under the care of Mr. Eliot, unto whom I repaired at my coming from Martins Vineyard, who acquainted me with the state of things amongst the Indians as they were at present; at which time I rode with him to the Watertown Indians, and heard him preach to them, and catechize their children in the Indian tongue; who wrote also by me to Mr. Winslow, the Agent of the Countrey; which Letter, together with some other sent since the last publication by the Presse, the Corporation of New England desired me that they might be joyned and printed with this written by Master Mahu; which letters here follow.

Much honoured Sir,

YOur very loving acceptance of my Letters doth engage me very much unto you, but especially your cordial rejoycing in the progresse of this work of the Lord among these poor Indians. Sir, I shall first answer some material things in your Letter. First, for that opinion of *Rabbi-ben-Israel* which you mention, I would intreat you to request the same godly Minister (nay I hope he hath already done it) to send to him to know his grounds, and how he came to that Intelligence, when was it done, which way were they transported into *America*, by whom, and what occasion, how many, and to what Parts first, or what steps of intimation of such a thing may there be. I had some thoughts in my heart to search the Original of this People, that I might finde under what Covenant and Promise their fore-fathers have been, for the help of my faith; for *Jehovah* remembers and giveth being to ancient Promises. What had become of us sonnes of *Japhet*, if the Lord had not remembered that (and such like ancient Promises) *God shall perswade Japhet to dwell in the tents of Shem*. If these people be under a Covenant and Promise as ancient as *Shem* and *Eber*, it is a ground of faith to expect mercy for them.

Now this I have thought, that it seemeth to me as clear in the Scripture, that these are the children of *Shem* as we of *Gen.* 10. *Japhet*, and *Shem* was a great man in the Church, and to whom *Abraham* paid *Tythes*; for I beleeve he was *Melchisedeck*! yea it seemeth to me probable that these people are Hebrews, of *Eber*, whose sonnes the [p. 15.] Scripture sends farthest East (as it seemeth to me) and learned *Broughton* put some of them over into *America*, and certainly this Country was peopled Eastward from the place of the *Arks* resting, seeing the finding of them by the West is but of yesterday: Now *Eber* was also a great man in the Church; *Abraham* the Hebrew, saith the text; and how often in the Scriptures doth the Lord use that blessed word of *Grace* and *Covenant*, *I am the God of the Hebrewes*? besides there be sundry Prophecies in Scripture, *unto the goings down of the Sunne*; and let it be considered whether *America* be not to be accounted among the places that are the goings down of the Sunne unto those places where those Promises were promulgated; And when the Lord enlarged the Promise to *Jacob* (as the light and extent of grace hath ever been encreasing and enlarging) he promised to make him a Nation and a multitude of Nations, which so farre as we regard a literal accomplishment, is in part accomplit in the Nation of the Jewes, and the other part remaineth (as it may seem) to be accomplit in the lost Israelites scattered in the world, principally, if not

wholly, amongst the sons of *Japhet* and *Shem*; and our God who can and will gather the scattered and lost dust of our bodies at the Resurrection, can and will finde out these lost and scattered Israelites, and in finding up them, bring in with them the Nations among whom they were scattered, and so shall *Jacobs* Promise extend to a multitude of Nations indeed; and this is a great ground of faith for the conversion of the Easterne Nations, and may be of help to our faith for these Indians; especially if *Rabbi-Ben-Israel* can make it appeare that some of the Israelites were brought into *America*, and scattered here, or if the Lord shall by any meanes give us to understand the same.

These meditations upon Scripture grounds do minister comfort & encouragement to my heart with others also, as, *That all Languages shall see his Glory, and that all Nations and Kingdoms shall become the Kingdoms of the Lord Jesus*; and this I desire to do, to look unto Scripture grounds only; *Oh this precious this perfect Word of God!* You intimate also how zealously worthy Mr. *Owen* did prosecute this work; the Lord reward him, and the Lord accept him in all his holy labours. Likewise you intimate how acceptable this work is to the Parliament, that blessed Assembly, whom the Lord Christ hath delighted to make instrumental to begin to set up the longed for, prayed for, and desired Kingdome of the Lord [p. 16.] *Jesus*; for we may see in some measure the accomplishment of that prophesie of Christ, *Luke 21. 25.* The peaceable summer beginning to arise out of these distressed times of perplexity, all those signes preceding the glorious coming of Christ are accomplishing, and a thick black cloud is gathered, a cloud of blood, confusion, Heresies and Errors, and the thickest and most portentous black part of that cloud is the Toleration of the most grosse and convicted impieties under the pretence of conscience, which misapplication of the Sword of Authority (if it should awhile prevaile) cannot be innocent, and will undoubtedly prolong the storme and delay of the reigne of Christ; But notwithstanding all this black cloud, who seeth not the glorious coming of the Lord *Jesus* breaking through this cloud, and coming with power and great glory? He is King of Kings and reigneth over Kings; for where Justice reignes, Christ doth reigne; and that Antichristian principle for man to be above God, whether the Pope in the Church, or Monarches in the Common-wealth, is thrown to the ground. He that is above the Law, is above the Word; and he that is above the Word, is above Christ; Christ reigneth not over such as be above his Law: But behold, now Christ reigneth, and gloriously breaks forth in the brightnesse of his coming, and will in his time scatter all this thick black cloud, yea the thickest of it. Now this glorious work of bringing in and setting up the glorious kingdome of Christ, hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of this re-

nowned Parliament and Army ; Lord put it into all^rtheir hearts to make this designe of Christ their main first and chieftest endeavour, according to the Word, *Seek first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added.* And when the Lord Jesus is about to set up his blessed Kingdome among these poore Indians also, how well doth it become the spirit of such instruments in the hand of Christ to promote that work also, being the same businesse in some respect which themselves are about by the good hand of the Lord.

Surely Sir, your chief work of this nature now is to follow this Indian work which sticks in the birth for want of means. You would marvel if I should tell you how they long to come into a way of civility by co-habitation, and by forming government among themselves, that so they being in such order might have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them ; but want of a Magazine of all sorts of tools and materials for such a work, is the present impediment.

[p. 17.] The Lord is wiser then man, and his time is best ; I will not say any thing now for farther direction about what is requisite for the work which the Lord is preparing their hearts unto ; my former Letters have said enough that way, partly to you, and partly to Mr. *Pelham*, whose Letters I hope you have seen as containing sundry things necessary for your view ; and I doubt not but your wisdom will readily adde what is lacking in what I have projected ; only let me say this, that I dayly still see more evidence that that is the very way which the Lord would have us take at present.

Let me, I beseech you, trouble you a little farther with some considerations about this great Indian work which lyeth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, desire and endeavour to carry on, namely for their schooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means for promoting of it for future times ; If the Lord bring us to live in a Towne and Society, we must have special care to have Schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at least. And therefore there must be some Annual renew for the maintaining of such Schoolmasters and Dames ; Besides, I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leasure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence ; and all this is chargable ; therefore I look at that as a special matter

on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my Ministry in our Church whereby my family is sustained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they any thing to give : so that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full prosecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly [p. 18.] sequestered to learning and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means ; and I suppose ten pounds *per Annum* to be paid in *England*, will maintaine one Indian youth at Schoole, and halfe ascore such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that particular.

I had thought to have set down some of their Questions, whereby you might perceive how these dry bones begin to gather flesh and sinnews ; but partly I have them not ready, for I have not leasure to set them down at present, and they soone slip my memory, and I did it in all my last Letters, and may do it again, if the Lord will, hereafter. And therefore thus much at present, being cald off to hasten to seale up my Letters, the Lord Jesus blesse you sanctifie and keep you in all your labours and travels, and accept you, and all your works, and return you again unto us in due season here to see Gods blessing with your eyes upon those poore souls, for whose sakes you have laboured, and the Lord supply your absense to all yours ; and so commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace which is able to sanctifie and save you, I rest

*Roxburg, this 8.
of the 5. 49.*

*Your Brother and
fellow labourer for the good
of the poor Indians.*

JOHN ELIOT.

Worthy and much esteemed in the Lord.

IT is no small encouragement unto my spirit, not only to go on unweariably in this enterprize which the Lord hath set my heart upon, but also to expect a great blessing therein ; only I must intimate two *Redundances*, one is *page 8.* where there is a great (1) redundant which maketh the sence untrue ; but if left out, the sence is both good and true ; for (1) was not the Nominative case or efficient of that Verb, or Act of intreating Mr. *Mahu* to teach them,

but it was the Indians Act, and so I said, and so is the sence if that (great I) be left out. A second *Redundancie* is page 17. (though misfigured and no matter) where you put the title of *Evangelist* upon me, which all men take, and you seeme to put it for that extraordinary [p. 19.] office mentioned in the *New Testament*; I do beseech you to suppress all such things, if ever you should have occasion of doing the like; let us speak and do, and carry all things with all humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is most becoming the spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up Christ, and our selves lie low; I wish that that word could be obliterated if any of the books remain.

Now seeing it is so great a comfort to you to hear how the Lord is pleased to carry on this work, I shall relate unto you some passages, whereby you may see in what frame they be; I had, and still have, a great desire to go to a great fishing place, *Namaske* upon *Merimak*; and because the Indians way lyeth beyond the great River which we cannot passe with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side the river, unlesse we go by *Nashaway*, which is about, and bad way, unbeaten, the Indians not using that way; I therefore hired a hardy man of *Nashaway* to beat out a way and to mark trees, so that he may Pilot me thither in the spring, and he hired Indians with him and did it; and in the way passed through a great people called *Sowahagen Indians*, some of which had heard me at *Pautuket* and at *Nashaway*, and had carried home such tydings, that they were generally stirred with a desire that I would come and teach them; and when they saw a man come to cut out a way for me that way, they were very glad; and when he told them I intended to come that way the next spring, they seemed to him full of joy, and made him very welcome. But in the Spring, when I should have gone, I was not well, it being a very sickly time, so that I saw the Lord prevented me of that journey; yet when I went to *Pautuket* another fishing place, where from all parts about they met together, thither came divers of these *Sowahagen* Indians, and heard me teach, and I had conference with them; and among other things, I asked whether *Sowahagen* Indians were desirous to pray to God; they answered; yea, I asked how many desired it; they answered *wamu*, that is, *All*, and with such affection as did much affect those Christian men that I had with me in company.

The chief *Sachim* of this place *Pautuket*, and of all *Mermak* is *Papassaconnoway*, whom I mentioned unto you the last yeere, who gave up himself and his sonnes to pray unto God, this man did this yeer shew very great affection to me, and to the Word of God; he did exceeding earnestly, importunately invite me to come and live there and teach them; he used many arguments, many whereof [p. 20.] I have forgotten: but this was one, *that my com-*

ing thither but once in a yeere, did them but little good, because they soone had forgotten what I taught, it being so seldome, and so long betwixt the times ; further he said, That he had many men, and of them many nought, and would not beleeeve him that praying to God was so good, but if I would come and teach them, he hoped they would beleeeve me ; He farther added, that I did, as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they earnestly catch at it, and like it well, because it looks finely, but they cannot look into it to see what is within it, and what it is within, they cannot tell whether something or nothing, it may be a stock or a stone is within it, or it may be a precious thing ; but if it be opened, and they see what is within it, and see it precious, then they should beleeeve it (so said he) you tell us of praying to God, (for so they call all Religion) and we like it well at the first sight, and we know not what it is within, it may be excellent, or it may be nothing, we cannot tell, but if you would come unto us, and open it unto us, and shew us what it is within, then we should beleeeve that it is so excellent as you say, when we see it opened ; Such elegant arguments as these did he use, with much gravity, wisdom and affection ; and truly my heart much yearneth towards them, and I have a great desire to make our Indian Towne that way ; yet the Lord by the Eye of Providence seemeth not to look thither, partly because there is not a competent place of due encouragement for subsistence ; which would spoyle the work ; and partly because our Indians which are our first and chief materials in present view, are loth to go Northward, though they say they will go with me any whether ; but it concerneth me much not to lead them into temptation of scarcity, cold and want, which may damp the progresse of the Gospel ; but I rather think where ever I begin the first Towne, (if I live) I must begin more townes then one, or oh that the Lord would raise up more and more fit labourers into this harvest.

Another Indian, who lived remote another way, asked me if I had any children ? I answered yea ; he asked how many ? I said sixe ; he asked how many of them were sonnes ? I told him five ; then he asked whether my sonnes should teach the Indians to know God as I do ? at which question I was much moved in my heart, for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sonnes unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein ; and my purpose is to do my uttermost to traine them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the [p. 21.] Lord herein, and better preferment I desire not for them then to serve the Lord in this travel ; and to that purpose I answered him, and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lords meaning was to improve them that way, and he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

There is another aged *Sachem* at *Quabagud* threescore miles Westward, and he doth greatly desire that I would come thither and teach them, and live there ; and I made a journey thither this summer, and I went by *Nashaway* ; but it so fell out that there were some stirres betwixt the *Nazaganset* and *Monahegen* Indians, some murder committed, &c. which made our Church doubtful at first of my going, which when the *Nashaway Sachem* heard, he commanded twenty armed men (after their manner) to be ready, and himself with these twenty men ; besides sundry of our neer Indians went along with me to guard me, but I took some English along with me also, so that hereby their good affection is manifested to me, and to the work I have in hand ; here also I found sundry hungry after instruction, but it pleased God to exercise us with such tedious raine, and bad weather, that we were extreme wet, inso-much that I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockins, and on with them again, and so continued ; the rivers also were raised, so as that we were wet in riding through ; but that which added to my affliction was, my horse tyred, so that I was forced to let my horse go empty, and ride on one of the mens horses which I took along with me, yet God stept in and helped ; I considered that word of God, 2 *Tim.* 2, 3. *Endure hardship as a good Souldier of Christ* ; with many other such like meditations, which I think not meet to mention now. And I thank the Lord, neither I nor my company took any hurt, but the Lord brought us in safety and health home again.

Because, both Mr. *Pelham* and your self do so heartily, and with such good affection send commendations and greetings unto our Indians which pray unto God, I will tell you what a good occasion was ministred unto me, through the goodnesse of God, by a question which one of them propounded the next meeting (as I remember) after I had received my Letters, and I must first tell you the occasion of the question.

There had been at that time some strange Indians among them [p. 22.] which came to see them who prayed to God, as one from *Martins Vineyard*, who is helpful to Mr. *Mahu* to tell him words, &c. and I think some others, *when those strangers came*, and they perceived them to *affect Religion*, and had mutual conference about the same, there was very great *gladnesse of heart* among them, and they made these strangers exceeding welcome ; Here-upon did the Question arise, namely what is the reason, that when a strange Indian comes among us whom we never saw before, *yet if he pray unto God, we do exceedingly love him : But if my own Brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as we love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.*

This question did so clearly demonstrate that which the Scripture calleth *love of the Brethren*, that I thought it was useful; first, to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts; I therefore asked them, how they found it in their hearts? And they answered, that they all found it so in their hearts, and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, *wondring at it, what the reason of it should be*, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit; Then in my answer I asked them what should be the reason that the godly people in *England*, 3000. miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they pray to God, do exceedingly rejoyce at it, and love them, and send them tokens of their love, and then I reckoned up what had been sent them, and mentioned some names to them, and farther told them that their love was so great unto them, that they would send them over a great deale more; and in special, I hoped they would send us such materials as be requisite to make a Towne, and mentioned some such things as I have named in the Catalogue I sent to you, and asked them if they could tell the reason of it; they answered no; this being the same with their question; and then I shewed the unity of spirit, &c. And thus you see the occasion and way of communicating the good will and love of the Saints in *England*, unto them, so as that they might taste a spiritual blessing, and finde some edification of their souls by those outward blessings which they received. And whereas some, (as I am informed) who came from us to *England*, are no better friends to this work then they should, and may speak slightly of it: I do intreat that such may be asked but this question; Did they so much regard to look after it here, as to go three or four miles to some of [p. 23.] our meetings, and to observe what was said and done there? if not, how can they tell how things be? if they say they were, I desire to know what they except against? If they say the Indians be all nought because such as come loytering and filching about in our Townes are so; Wish them to consider how unequal that judgment is, if all the English should be judged by the worst of them; and any should say they be all such, this were to condemne the righteous with the wicked. Had I leasure, I would insert a few more of their questions, that you might perceive how flesh and sinewes begin to gather upon these dry bones; but I cannot at this time attend it; the present work of God among them is to gather them together to bring them to Political life, both in Ecclesiastical society and in Civil, for which they earnestly long and enquire, and some aged ones say, *Oh that God would let me live to see that day*; I allude to that in *Ezekiel*, not because I have any light to perswade me these are that people there mentioned, only they be dry and scattered bones, if any be in the world; and the work of God upon all such dry bones I beleieve will be in many things *Symmet-*

ricall; But the work of the day is to civilize them, and it will be very chargeable, and because in your Letters to Mr. *Cotton*, you desired that he and I should speak with the Commissioners what was fitting to send over for this work, we could not speak with the Commissioners of other Colonies, nor write to have any seasonable return, nor could we communicate the state of the businesse unto them, but what was feasible we have done.

Now dear Sir, it may be you will desire to know what kinde of Civil Government they shall be instructed in; I acknowledge it to be a very weighty consideration; and I have advised with Mr. *Cotton* and others about it, and this I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver, the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them; and when it is so the Lord reigneth, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done, but it will be more difficult in other Nations who have been adulterate with their *Antichristian* or humane wisdom; they will be loth to lay downe their imperfect own Star-light of excellent Lawes, in their conceits, for the perfect Sun-light of the Scripture, which through blindness they cannot see.

[p. 24.] *England* long since had happy experience of it, and it is often in my heart to desire they would pitch there in this present great change they are about; this is certaine, that all formes and Lawes of mans invention will shake, be unsettled; and many will doubt of subjecting to any way man can devise; and they will never rest till they come up to the Scriptures, and when they produce Scripture grounds for all they do, it will answer and satisfie all godly consciences, and awe the rest, and stop their mouths unlesse they will cavill against divine wisdom. It is the very reason why the Lord in this houre of temptation will bring Nations into distresse and perplexity, that so they may be forced to the Scriptures; the light whercof hath sole authority to extricate them out of their deep perplexities; and therefore all Governments are and will be shaken, that men may be forced to pitch upon the firme and unshaken foundation, *the Word of God*; this is doubtlesse the great designe of Christ in these later dayes; Oh that mens eyes were open to see it, and when the world is brought into this frame, then Christ reigneth; and when this is, Government shall be in the hands of the Saints of the most high.

But I forget my self; this is not my present work, it is my desire and prayer; my work is to endeavour the setting up Christ Kingdome among the Indians.

Sir, you tell me of one that will publish reasons to prove (at least) some of the ten Tribes are in *America*, it would be glad ty-

dings to my heart ; and when Mr. *Dudley* heard of it, he said that Captaine *Cromwell*, who lately dyed at *Boston* told him that he saw many Indians to the Southward Circumcised, and that he was oft conversant among them, and saw it with his eyes, and was undoubtedly certaine of it ; this is Captaine *Cromwells* testimony, and it seemeth to be one of the most probable arguments that ever I yet heard of ; unlesse the Lord shall please to clear it up that they are some of those dry bones which *Ezekiel* speaketh of.

Mr. *Mahew*, who putteth his hand unto this Plough at *Martins Vineyard*, being young, and a beginner here, hath extreme want of books ; he needeth *Commentaries* and *Common Places* for the body of Divinity, that so he might be well grounded and principled ; if therefore the Lord bring any meanes into your hand, I desire you would (by the help of some godly Divine) send him over such books as may be necessary for a young Scholer ; I will name no books, he needs all ; I beseech you put some weight upon it, for I desire [p. 25.] he might be furnished in that kinde, and other supplies will be needful for him.

And for my self I have this request (who also am short enough in books) that I might be helped to purchase my brother *Weld* his books, the summe of the purchase (34 li.) I am loth they should come back to *England* when we have so much need of them here, and without ready money there I cannot have them ; if therefore so much money might be disbursed for me, it would be a blessing to me, but it is on condition that all his books here be comprehended, else I will not give so much for them.

One thing more I shall mention, *viz.* if the work go on, and you send us means, then this may be considerable, which some have advised me, whether it might not be good to send me over a Carpenter or two young men-servants ; but if you should approve it, I desire they may be godly, and well conditioned, of a good spirit, for they must be employed among the Indians, and if they should be naught, and of an ill disposition they might do a great deal of hurt, but if they be honest & meek and well spirited, it may be a great furtherance of the work, I wholly leave it to your wisdom.

Having some leasure by the Ships delay I will insert a few questions which they have propounded. *viz.*

If a man know Gods Word, but beleve it not ; and he teach others, is that good teaching ? and if others beleve that which he teacheth, is that good beleeving, or faith ? upon this question I asked them, how they could tell when a man knoweth Gods Word that he doth not beleve it ? They answered me, *When he doth not do in his practice answerable to that which he knoweth.*

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you have taught us, and for-

get some, Is that a sin? and some I mistake and teach wrong, Is that a sin?

Do all evill thoughts come from the Devill, and all good ones from God?

What is watchfulnesse?

How shall I finde happinesse?

What should I pray for at night, and what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true Repentance, or how shall I know when this is true?

How must I wait on God?

[p. 26.] *Shall we see Christ at the day of Judgment?*

Can we see God?

When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still hard?

Can one be saved by reading the book of the creature? This question was made when I taught them, That God gave us two books, and that in the book of the creature, every creature was a word or sentence, &c.

You said God promised Moses to go with him, how doth he go with us?

When such die as never heard of Christ, whether do they go?

When the wicked die, do they first go to heaven to the judgment seate of Christ to be judged, and then go away to hell?

What is the meaning of the word Hebrews?

Why doth God say. I am the God of the Hebrews?

When Christ arose, whence came his soul? When I answered from heaven; It was replied, *How then was Christ punished in our stead? Or when did he suffer in our stead, afore death, or after?*

When I pray every day, why is my heart so hard still, even as a stone?

How doth God arise, and we worship at his feet, what meaneth it? This was when I preached out of *Psal. 132.*

Why did they eate the Passeeover, with loynes girt, and shooes on their feet?

What meaneth, arise O Lord into thy resting place?

What meaneth, hunger and thirst after righteousness, and the blessed?

What meaneth, thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbours?

If one purposeth to pray, and yet dieth before that time, whether goeth his soul?

If I teach on the Sabbath something that some other Englishman taught me, the Indians do not like it, if it be not that which you have taught, is this well?

Why must we be like Salt?

If I do not love wicked men, nor good men, am I good?

What meaneth that, love enemies and wicked men?

Doth God know who shall repent, and beleve, and who not?

When I answered in the affirmative, then it was replied, *Why then did God use so much meanes with Pharaoh?*

What meaneth that his wife shall be like a Vine, and his children like young plants?

[p. 27.] *What meaneth, that blessed are they that mourn?*

When I see a good example, and know that it is right, why do I not do the same?

What meaneth lifting up hands to God?

What anger is good, and what is bad?

Do they dwell in severall houses in heaven, or altogether, and what do they?

How do you know what is done in heaven?

If a child die before he sinne, whether goeth his soul? By this question, it did please the Lord, clearly to convince them of original sin, blessed be his name.

If one that prays to God, sins like him that prays not, is not he worse? And while they discoursed of this point, and about hating of wicked persons one of them shut it up with this, *They must love the man and do him good, but hate his sin.*

Why do Englishmen so eagerly kill all snakes?

May a man have good words and deeds and a bad heart, and another have bad words and deeds, and yet a good heart?

What is it to eate Christ his flesh and drink his blood, what meaneth it?

What meaneth a new heaven and a new earth?

Much honoured and respected in the Lord Jesus.

YOUR faithful and unwearied paines about the Lords work for the good of his dear children here, and for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ among these poor Indians, shall doubtlesse be had in remembrance before the Lord, not through merit, but mercie.

By former Letters sent by Mr. *Saltonstall*; I informed you of the present state of the Indian work, and though I might adde farther matters, yet I shal forbear, only this, still they continue constant, and earnestly desire to set upon the way of cohabitation & prepare for their enjoyment of that great blessing to gather a Church of Christ among them; and since the writing of my last a *Nipnet Sachem* hath submitted himself to pray unto the Lord, and much desireth [p. 28.] one of our chief ones to live with him and teach him and those that are with him.

You wrote (I thank you) much encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work, though I borrow materials, but I durst not do so,

the work is great, as I informed you in my former Letters ; and I fear, lest it should discourage you, nor would I be too hasty to run before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say go ; nor on the other side would I hold them too long in suspence, there may be weaknesse that way to their discouragement, but it is the Lords work, and he is infinite in wisdom, and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and his great glory.

Touching the way of their Government, I also intimated the purpose of my heart, that I intend to direct them according as the Lord shall please to help and assist to set up the Kingdome of Jesus Christ fully, so that Christ shall reigne both in Church and Commonwealth, both in Civil and Spiritual matters ; we will (through his grace) fly to the Scriptures, for every Law, Rule, Direction, Form, or what ever we do. And when every thing both Civil & Spiritual are done by the direction of the word of Christ, then doth Christ reigne, and the great Kingdome of Jesus Christ which we weight for, is even this that I do now mention ; and by this means all Kingdomes and Nations shall become the Kingdomes of Christ, because he shall rule them in all things by his holy word ; humane wisdom in learned Nations will be loth to yeeld to Christ so farre, much lesse will Princes and Monarches readily yeeld so farre to stoop to Christ, and therefore the Lord will shake all Nations, and put them into distresse and perplexity, and in the conclusion they will be glad to stoop to Christ. But as for these poore Indians they have no principles of their own, nor yet wisdom of their own (I meane as other Nations have) wherein to stick ; and therefore they do most readily yeeld to any direction from the Lord, so that there will be no such opposition against the rising Kingdome of Jesus Christ among them ; yet I foresee a cloud of difficulties in the work, and much obscurity and trouble in some such respects, as I think not meet to mention, only by faith I do see through this cloud : I beleeve the faithful promises of Christ shall be accomlisht among them, and the Lord Jesus shall reigne over them gloriously, *Oh my heart yearneth over distressed perplexed England*, and my continual prayer unto the Lord for them is, that he would be pleased to open their hearts and eyes, and let them see [p. 29.] their opportunity to let in Christ, and to advance his Kingdome over them ; yea, my hope is, that he will not leave tampering with them untill he hath brought it to passe ; Oh the blessed day in *England* when the Word of God shall be their *Magna Charta* and chief Law Book ; and when all Lawyers must be Divines to study the Scriptures ; and should the Gentile Nations take up *Moses* policie so farre as it is morall and conscionable, make the Scriptures the foundation of all their Lawes, who knoweth what a door would be opened to the Jewes to come in to Christ ; I wrote likewise by my last to intreat for some encour-

agement to Master *Mahu* who preacheth to the Indians, and that some monies may be laid out in books for him ; for young Scholars in *New-England* are very poor in books, as he is in extreme want.

Dear Sir,

Be helpful in prayer to our work, and above all gatherings, gather prayers ; I mean, put the Saints in minde that they pray much about it, as they do both there and here.

Truly Sir,

The spirit of prayer that is daily going about this matter, is a very great encouragement for all our meetings, through mercie, ring of it ; I would intimate some more questions which they have propounded since my last, for they are fruitful that way, but partly I fear I shall want time, yet my heart saies, it may comfort you, and therefore I will set down a few, so many as I have noted down since my last.

If but one parent beleeve, what state are our children in ?

How doth much sinne make grace abound ? I having made use of that Text.

If so old a man as I repent, may I be saved ? The wisdom of God drew forth this question next to interpret the former.

When we come to beleeve, how many of our children doth God take with us, whether all only young ones, or at what age ?

What meaneth that, Let the trees of the Wood rejoyce ?

What meaneth that, That the Master doth not thank his servant for waiting on him ?

What meaneth that, We cannot serve two masters ?

Can they in Heaven see us here on Earth ?

Do they see and know each other ? Shall I know you in heaven ?

Do they know each other in Hell ?

When English-men choose Magistrates and Ministers, how do they [p. 30.] know who be good men that they dare trust ?

Seeing the body sinneth, why should the soule be punished, and what punishment shall the body have ?

If all the world be burnt up, where shall hell be ?

What is it to beleeve in Christ ?

What meaneth, that Christ meriteth eternal life for us ?

What meaneth that, Covet not thy neighbours house, &c ?

What meaneth that, The woman brought to Christ a box of Oyle, and washt his feet with tears, &c ?

What meaneth that of the two debtors, one oweth much, another but little ?

If a wicked man prayeth, and teacheth, doth God accept, or what saies God ?

At what age may maids marry ?

If a man be wise, and his Sachem weak must he yet obey him ?

We are commanded to honour the Sachem, but is the Sachem commanded to love us ?

When all the world shall be burnt up, what shall be in the roome of it ; an old womans question yester day ?

What meaneth God, when he sayes, yee shall be my Jewels ? This was asked from my text last time, *Exod. 19. 5.* for so I rendred the word peculiar treasure.

You may perceive many of the questions arise out of such texts as I handle, and I do endeavour to communicate as much Scripture as I can ; *The word of the Lord converteth, sanctifieth and maketh wise the simple ;* sometimes they aske weaker questions then these, which I mention not, you have the best ; and when I am about writing, I am more careful in keeping a remembrance of them ; it may be the same question may be again and again asked at several places, and by several persons ; The Lord teach them to know Christ, *whom to know is eternal life ;* I shall intreat your supplications at the throne of grace, under the tender wing whereof I leave you, being forced by the time, and rest

*Roxbury this 29 of
the 10th 49.*

*Your respectful and loving
brother and fellow-labourer
in the Indian work.*

JOHN ELIOT.

[p. 31.] Much honoured and beloved in Christ, &c.

I Heard of the health and welfare of your family not long since, though the sharpnesse and depth of snowes this later part of winter did more shut up and hinder intercourse than ever I knew in *New-England.*

I shall principally attend to give you intelligence about the Indians, touching whom, I know not that you are like to have intelligence by others ; The Lord had shewed them a very great testimony of his mercy this winter, in that when formerly the English had the Pox much, they also had the same ; but now though it was scattered in all or most of the Townes about them, yet the Lord hath preserved them from it ; And that which maketh this favour of God the more evident and conspicuous, is this ; That there is a company of profane Indians that lately are come to a place near *Wamouth*, not farre from our Indians, who do not onely refuse to pray unto God, but oppose and apprehend that they were sent thither, if not by the policie of some *Pawwaws*, yet by the instigation of Sathan, on purpose to seduce the younger sort from their profession, and discourage others ; and indeed they being so neer, had that effect evidently in some of the younger sort. Now it pleased God

that this company of wicked Indians, were smitten with the Pox, and sundry cut off; and those which were cut off, were of the worst and mischievous of them all; which Providences, all the good Indians do take a great notice of, and doth say that the Lord hath wrought a wonder for them; and it seemeth to me that the Lord hath blest this good Providence of his to be a strong ingagement of their hearts to the Lord.

The work of the Lord through his grace doth still go on as formerly, and they are still full of questions, and mostly they now be, to know the meaning of such Scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor measure expounded to them, they long for to proceed in that work which I have in former Letters mentioned; namely to cohabit in a Towne, to be under the government of the Lord, and to have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them; this Spring the Lord seemed to put some of them upon such streights, about a convenient place of planting, as if his Providence had meant to call us to a present setting upon the work, but partly by reason of the undetermination about the place [p. 32.] where, but principally for want of means, wherewith it is yet deferred, though I see a necessity to speed it forward, for they have been now long in the expectation, and if I should still fail them, it would both discourage them, and embolden their adversaries to despise the work (for all the Country of Indians are in an expectation of it) yea by this delay that hath been, Sathan hath taken this advantage to my great grief; That whereas at my first preaching at *Nashawog* sundry did imbrace the word, and called upon God, and *Pau-wauing* was wholly silenced among them all; yet now, partly being forty miles off; and principally by the slow progresse of this work, Sathan hath so emboldened the Pawwawes, that this winter, (as I hear to my grief) there hath been Paw-wauing again with some of them.

The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see first whether any supply is like to be had from *England* (for our sins and bad times may disappoint our greatest hopes) and if any, what measure, that we may by that be guided what foundation and beginning to make; their condition and the necessary frame of this work requireth a liberall stock to begin withall, and liberall supply to carry it on; And therefore to begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be; nor can I manifest unto the Church that God doth call me to that work, until I may lay before them, (at least some) present means to begin the work, and some probable hopes of supply; and untill that be done, the Church hath no rule to give me up to that work; nor I a rule to require it; only I do (through the Lords help) continually go on to teach them, as for these three yeers and a half I have done, instructing them, and preparing them as well as I can against such

time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voyce, shall manifestly call us to go forward with that work which we wait to see accomplished.

I forbear to mention any thing about the materials requisite, and manner of proceedings, having done that in my former Letters, by the first ship especially, and also by the second ; both which Vessels I trust the Lord hath brought in safe to you long ere this time. I was in great hopes to have heard some encouragement by fishing ships, but not one being this yeere come, nor tydings any other way, we are put to sad thoughts how it may fare with *England*, but we cease not to pray continually in that behalf, and [p. 33.] this expectation of mine is one ingagement of my heart to be the more earnest both for *England* and for your self also.

*Roxbury this 18 of
the 2d 1650.*

*Your loving friend and brother
in our Lord Jesus*

J O H N E L I O T.

Much respected and beloved in our Lord Jesus.

GOD is greatly to be adored in all his Providences, and hath evermore wise and holy ends to accomplish that which we are not aware of ; and therefore although he may seem to crosse our ends with disappointments after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thoughts then we can reach unto, which will cause us to admire his love and wisdom, when we see them accomplished ; and yet he is gracious to accept of our sincere labours for his name, though he disappoint them in our way, and frustrate our expectations in our time ; yea, he will fulfill our expectations in his way, and in his time, which shall finally appeare to the eye of faith, a better way then ours, and a fitter time then ours ; his wisdom is infinite.

For the work of the Lord among the Indians, I thank his Majesty he still smileth on it, he favoureth and blesseth it ; through his help that strengthneth me, I cease not in my poor measure to instruct them ; and I do see that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and some of them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it ; and to testifie their growth in knowledge, I will not (though I could do it if need were) trouble you with their questions ; but I will only relate one story which fell out about the fifth month of this yeere ; Two of my hearers travelled to *Providence* and *Warwick* where *Gorton* liveth, and there they spent a Sabbath, and heard them in some exercises, and had much confer-

ence with them ; for it seemeth they perceiving that they had some knowledge in Religion, and were of my hearers ; they endeavour to possesse their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next Lecture day, before I began the exercise, the company being not fully come together, one of them asked me [p. 34.] this question ; *What is the reason, that seeing those English people, where he had been, had the same Bible that we have, yet do not speake the same things ?* I asked the reason of his question ; he said, *Because his brother and he had been at Providence and at Warwick, and he perceived by speech with them, that they differ from us ; he said he heard their publike exercise, but did not understand what they meant,* (though the man understandeth the English Language pretty well) But afterwards said he, *we had much speech ;* I asked him in what points ; and so much as his brother and he could call to minde, he related as followeth.

First, said he, *they said thus, they teach you that there is a Heaven and a Hell, but there is no such matter ;* I asked him what reason they gave ; he answered, *that he said there is no other Heaven, then what is in the hearts of good men ; nor no other Hell, then what is in the hearts of bad men ;* Then I asked, and what said you to that ; saith he, *I told them, I did not beleve them, because Heaven is a place whether good men go after this life is ended ; and Hell is a place whether bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men ;* I approved of this answer. I asked what else they spake ? he answered, *they spake of Baptism, and said, that they teach you that infants must be baptized, but that is a very foolish thing ;* I asked him what reason they gave ? He said, *because infants neither know God nor Baptisme, nor what they do, and therefore it is a foolish thing to do it ;* I asked him what he said to that ? He said, *he could not say much, but he thought it was better to baptize them while they be young, and then they are bound and engaged ; but if you let them alone till they be grown up, it may be they will flie off, and neither care for God nor for Baptisme ;* I approved of this answer also, and asked what else they spake of ? He said farther, *they spake of Ministers, and said, they teach you that you must have Ministers, but that is a needlesse thing.* I asked what reason they gave ? He said, *they gave these reasons, First, Ministers know nothing but what they learn out of Gods book, and we have Gods book as well as they and can tell what God saith. Again, Ministers cannot change mens hearts, God must do that, and therefore there is no need of Ministers.* I asked him what he said to that ? He said, *that he told them, that we must do as God commands us, and if he commands to have Ministers, we must have them. And farther I told them, I thought it was true, that Ministers cannot change mens hearts ; but when we do as God bids us, and hear Ministers preach, then God will change*

our hearts. I approved this answer also. [p. 35.] I asked what else they spake of? He said, *They teach you that you must have Magistrates, but that is needlesse, nor ought to be.* I asked what reason they gave? He said, *That they gave this reason, because Magistrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life; besides, when a man sinneth, he doth not sinne against Magistrates, and therefore why should they punish them? but they sinne against God and therefore we must leave them to God to punish them.* I asked him what he said to that, he answered, *I said to that as to the former, we must do as God commands us; If God command us to have Magistrates, and commands them to punish sinners, then we must obey.* I approved this also.

I asked farther what they said; then both of them considered a while, and said, *they could remember no more,* only they said somewhat of the Parliament of *England*, which they did not understand. And by such time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to Prayer, and I did solemnly blesse God who had given them so much understanding in his truth, and some ability to discern between Truth and Error, and an heart to stand for the Truth, and against Error; and I cannot but take it as a Divine Testimony of Gods blessing upon my poor labours; I afterwards gave him an answer to his first question, *viz. Why they having the same Bible with us, yet spake not the same things?* And I answered him by that Text, 2 *Thes.* 2. 10, 11. *Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should beleeve a lye.* This text I opened unto them; I will adde no more at present to manifest their proficiency in knowledge.

The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kinde of life; First, unto Civil Society, then to Ecclesiastical, and both by the Divine direction of the Word of the Lord; they are still earnestly desirous of it; and this Spring that is past, they were very importunately desirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corne in the place intended; but I did dissuade, and was forced to use this reason of delay, because I hoped for tools, and meanes from *England*, whereby to prosecute the work this Summer. But when ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and meanes, in stoping their earnest affections [p. 36.] with that barre which proved a Blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him for help, whose work it is; and when I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our Elders and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me; then I advised with divers of the Elders at *Boston* Lecture, and Mr. *Cottons* answer was, *my*

heart sayeth, go on, and look to the Lord onely for help, the rest also concurring ; So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it, (together with other causes) and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities ; and this I account a favour of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a Ship from *England*, whereby I received Letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends ; a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord, that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

The place also is of Gods providing, as a fruit of prayer ; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopefull expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise suitable ; J went behind a Rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him ; and while J was travelling in Woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home ; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the Woods, so that we were forced home with speed ; yet in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon enquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work. When grasse was fit to cut, J sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place, because we must oft ride thither in the Autumn when grasse is withered and dead, and especially in the Spring before any grasse is come, and there is provision for our horses ; this work was performed well, as I found when I went up to them with my man to order it. We must also of necessity have an house to lodge in, meet in, and lay up our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in *Wigwams*. I set them therefore to fell and square timber for an house, and when it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together, &c. These things they chearfully do ; but this also I do, I pay them wages carefully for all such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement [p. 37.] to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this Autumne to break and prepare their own ground against the Spring, and for other necessary works, which are not afew, in such an enterprize. There is a great river which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, though they easily wade in Summer, yet in the Spring its deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially of women and children ; therefore I thought it necessary, that this Autumne we should make a foot Bridge over, against such time in the Spring as they shall have daily use of it ; I told them my purpose and reason of it, wished them to go with me to do that work, which they chearfully did, and with their own hands did build a Bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midst, that it

might stand above the floods ; when we had done, I cald them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture, and at parting I told them, I was glad of their readinesse to labour, when I advised them thereunto ; and in as much as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, if any of them desired wages for their work, I would give it them ; yet being it is for their owne use, if they should do all this labour in love, I should take it well, and as I may have occasion, remember it ; they answered me, they were farre from desiring any wages when they do their own work ; but on the other side they were thankful to me that I had called them, and counselled them in a work so needful for them, whereto I replied, I was very glad to see them so ingenuous.

This businesse of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found opposition only from the *Pawwawes* and profane spirits ; but now the Lord hath exercised us with another and a greater opposition ; for the *Sachems* of the Country are generally set against us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can ; And the reason of it is this, They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny ; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as what ever they had, and themselves too were at his command ; his language was, as one said, (*omne meum* ;) now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations ; Besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desire any thing from a man, they would take occasion to rage and be in a great anger ; which when they [p. 38.] did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him ; for else their way was to suborne some villain (of which they have no lack) to finde some opportunity to kill him ; *This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems*, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because they are but servants, and they get it not for themselves ; But now if their *Sachem* so rage, and give sharp and cruell language, instead of seeking his favour with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sinne ; tell him that is not the right way to get money ; but he must labour, and then he may have money, that is Gods command, &c. And as for Tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now these are great temptations to the *Sachems*, and they had need of a good measure both of wisdom and grace to swallow this Pill, and it hath set them quite off ; And I suppose that hence it is, that (I having requested the Court of Commissioners for a general way to be thought of to instruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did so, which they would soon spread ; and still in my prayers, I pray for the *Monohegens*, *Narragansets*, &c.) the

Monohegen Indians were much troubled lest the Court of Commissioners should take some course to teach them to pray to God ; and *Unkus* their *Sachem* went to *Hartford* this Court (for there they sate) and expressed to Elder *Goodwin* his feare of such a thing, and manifested a great unwillingnesse thereunto ; this one of our Commissioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled *Cutshamoquin* our *Sachem*, and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to make a Town ; and plainly told me that all the *Sachems* in the Countrey were against it, &c. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away, a few stayed, and I was alone, not any English man with me ; But it pleased God (for it was his guidance of me, and assistance) to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was Gods work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country, and I was resolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he should hinder that which I had begun, &c. And it pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me, which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst, out of his [p. 39.] sight, and have been much strengthned ever since ; and since I understand that in such conflicts their manner is, that they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer ; which alas I knew not, nor did I aime at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont ; after this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and *Cutshamoquin* went a little way with me, and told me that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done ; I answered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Give unto Cæsar what is Cæsars and unto God what is Gods* ; and also on *Rom. 13.* naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of which he is ignorant.) But he said its true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them ; And further he said, this thing are all the *Sachems* sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God ; and then I was troubled, lest (if they should be sinfully unjust) they should both hinder and blemish the Gospel and Religion ; I did therefore consult with the Magistrates and Mr. *Cotton* and other Elders ; Mr. *Cottons* text by Gods providence, the next Lecture gave him occasion to speak to it, which I fore-knowing advised some that understood English best, to be there ; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpose, and told them what Mr. *Cotton* said, &c. they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two yeers past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I

preached unto ; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corne, at another time more than sixe bushels ; two hunting dayes they killed him fifteen Deeres ; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great house or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of 3. li. 10. s. only some others were contributors in this money ; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his returne from building, besides many dayes works in planting corne altogether, and some severally ; yea they said they would willingly do more if they would govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them ; when I heard all this, I wondred, for this cometh to neere 30. li. and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better ; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing ; [p. 40.] But the bottome of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would ; now he hath but what they will ; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other *Sachems*, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it ; hence arise his tentations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causelesse his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justifie the people, which I was to endeavour the next day of our meeting after the former contestations, therefore I was willing to get some body with me ; And by Gods providence, Elder *Heath* went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sower looks, &c. but we took no notice of it.

I preached that day out of the fourth of *Matthew*, the temptations of Christ ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdomes and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devill ; I did apply it wholly to his case, shewing him the Devill was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ ; and Sathan sheweth him all the delights and dignities, and gifts and greatnesse that he was wont to have in their sinfull way ; Satan also tels him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again ; then I shewed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God ; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to assist) and when we had done, Elder *Heath* his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightned, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

But the temptation still doth work strongly, in the Countrey, the *Sachems* opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord, as appeareth sundry wayes ; some that began to listen, are gone quite back ; I meane *Sachems* and some people that have a mind to it, are kept back ; this last Lecture day one came in and submitted himself to call on God, and said he had been kept back this half yeer by opposition, but now at last the Lord hath helped and emboldned him to break through all opposition.

[p. 41.] Thus Satan seeketh to beat off these poore creatures from seeking after the Lord by opposing the highest powers they have against the Lord and this work of his, knowing that the light of the Gospel and kingdome of Jesus Christ (if it once get footing) will scatter and dissipate that darknesse whereby his kingdome is maintained ; But I beleieve verily that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions, nay I see it already, (though I see not all, I beleieve more then I can see ; you who can know the thoughts of Gods love to his people, it is yet a secret) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society, at least sundry are, who else might croud in among us and trouble us ; besides it is become some tryall now, to come into our company and call upon God ; for besides the forsaking of their *Pau-waus*, (which was the first tryall) and their old barbarous fashions and liberty to all sinne, and some of their friends and kindred, &c. Now this is added, they incurre the displeasure of their *Sachems*, all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares, and adde to this, that if upon some competent time of experience, we shall finde them to grow in knowledge of the principles of Religion, and to love the wayes of the Lord the better, according as they come to understand them, and to yeeld obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by lawes of chastity, and to mortifie idlenesse by labour, and desire to traine up their children accordingly ; I say if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the Word and Spirit of God that shall never be quenched ; and were these in a fixed cohabitation, who could gain-say their gathering together into a holy Church-Covenant and election of Officers ? and who can forbid that they should be baptized ? And I am perswaded that there be sundry such among them, whom the Lord will vouchsafe so far to favour and shine upon, that they shall become a Church, and a Spouse of Jesus Christ, and among whom the pure and holy Kingdome of Christ shall arise, and over whom Christ shall reigne, ruling them in all things by his holy word.

But though this trouble and opposition is turned (and shall be more) unto a spiritual gaine, yet it behoveth us not to be secure,

and regardlesse of our safety ; for if the Adversary should discern [p. 42.] us naked and weak, and see an opportunity, who knoweth what their rage and Sathans malice may stirre them up unto to work us a mischief? Nay, it is our duty to be vigilant, and fortifie our selves the best we can, thereby to put the enemy out of hope to hurt us, and to prevent them from attempting any evill against us, if it be the will of God ; and to that end we purpose (if the Lord will) to make a strong Palizado (wanting means of doing better) and if we cannot get any Guns, Powder, Shot, Swords, &c. we will make us Slings, Bowes, and other Engines, the best the Lord will please to direct us for our safety ; and when we have used the best meanes we can, I hope the Lord will help us to trust in his great name, to make that our strong Tower to flie unto.

I see the Lord delighteth to appear himself in the work, and will have us content our selves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name ; Our work in civilizing them will go on the more slowly for want of tools ; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little, for alas afew will set but afew on work, and they be very dear too ; had I store of hoes this Autumne either to lend them or sell them at moderate prizes, we should prepare (by Gods blessing) good store of ground for corne against next yeere ; and had I wherewith to buy corne to carry up to the place, and have it in a readinesse to supply them, that so they might tarry at their work, and not be shut off through necessity to go get food, that also would be a great furtherance ; and had we but means to maintaine a discreet diligent man to work with them, and guide them in work, that also would much further the work ; and many such things I could propound as very requisite unto the work, but I lay my hand upon my mouth, I will say no more, I have left it with the Lord, who hath hitherto appeared, and he will appear for his own eternal praise in shining upon the day of our smal things in his due season.

The blessing of God upon this work doth comfortably, hopefully, & successefully, appear in the labours of my brother *Mahu* at *Martins Vineyard*, insomuch that I hope they also will be after awhile ripe for this work of Civility and Cohabitation, if once they see a successeful pattern of it, and I doubt not but they will (as these do) ere long, desire Church-fellowship, and the Ordinances of Gods worship ; the cloud increaseth, and the Lord seemeth to be coming in among them ; they are very desirous to have their children taught, which is one argument that they truly love the knowledge of God ; [p. 43.] as on the contrary, it is a great ground of doubt of the truth of grace in that mans heart, when he hath not an heart to take care to traine up his children in the truth and in the practise of all godlinesse, but this care is in them, and it is pity it should not be furthered by all meanes ; I have intreated a woman living neer where

they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it ; but when they go to their plantation, we shall be in a streight for help that way ; the Indians so well like the parties who performeth that service, that they intreat them to go with them, which I look at as a finger of God ; they are I hope a godly couple, and might be a blessing to them, had we meanes to encourage them unto so difficult an enterprize, for it is a great matter to go and live among such a people ; but in that case also, I look up to the Lord, and leave it with his holy care and wisdom ; and if the Lord move any hearts to help in this work, I desire that the care of their schooling may be among the chiefest cares.

If the Lord please to prosper our poor beginnings, my purpose is, (so far as the Lord shal enable me to give attendance unto the work) to have schoole exercises for all the men by daily instructing of them to read and write, &c. Yea if the Lord affords us fit instruments, my desire is, that all the women may be taught to read ; I know the matter will be difficult every way, for English people can only teach them to read English ; and for their own Language we have no book ; my desire therefore is to teach them all to write, and read written hand, and thereby with pains taking, they may have some of the Scriptures in their own Language ; I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he (with some paines and teaching) can read mine ; I hope the Lord will both enlarge his understanding, and others also to do as he doth ; and if once I had some of themselves able to spell aright, write and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the speediest way.

Sir, When I had gone thus farre in my Letters, by a Ship that came in, you wrote unto our Governour touching the two Libraries, my brother *Welds* and Mr. *Jenners*, and of the willingnesse of the Corporation to discharge for them, for which cause I do humbly thank the Worshipful Corporation, all the Christian and much respected Gentlemen my loving friends. And Sir, I thank you for all your faithful pains in this work, and the more I am obliged thereunto, because herein I am like to partake of the fruit of your labours, [p. 44.] the Lord Jesus give you a full reward.

Whereas you require the Catalogue of both Libraries, it shall be done (if God will) but I am to go into the Countrey to the Indians now, and have much businesse, therefore know not whether I can do it by this Ship, if I can I will.

This last Court of Commissioners sate at *Hartford Conecticot*, so that I could not speak with them, but this course I took by our Governours advice ; our General Court gave him, with some other, power to give instructions to our Commissioners ; therefore all my requests I did write unto him, and he gave them in his Instructions to our Commissioners, so they went strong.

Sir,

I have done at present, Mr. *Whitfield* will informe you farther in any particulars if need be : The Lord of heaven blesse and assist you in all your wayes, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest.

Roxbury this 21 }
of the 8th. } 50

Yours in our Lord *Jesus*.

JOHN ELIOT.

The Conclusion.

ANd now (loving Reader) having brought thee along through these Divine dispensations of Gods merciful dealing with the Indians, I shall briefly acquaint thee with the workings of my own thoughts under the apprehension of these things.

First, I see plainly the fulfilling of that Divine truth and promise spoken of by David, *Psal.* 138. 2. Thou hast magnified thy Word above all thy Name, i. e. The Word in *Vide Ainsw. in loc.* the Gospel brought and preached to men. The Lord hath made this Word the only outward instrumental means to bring home these wandring sinners ; to this Word they have attended from the first ; from this they have received their light ; unto this they have given up themselves ; without this they will not stirre ; from this they will not depart ; from hence they have their peace, and have seen good dayes under the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.

Secondly, the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of sending [p. 45.] many of his people to those ends of the earth ; for besides that the Lord hath made that *Ezek.* 11. 16. Land a place of rest, and a little sanctuary to them in these troublesome times, and hath made it a place where many, very many have been brought home to Christ, even amongst themselves ; so now apparently in the conversion of many of the Heathens, who sing and rejoyce in the wayes of the Lord.

Thi dly when I looked on my dear native Country (in the bulke and masse of them) there is one above doth know, that my heart melteth towards it, desiring the Lord to give me grace to sorrow in secret for millions of them, who were never yet acquainted with what many of these poore Indians have felt and found of the things of Christ, and that multitudes of such woh hold forth a profession of Christian Religion, yet fall short of them, in regard

of their belief and practise. Here I helped my self by comparing the one with the other, and that in divers particulars.

1. *These Indians are found (to speak of such whose hearts the Lord hath opened by his Word and Spirit) to prize Ordinances, and such as bring the Light to them, even that poor Indian, whose best clothing is a simple skin about him, of whom you read in the first Letter, yet they honour him for his works sake, and for those gifts, piety, and modesty they see in him ; Here Ministers of Christ are despised, though many of them are eminent for parts, wisdom, and known integrity.*

2. *These Indians are plain-hearted seek for Christ to enjoy him for himself ; they receive the Truth in the love of it, and obey it without shifting or gain-saying ; Here men have their own ends to tend to in matter of Religion, take up the forme, and let the power lie, as not serving their turn, have evasions to get from under the authority of the truth, and the Majesty of the Rules of Christ ; here is rending and tearing of wits, whilst we wrangle one another out of the truth, till love and peace be lost.*

3. *These Indians are industrious and pursue the things of their salvation, rest they cannot, have it they must, what ever it cost them, bearing up strongly against all opposition : We have weak and bed-rid dispositions, sunk down into a sottish and sensuall way ; in many the kingdome of Hell suffers violence, and none can withstand them, but thither they will.*

4. *These mourn and weep bitterly, and are pained under the sight and sense of their sins, when convinced of them ; that some of them have been known to have wet with their teares the places where they have [p. 46.] stood. We here for the most part, the Lord knowes, live with dry eyes, and hard hearts, and sleight spirits.*

5. *They are careful and constant in duties of worship, both in private and family prayer, hearing the Word, observation of the Sabbath, meet often together, and will pray together as occasion serves, converse lovingly together, are teachable, patient, and contented. O that there were such hearts in us ! O that their example did not shame multitudes of us who are fearfully guilty of omitting what the very light of nature calls for from us ! For this my heart is sad, fearing that if the Lord do not mightily step in, the next generation will be betrayed to Ignorance of the Truth as it is in Jesus, to Delusions and Profaneness, and be rendered odious to all our neighbour Nations ; and that these Indians will rise up in judgment against us and our children at the last day. Brethren, the Lord hath no need of us, but if it please him, can carry his Gospel to the other side of the world, and make it there*

to shine forth in its glory, brightness, power and purity, and leave us in Indian darknesse.

And concerning these Indians, who have tasted how gracious the Lord is, though it cannot be expected but that the Devil should be like himself, by the counter-working of this blessed work, both by himself and his instruments, so as to cause many of them to totter, back slide, and fall away from what they have professed ; yet I have ground to conceive and hope, that there is such a candle lighted amongst the Indians in those parts which shall not be put out till Christ comes to judgment, for the accomplishment of which he shall not cease to pray, who is

Your loving friend in

all Christian duties.

HENRY WHITFIELD.

FINIS.

S T R E N G T H

O U T O F

W E A K N E S S E ;

Or a Glorious

MANIFESTATION

Of the further Progresse of

the Gospel among the *Indians*

in **N E W - E N G L A N D .**

Held forth in Sundry Letters

from divers Ministers and others to the

Corporation established by Parliament for
promoting the Gospel among the Hea-

then in *New-England*; and to particular

Members thereof since the last Trea-

tise to that effect, Published by

Mr. Henry Whitfield late Pastor
of *Gilford* in *New-England*.

C A N T . 8 . 8 .

*Wee have a little Sister, and she hath no breasts : what
shall we doe for our Sister, in the day that she shall
be spoken for ?*

L O N D O N ;

Printed by *M. Simmons* for *John Blague* and
Samuel Howes, and are to be sold at their
Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley*. 1 6 5 2 .

T O T H E
SUPREAME AUTHORITIE
O F T H I S N A T I O N ,
*The Parliament of the Common-
Wealth of E N G L A N D .*

THat the Fathers joy at the returning of a Spend-thrift Sonne, ought to have an influence upon the whole Family of Heaven and Earth, that is called after his name, to worke their suitable affections, and conformity to himselfe, cannot be questioned by any true childe thereof. Behold then, Right Honourable, a call thereunto, Poore Prodigalls, who have not only with our selves lost that rich Treasure of grace and holinesse, wherewith in our Common roote and Fountaine we were entrusted, but also in a course of Rebellion for many Generations wasted the remainder of Natures Riches to the utmost degeneracy that an Immortall rationall being is obnoxious unto, not returning a farre off, but rejoycing in the imbraces of their Father, and entertained with his flesh and bloud, who was slaine and sacrificed for them.

The ayme of our walking with God here is to come up to some conformitie to them, who behold his face and doe his Will in Heaven : amongst them there is joy at the Repentance of one Sinner, and shall not wee finde sweetnesse in the first fruits of a barren Wildernesse in the

shining of a beame of light into the darknesse of another World, giving hope of a plentiful harvest, and a glorious day to ensue. Let men take heed, lest by despising the day, and opposing the Worke of the Lord towards those poore Sonnes of *Adam*, notwithstanding all their zealous profession, they proclaime themselves to pursue a Carnall Interest ; by which they declare the enlargement of the Dominion of Jesus Christ is of no Concernment unto them.

Wee are by many Pledges assured better things of you Right Honourable, and such as accompany zeale for the House of our God, and therefore the ensuing Testimonials of the progresse of the Worke of the Gospel being sent unto us, wee make bold humbly to present them to you ; partly that we may invite you as the friends of Jesus Christ, to rejoyce with him that some sheepe of his, who were lost, are found ; and partly to lay before you, some such fruits of the putting forth of your Authoritie for the carrying on this most glorious undertaking, as may encourage you to goe on through him who doth enable you unto future reall expressions of your love and zeale thereunto. Wee shall not need to draw forth any particulars from the ensuing Narrative, to give you a taste of that Spirit whereinto these poore Creatures are sweetly baptized ; Wee hope your delight in the Worke of God will inforce a leasure, to view the whole, this in Generall wee may say, that in the Wildernesse are waters broken out, and streames in the Desert, the parched ground is become a Poole, and the thirsty Land-springs of water in the Habitation of Dragons, where each lay, there is grasse with Reeds and Rushes, the Lord hath powred water upon him that is thirstie, and flouds upon the dry ground ; He hath powred his Spirit on the seeds of the Heathen, & his blessing on their Off-spring, they spring up as among the grasse, as willowes by the water-courses : One sayes I am the Lords, and another calls himselfe by the name of *Jacob*, and another subscribes with his hand unto the Lord, and sirnames himselfe by the name of *Israel*. The Lord hath done a new thing, and wee know

it, he hath made a way in the Wildernesse, and Rivers in the Desert, the beast of the field doth honour him, the Dragons, and the Owles because he gives waters in the Wildernes, and Rivers in the Desert, to give drinke to his People his chosen, so that upon the Report heere read unto us, wee cannot but glorifie God with those Primitive beleevvers of old, and say, then hath God also to the poore naked *Indians* granted Repentance unto life. Their outward wants and streights have often been presented unto you ; wee shall not need to repeate them, blessed be the Lord, and blessed be you of the Lord that your hearts have been stirred up to give encouragement unto this Worke, and to open a Doore for the reliefe of those Eminent Instruments in the hand of the Lord who carry it on, who though they communicate to them Spiritualls, yet are so farre from receiving of their Temporalls, that they impart unto them a Portion of their owne dayly bread, and provision necessary from their owne subsistence.

The good Lord lay the weight and concernment of this Worke upon your Spirits, and wee no way doubt that you will in any way be wanting to the Publique improvement of this blessed opportunitie, for the enlargement of the Kingdome of him whom our Soules doe love : There is a vexation of spirit, which through their formalitie and unbelieve, hath encompassed many Professors, that whereas they have with much seeming earnestnes cryed out for mercies ; when they have been bestowed, they have thought scorne of them : so did the *Jewes* in the busines of their Messias, and many at this day amongst our selves in the great Workes of the Provinces of God : It is so with some to this breaking forth of light amongst the *Indians*, desiring it before it began, despising it in its very beginnings, the Lord lay it not unto their charge, and keep all our spirits in an holy admiration and reverence of the powerfull efficacy of his eternall and unchangeable purposes, which through so many sinfull Generations (falling in their Rebellion) have preserved a seed to him-

selfe, whereof he will take care that one graine fall not to the Ground.

Your Honors humble Servants ;

<i>John Owen.</i>	<i>Tho : Goodwin.</i>
<i>Joseph Caryl.</i>	<i>Sidrach Simpson.</i>
<i>Will : Greenhill.</i>	<i>Phillip Nye.</i>
<i>William Bridge.</i>	<i>William Strong.</i>
<i>William Carter.</i>	<i>Henry Whitfield.</i>
<i>George Griffith.</i>	<i>Ralph Venning.</i>

To the READER.

Christian Reader ;

THESE ensuing Letters doe represent unto thee, and to the Churches, the outgoings of Christ, as a *Light to the Gentiles*, that the grace which *brings salvation* hath appeared unto them also in the furthest parts of the Earth, for the accomplishment of that ancient and glorious Promise ; *I will give thee for a Light to the Gentiles, that thou may'st be my Salvation to the Ends of the Earth,* (Isa. 49. 6.) The People of God have been greatly affected with the appearances of Christ, when he hath rode forth upon a *red Horse* to the destruction of his Enemies ; for he is *glorious in his Apparell*, even when his *garments are dipt in blood*, but much more when he rides forth upon a *white Horse*, for the Conversion of Soules, and goes on *Conquering and to Conquer*.

Wee have therefore thought fit to commend this great worke of Christ unto the view of all the Saints, under these following Considerations.

First, *Hereby the Kingdome of Christ is enlarged*, and the promise made unto him in the Covenant between him and his Father accomplished, his *Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea, and from the flood unto the Worlds end*, therefore his designe is upon all the Kingdomes of the Earth, that he may take possession of them for himselfe, they shall all *become the Kingdomes of the Lord and of his Christ*, Revel. 11. 15. And the *Kingdome and Dominion under the whole Heaven*, being so possessed by Christ, shall be *given to the Saints of the most High*, Dan. 7. 18. Our prayer is, *Thy Kingdome come*, to see the promise made unto Christ fulfilled, and the Prayers of

the Saints answered, should be matter of great rejoycing unto us, and of high Praises unto God.

Secondly, *The glorious Gospel of Christ is hereby Propagated*, which is the Scepter of his Kingdome, the *Rod of his Power*, which wee pray may *run and be glorified*. And when we consider, by how many (even amongst us) the Gospel is rejected, for men reject the

ἀντικείμενοι.

1 Cor. 16. 9.

ἀντιδιωκόμενοι.

μυνοί.

2 Tim. 2. 25.

ἱερόσυλοι, τὸν

νοῦν τῶν γραμ-

μίνων κλέπ-

τοντες. Nazian.

Councell of God against themselves: by how many it is resisted, for there are *many adversaries*, and by how many the Gospel is perverted, being made *another Gospel*, by strange Interpretations; one of the great acts of *Sacriledge* of our times, stealing the sence of the Scripture from the words of the Scripture. Now

to see the Gospel lifted up *as an Ensign to the Nations*, and *they to flow unto it*, should be matter of great rejoycing to the soules of those who love the Gospel in sinceritie.

Thirdly, *Hereby the soules of men are rescued out of the snare of the Devill*, in which they were before held captive at his will; The Lord hath manifested that there is a *seed according to the Election of grace*, even amongst these also as well as other Gentiles, that the Lord hath visited them to take out of them *a people for his Name*, yea that even they who in a more immediate manner among them worshipped the Devill, their Witches call'd in their language *Pawwawes*, that even these should be deliver'd, *Satan falling from Heaven like lightning before the Gospel*, should greatly exalt free grace in our hearts; the great Love of God, is Love to Soules, and our tenderest compassion should be manifested in pitying of Soules, neither know wee any other ordinary way that the Lord has appointed but the preaching of the Gospel for the winning of Soules to himselfe: *That being the Power of God to Salvation*.

Fourthly, *Hereby the fullnes of the Gentils draws neere to be accomplished*, that the calling of the *Jewes* may be hastned: the Scripture speaks of a *double conversion* of the *Gentiles*, the first before the conver-

sion of the *Jews*, they being *Branches wilde by nature* grafted into the *True Olive Tree* in stead of the *naturall Branches* which are broken off. This fullnes of the *Gentiles* shall come in before the conversion of the *Jewes*, and till then *blindnes hath hapned unto Israel*, Rom. 11. 25. The second, after the conversion of the *Jewes*, as appeares Act. 15. 16, 17. *Brightman in Cant. 8. 8. Mede in Apoc. cap. 7. p. 56.* *After this I will retorne and will build againe the Tabernacle of David which is fallen down, and I will build againe the ruines thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my Name is called sayth the Lord.* Hence it appears that there are some *Gentiles*, upon whom the *Lords Name* is called that are a people to him, even whilst the *Tabernacle of David* lyes in its ruines; and when he hath built againe this *Tabernacle of David*, that there are a residue of men, the remainder of the *Gentiles* that shall enquire after the Lord, and worship him, together with those *Gentiles* that were formerly converted, and upon whom his Name was called. The first conversion of the *Gentiles* in its fulnesse makes way for the coming in of the *Jewes*, the *King of the East*, therefore to see this worke goe on, should cause the people of God to lift up their heads, and expect that the time of the fullfilling that Promise is neere.

Fifthly, *That the Lord hath blessed the labours of our Brethren*, who were driven out from among us: A gracious heart as he prayes for, so he cannot but rejoyce in the successe of other mens labours as well as his owne, so the worke which is Gods may prosper, who ever be the Instrument, 'tis enough to him. When *Peter* gave an account to the Apostles and Brethren of the Conversion of *Cornelius* and his family, who were, as it were the *first fruits of the Gentiles*, they all glorified God, saying; *Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted Repentance unto life*, Act. 11. 18. And if they could rejoyce in the Conversion of the *Gentiles* which

they knew would be with the rejection of the *Jewes*, how much more should wee rejoyce in this great worke, who may grow together upon the same good Olive Tree! That when other Nations who have planted in those furthest parts of the Earth, have onely sought their owne advantage to possesse their Land, Transport their gold, and that with so much covetousnesse and cruelty, that they have made the name of Christianitie and of Christ an abomination, that the Lord should be pleased to make use of our Brethren that went forth from us to make manifest *the savour of Christ* among the people, and to winne their soules to him; How should wee rejoyce that the Lord hath so farre prosper'd such an undertaking. It was a holy ambition in *Paul* to *preach the Gospel where Christ was not named*, that he might not glory in another mans line: It is certainly a great honour to be Instrumentall to bring soules to Christ, who before never heard of his Name.

Sixthly, *This wee hope may be but the first fruits of those great Nations unto Christ*, the Lord doth not usually *cause to bring forth and then shut the wombe*, Isa. 66. 9. Let no man despise the day of *small things*, the Lord hath opened a *great doore*, which we hope Satan shall never be able any more to shut.

Such Considerations as these, have filled and affected our hearts, in the reading and meditation of this great worke of the Lord, and wee hope being communicated, may be a good means to awaken the godly and faithfull of this Nation, to observe the Presence and appearances of God amongst his people there, that wee also may say; *What shall we doe for our Sister in the day that shee shall be spoken for?* Shall we not be abundant in Prayer, that the Lord would yet further blesse their holy endeavours? Shall wee not labour to strengthen their hands by ministering to them of our abundance? that they may not be discouraged in so eminent a service, one of the greatest workes that hath been upon the wheele in this latter age, for to Contribute to the

offering up of Soules to Christ, must needs be a Sacrifice of a very sweet smelling savour unto God. This wee humbly offer unto all those that love the Lord Jesus in sinceritie, and remaine

Thine in the furtherance of the Gospel.

<i>William Gouge.</i>	<i>Henry Whitfield.</i>
<i>Tho: Goodwin.</i>	<i>Will: Spurstow.</i>
<i>Lazarus Seaman.</i>	<i>William Bridge.</i>
<i>John Owen.</i>	<i>Simeon Ashe.</i>
<i>Edm: Calamy.</i>	<i>Sidrach Simpson.</i>
<i>Joseph Caryl.</i>	<i>William Strong.</i>
<i>Jer: Whittaker.</i>	<i>Phillip Nye.</i>
<i>Will: Greenhill.</i>	<i>William Carter.</i>
<i>George Griffith.</i>	<i>Ralph Venning.</i>

STRENGTH

OUT OF

WEAKNESSE;

Or a Glorious

MANIFESTATION

Of the further Progresse of

the Gospel among the *Indians*

in NEW-ENGLAND.

AS every worke of God tending to the rescuing of deluded Soules out of the snares of the Devill, so even this Glorious worke of Gods grace hath met with many discouragements by various kinds of objections cast abroad by divers sorts of people, and even by some that came from New-England it selfe, who having lived remote from the worke done, and either not affecting the instruments therein employed, or not going to the places of their Exercise, that they might see and heare the gracious operations of the Spirit of God amongst them, may easily misreport the proceedings of Gods goodnesse therein. Yet neverthelesse God having called us to be exercised in a worke of this Nature, wherein his Glory and the Salvation of so many of the lost sonnes of Adam are concerned; wee have taken up a Resolution by his gracious Assistance

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to improve the power and trust by Authoritie of Parliament committed to us to the utmost, least it be laid to our Account amongst others the obstructors of it in the great day of the Lord.

But as wee meete with discouragements, so, through mercy, we are not without incouragements of many sorts, Viz.

1. *This worke of Gods grace growes in New-England, not onely in the places where the Gospel was formerly preached to the Indians; But God hath stirred up two Eminent Ministers in two other parts of the Countrey, to labour in the worke, not without successe answerable; as Mr. William Leveridge neere Sandwich in the Government of New Plymouth, sixtie miles from the place where Mr. Eliot teacheth, and Mr. Richard Blindman at Pecoat, a place formerly subdued by the English, and is a place about the same distance from Sandwich another way, an account whereof you will have in the following Treatise.*

2. *Where the Act of Parliament for the Collection meets with Gospel-spirited Ministers and people, there wee finde a good account of it comparatively; God having stirr'd up the hearts of some Eminent Christians to contribute in a considerable manner; Some by charging their Lands with a yearely Revenue to the Corporation for that end for ever: and others by sending in good summes of money, subscribing to pay yearely so much whilst they live. And one Gentleman (leaving two sonnes of tender age) having appointed by his Will, in case they dye without issue, that an estate of two hundred pound per annum, should be settled upon the Corporation for ever, and the rest of his estate for the like uses in the foure Northerne Counties of England.*

3. *That God hath wrought a resolution in us of the Corporation (wherein wee trust hee will inable us to persist (viz.) to contribute our labour and paines freely to this worke, without the least diminution of the Stocke. And if any desire to be satisfied what our receipts, disbursements, or manner of proceedings are, our Bookes are open at Coopers Hall, London, betweene the houres of Tenne and Twelve every Saturday, where they may with-*

out offence see what is given, and by whom, when brought in, and how imployed or improved.

'Tis very strange to see what a multitude of objections are darted against this pure piece of Christianitie, yea by some, whom otherwise wee have charitable thoughts of, and how exceedingly the worke is impeded thereby, and how-ever through mercy wee are able to answer every one of them sufficiently, yet wee forbear to particularize them, least wee should reflect too much on some, our Consciences telling us, that as the worke is of God, and really such as is held forth, so he onely can satisfie the spirits of Men, and will doe it in due season, and in the meane time blesse his owne worke being able to carry it on, who delighteth oft times in small meanes, that his gracious operations may the more be seene.

This is the fifth Treatise hath been published to the world in this kinde (but the first by the Corporation) every one of them exceeding each other, wherein a most apparant growth and progresse doth appeare amongst the poore Natives.

That wee have now to offer to the publique view is a farther account of that living, growing, spreading power of Godlinesse amongst them. And first wee shall begin with some remarkeable passages of divine providence in a Letter received from Mr. John Eliot (who was the first Minister the Lord s tirred up to promote this worke) bearing date the 28th of April 1651. to one of our selves.

[p. 1.] **Much Honored and**
Beloved in CHRIST.

THe Providence of God giving this unexpected opportunitie of sending, I thought it my duty not to omit it, that so the Saints and people of God with you, especially your selfe, with the rest of the Worshipfull Corporation, might understand the progresse and present state of this worke of the Lord among the *Indians*, for wee meete with changes of providence and tryalls in this our day of small things. It hath pleased the Lord to try them, so soone as they have but tasted of his holy wayes. For our natures cannot live without Physicke, nor grace without affliction, more or lesse, sooner or later. The winter before this last past it pleased God to worke wonderfully for the *Indians*, who call upon God in preserving them from the small Pox, when their prophane Neighbours were cut off by it. This winter it hath pleased God to make lesse difference, for some of ours were also visited with that disease, yet this the Lord hath done for them, that fewer of them have dyed thereof, then of others who call not upon the Lord. Onely three dyed of it, (but five more young and old) of other diseases: Now (through the Lords mercy) they are well, though not without ordinary infirmities, which befall Mankinde. In matters of Religion they goe on, not onely in attendance on such meanes as they have, not onely in knowledge, which beginneth to have some clearenesse in the Fundamentall poynts of Salvation; but also in the practice and power of Grace, both in constant care in attendance on the worship of God on Sabbath dayes and Lecture-dayes, especially profitting in the [p. 2.] gift of prayer, and also in the exercise of love to such as be in affliction, either by sicknesse or povertie. I have seene lively Actings of Charitie out of Reverence to the Command of the Lord, when such as had not that principle were farre from such workes of mercy, it pleased God to try them in the time of the Pox, for some of them did hazard their owne lives (for to them it is very mortall) in obedience to the Command of the Lord, to shew mercy to them that were sicke, and some were infected thereby, and fell sicke and lay with much chearefullnesse and patience under Gods hand, and through the Lords mercy are well againe; others who did shew

mercy in that case escaped the sicknesse to the praise of God. Likewise God is pleased to try their Charitie by an old Paralyticke or Palsie sick-man, whose owne Children being prophane and tyred with the burthen of him (his retentive power of houlding excrements being loosened) and having a loosenesse, sometimes he is very noy-some and burthensome) they forsooke him and he had perished, but that the Lord stirred up (by the word of his grace) their hearts to shew mercy to him, for he was while he was sicke at six shilling a weeke charge, for wee offered twelve-pence a night to any to tend him, and for meere hyre none would abide it, but out of mercy and Charitie some of the Families did take care of him, and gave freely some weeks, and others were payd out of their publique money, namely, such as hath been taken off, such as have been Transgressors by Fine or Mulct: and still he is at foure shillings a weeke charge being better in health, in so much that all their publique money is spent, and much more, and wee have Collections among them for the same use. The old man who hath been and still is wise, doth wisely testifie that their love is sincere, and that they truely pray to God, and I hope so doth he, and shall be saved. I could with a word speaking in our Churches have this poore man relieved, but I doe not, because I thinke the Lord hath done it, for the tryall of their grace, and exercise of their love, and to traine them up in works of Charitie, and in the way of Christ to make Collections for the poore. I see how the Lord provideth to further the progresse of the Gospel, [p. 3.] by these tryalls and afflictions, yea there be more passages of this winters worke, wherein the Lord hath taught us by the Crosse. For one of our first and principall men is dead, which though it be a great blow and damping to our worke in some Respects, yet the Lord hath not left the rest to discouragement thereby, nay the worke is greatly furthered, for hee made so gracious an end of his life, and imbraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that it hath greatly strengthened the Faith of the living to be constant, and not to feare death, greatly commending of the death of *Wamporas*, for that was his name, I thinke he did more good by his death, then he could have done by his life: one of his sayings was, That God giveth us three mercies in this world; the first is health and strength; the second is food and cloaths; the third is sicknesse and death; and when wee have had our share in the two first, why should wee not be willing to take our part in the third? for his part he was: I heard him speake thus, and at other times also, and at his last he so spake, and it so tooke with them, that I observe it in their prayers, that they so reckon up Gods dispensations to them, his last words which he spake in this world were these; *Jehova Aninnumah Jesus Christ*, (that is) Oh, Lord, give mee Jesus Christ; and when hee could speake no more, he continued to lift up his hands to Heaven, ac-

cording as his strength lasted, unto his last breath ; so that they say of him he dyed praying ; when I visited him the last time that I saw him in this world (not doubting but I shall see him againe with Christ in Glory) one of his sayings was this : Foure yeares and a Quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of our Children to dwell with the *English*, now I dye, I strongly intreate you (for that is their phrase) that you would strongly intreate Elder *Heath* (with whom his Sonne liveth) and the rest, which have our Children, that they may be taught to know God, so as that they may teach their Countrymen, because such an example would doe great good among them, his heart was much upon our intended worke, to gather a Church among them, I told him I greatly desired that he might live (if it were Gods will) to [p. 4.] be one in that worke, but if he should now dye he should goe to a better Church, where *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and all the dead Saints were with Jesus Christ in the presence of God in all happinesse and Glory ; he said he feared not death, he was willing to dye, and turning to the Company which were present, hee spake unto them thus ; *I now shall dye, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to goe to Naticke, that there the Lord might rule over you, that you might make a Church, and have the Ordinance of God among you, believe in his Word, and doe as hee commandeth you : With many such words exhorting them, which they could not heare without weeping.* A little before his death hee spake many gracious words unto them, wherein one passage was this ; *Some delight to heare and speake idle and foolish words, but I desire to heare and speake only the words of God, exhorting them so to doe likewise :* his gracious words were acceptable and affecting, that whereas they used to flie and avoyde with terrour such as lye dying, now on the contrary they flocked together to heare his dying words, whose death and buriall they beheld with many teares ; nor am I able to write his Storie without weeping.

Another affliction and damping to our worke was this, that it hath pleased God to take away that *Indian* who was most active in Carpentrey, and who had framed me an house with a little direction of some *English*, whom I sometime procured to goe with mee to guide him, and to set out his worke : hee dyed of the Pox this winter, so that our house lyeth, not yet raised, which maketh my abode amongst them more difficult, and my tarriance shorter then else I would, but the Lord helpeth me to remember that he hath said, *Endure thou hardnesse as a good Souldier of Jesus Christ.* These are some of the gracious tryalls and Corrections the Lord hath exercised us withall, yet he hath mingled them with much love and favour in other respects ; for it hath pleased God this winter much to enlarge the abilitie of him whose helpe I use in translating the Scriptures, which I account a great furtherance of that which I most

desire, namely, to communicate unto [p. 5.] them as much of the Scriptures in their owne language as I am able. Besides, it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter to learn to read and write, wherein they doe very much profit with a very little help, especially some of them, for they are very ingenuous. And whereas I had thought that we must have an *Englishman* to be their Schoole-Master, I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and enable them unto that work, with my care to teach them well in the reason of the sounds of Letters and spelling, I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and write, who shall write every man for himselfe so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to Translate. Besides those works which concerne Religion and Learning, we are also a doing (according to the measure of our day of small things) in the civill part of this work, we have set out some part of the Town in several streets, measuring out and dividing of Lots, which I set them to doe, and teach them how to doe it : many have planted Apple-Trees, and they have begun divers Orchards, it's now planting-time, and they be full of businesse, yet we are doing some publick works ; the last week I appointed our Lecture to be at a Water which is a common passage, and where the Fish we call *Alewives* come, there we built a Bridge, and made a wyre to catch Fish, and being many of them, some we appointed to one work, and some to another, through the blessing of God we brought both these works to perfection : we also have begun a Pallizadoe Fort, in the midst whereof we intend a meeting-house and a Schoole-house, but we are in great want of Toolles, and many necessities, and when we cannot goe we must be content to creep : this present week I am going to *Pawtucket*, the great Fishing place upon *Merimek*, where I hear sundry doe expect my coming, with a purpose to submit themselves unto the Lords hand. Sir, I doe earnestly beg your prayers both for me and for this work of the Lord which he hath set me about,

*Roxbury, the 28th of
the 2d : 1651.*

John Eliott.

[p. 6.] *The former Letter of Mr. Elliots came to hand about six Moneths before the latter, and that's the reason you have another of his followeth next after his former, whereby the Reader may see and observe the constant goodnesse of God in carrying on his owne worke, notwithstanding all the opposition of men. Every day bringing forth as it were additionall improvements to the praise of God, who delighteth so much in this his day of small things.*

Worshipfull and much Honored in the **L O R D .**

IT is through the grace of Christ who hath called you into the fellowship of his Kingdome, that you are willing to take such care and paines for the advancement and furtherance of his Kingdome, and the Lord fill your hearts with the Consolations of his holy Spirit, whose spirit he hath set to seek his glory in promoting the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and because the fruit of our Labours coming in with a blessing, is a great means to quicken the heart to be constant in that work which the Lord delighteth to prosper and blesse. It is my duty to let you understand how it pleaseth the Lord to prosper and proceed in this work of his among the *Indians*; for the promoting whereof you travaile with care and paines, that so you may goe on with the more Comfort, and the better know how to direct your prayers unto the Lord in that behalfe. I will not trouble you with rehearsall of such things as I have already this year written about unto our honoured Friend Mr. *Winslowe*, so far as I can call to minde what I wrote, hoping in the Lord that the Ships are safely arrived, and my Letters come unto his hands. I know not whether I have yet mentioned our Schoole, which through the [p. 7.] Lords mercy we have begun, though we cannot yet be constant in it, we have two men in some measure able to teach the youth with my guidance, and inspection. And thus we order the Schoole: The Master daily prayeth among his Schollers, and instructeth them in Catechisme, for which purpose I have compiled a short Catechisme, and wrote it in the Masters Book, which he can read, and teach them; and also all the Coppies he setteth his Schollers when he teacheth them to write, are the Questions and Answers of the Catechisme, that so the children may be the more prompt and ready therein: we aspire to no higher learning yet, but to spell, read, and write, that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already, or hereafter may, (by the blessing of God) translate for them; for I have no hope to see the Bible Translated, much lesse Printed in my dayes. Therefore my chiefe care is to communicate as much of the

Scriptures as I can by writing : and further, my scope so to train up both men and youths, that when they be in some measure instructed themselves, they may be sent forth to other parts of the Countrey, to traine up, and instruct others, even as they themselves have been trained up and instructed. This consideration doth make mee very carefull to put on the Schoole, and attend it with what diligence I can, although I cannot as yet doe in it, what I desire. There be severall providences of God appearing to worke, which make me thinke that the most effectuall and generall way of spreading the Gospel, will be by themselves, when so instructed as I have above-mentioned ; as for my Preaching, though such whose hearts God hath bowed to attend, can pick up some knowledge by my broken expressions, yet I see that it is not so taking and effectuall to strangers, as their owne expressions be, who naturally speak unto them in their owne tongue. To the end therefore that they may be the better able to teach others, I doe traine them up, and exercise them therein : when I am among them on the Lords dayes, appointing two each Sabbath to exercise, and when they have done, then I proceed, and assuredly I finde a good measure of ability in them, not only in prayer (wherein they exceed my expectation) but [p. 8.] in memory to rehearse such Scriptures as I have read unto them and Expounded ; to Expound them also as they have heard me doe, and apply them. And now also the Schoole-Master taking the care of Catechising the Children, I leaving that to him doe Catechize the men, examining and trying their knowledge, which yet I am wary in doing, least I should dampe and discourage the weak. These things I attend with the more intention, because it seemeth to me God will imploy these first instructed to instruct others, of which I have had sundry experiences, some I shall instance ; it pleasd Mr. *Winthrop* (Son unto our late Honored Governour now at rest) to advise me to send two discreet men to the greatest and most potent *Sachem* among the *Naragansets*, to answer such Questions as they might propound, and to stirre them up to call on God. I did accordingly, and sent him a Present by them ; but the proud *Sachem* did little lesse than despise the offer, though he tooke the present ; So they thought they should have returned without successe ; but when they came among the people, especially such as were a little more remote from the great and proud ones, they received them with great gladnesse ; one Company taking one of ours among them, others taking the other of our men amongst them ; they asked them many Questions, expressed their readinesse to call upon God, if they had any to teach them : expressing likewise that they did not expect their *Sachems* would pray to God, because they were so proud : by which I doe perceive that the Lord is preparing a plentiful Harvest, and not onely by this, but by many other Evidences. There is a great Countrey lying between *Conectacott* and the *Massachusets*, called

Nipnet, where there be many *Indians* dispersed, many of which have sent to our *Indians*, desiring that some may be sent unto them to teach them to pray unto God. And sometimes some of our best men doe goe to severall places for a little while, and returne againe, and not without successe. These things being so, the work which we now have in hand, will be as a patterne and Copie before them, to imitate in all the Countrey, both in civilizing them in their Order, Government, Law, and in their Church proceedings and administrations; and [p. 9.] hence great care lyeth upon me to set them right at first, to lay a sure foundation for such a building, as I foresee will be built upon it, and in this matter I greatly need pray: The order of proceeding with them, is first to gather them together from their scattered course of life, to cohabitation and civill order and Government, and then to forme them (the Lord having fitted them) into visible Church-state, for the guidance whereof, I have instructed them, that they should look onely into the Scriptures, and out of the word of God fetch all their Wisedome, Lawes, and Government, and so shall they be the Lords people, and the Lord above shall Reigne over them, and governe them in all things by the word of his mouth. Sundry of these which pray unto God have formerly subjected themselves unto the *English*; so that in this Government among themselves they doe reserve themselves in that poynt to owne them as their superiours, to make appeales unto them as need may require, and experience for these many yeares shew, that though they have so subjected themselves, yet the onely benefit they have is protection: as for hearing and determining their causes, the difference of language, and paucity of interpreters prohibits, and if their causes come, they be so longsome, and yet of small importance, that it is of necessity, that either they must have no government, as hitherto it hath been, or else they must have it among themselves. Besides, all or many of their differences and causes they usually brought to me, which was not convenient, and I was willing to avoid: themselves also found great need that some should be over them; to judge their causes, and end differences, and much desired it. Therefore upon the sixt day of the sixt Moneth of this present year, (their Pallizadoe Fort being finished) they had a great meeting, and many came together from diverse parts, though sundry were hindred and came not at that time, where, with Prayer to God I read and Expounded to them the 18th of *Exodus*, (which I had done severall times before) and finally they did solemnly choose two Rulers among themselves, they first chose a Ruler of an Hundred, then they chose two Rulers of Fifties, then they chose Ten or Tithing Men (so I call them in *English*) for so [p. 10.] they were called (as is reported) in *England*, when *England* did flourish happily under that kind of Government. And lastly, for that dayes work every man chose who should be his Ruler of ten, the Rulers standing in order, and every

man going to the man he chose, and it seemed unto me as if I had seen scattered bones goe, bone unto his bone, and so lived a civil politicall life, and the Lord was pleased to minister no small comfort unto my spirit, when I saw it. After this work was ended, they did enter into Covenant with God, and each other, to be the Lords people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things. The words of which Covenant are these in *English*. *We doe give our selves and our Children unto God to be his people, he shall rule us in all our affaires, not onely in our religion, and affairs of the Church (these we desire as soone as we can, if God will) but also in all our works and affaires in this world, God shall rule over us.* Isa. 33. 22. *The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law giver, the Lord is our King, He will save us ; the Wisedome which God hath taught us in his Booke, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. Oh Jehovah, teach us wisdome to finde out thy wisdome in thy Scriptures, let the grace of Christ helpe us, because Christ is the wisdome of God, send thy spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us, Lord take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.*

This Act of forming themselves into the Government of God, and entring into this Government, is the first publique Record among the *Indians*, and for ought I know the first that ever was among them : and now our next work is to prepare them for Church-estate, to which end I doe instruct them, that the Visible Church of Christ is builded upon a lively confession of Christ, and Covenanting to walk in all the Administrations of the publique worship of God, under the Government and Discipline of Jesus Christ. I doe therefore exhort them to try their hearts by the Word of God, to finde out what change the Lord hath wrought in their hearts, and this is the present work we have in hand.

Give me leave (much honoured Friends) to goe a little back in my relation, that I might be more particular, because these Letters I prepared in the sixth month after they had [p. 11.] chosen their Officers, as I was propounding and teaching them the above-written Covenant, for that I did often before we did solemnly accomplish it, that so they might doe it as an Act of knowledge and faith. Now let me relate the order of our proceeding : Having again and again read this Covenant to them, and instructed them in the meaning of it, it pleased God to wrack Mr. *Webbers* Ship at *Conahasset*, though the Lord dealt favourably ; most goods were saved, though much spoyled : this was on the first day of the 7th Moneth, wherefore at a Lecture at *Natik* on the 10th of the same Moneth, I informed them of the plentiful supply which the Lord had made your selves his instruments to send unto them for the furtherance of this our work, and also how the Lord hath frowned upon it, and undoubtedly it was a fruit of sin, and therefore the Lord called them to repentance, and make peace with God : besides, we were beginning a great work of civill Coh-

bitation and Government, and they wanted wisdom to carry on such a work, and the Lord had promised, *If any want wisdom, ask it of God, who gives liberally*, citing that of *James*, which I had formerly preached on. Moreover, we were in preparation for a Church-state, and that was a great matter to seek the Lord in; and lastly, they having chosen Rulers, and intending to enter into a Covenant to promise unto God to be his people, and to be ruled in all things by his Word. Gods appointment is that such a Covenant should be entred into in a solemne day of fasting and prayer, and all these causes concurred to put us on unto that work. Now though we never yet had kept such a day unto the Lord, yet I had instructed them therein; for in the Spring we had a generall day of Humiliation in all the Churches, and thereupon they moved this Question, *Why the English often fasted and prayed, and I never yet taught them so to doe?* To which I did answer by that of Christ unto the Disciples, but told them, that when we set upon the great works of God, to be his people, governed by his Word, and to gather a Church, then they should be called of God unto it, &c. and now it came to passe, my motion they deliberated on with some conference (as their manner is) and finally did consent unto it; then I told them it was needfull [p. 12.] they should pray and teach that day; sundry of them and we agreed, that all such as were called to be Rulers should exercise that day, or so many as we had time for their Exercise. Before that day came, even then when it was appointed *Cutshamoquin*, the chiefe *Sachem*, and therefore chosen the chiefe, (for he is constant in his profession, though doubtfull in respect of the thoroughnesse of his heart) was in the Countrey near *Narraganset*, about appeasing some strife among some *Sachems*. In which Journey some of those bad *Indians* and *Cutshamoquin* with them did buy much strong water at *Gortons* Plantation, and had a great drinking, from which the wiser sort did withdraw themselves, but *Cutshamoquin* was in it, though not unto drunkennesse, yet his act was scandalous. Before we solemnly appeared before God, and made the above written Covenant, I advised with Mr. *Cotton* about it, and his Counsell was to add these words in the beginning: *Wee are the Sonnes of Adam, wee and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to finde us out againe; therefore the grace of Christ helping us, we doe give our selves and our Children, &c.*

When the day came, this Act of *Cutshamoquin* being broken out we suffered not him to teach; onely he began the day with confession of his sin, and made a short Prayer, wherein he confessed Satan acted in his heart, begged pardon, and that the Spirit of God might dwell in him, and act in him for time to come, and so ended.

Then another of them began with prayer, and for his Text took that in the 7th of *Luke* 36. to the end (though they doe not know

the Book, Chapter, or Verse, but distinguish my Lectures by the first material word in it) *Christ being invited by Simon the Pharisee, the Woman washt his feet with her teares, &c.* At which Simon stumbling, Christ spake the Parable of the two Debtors, both freely forgiven, with the Application, all which he repeated pretty well, and after his teaching he prayed againe and ended. The second took for his Text the *Lords Prayer*, because it is, said he, a day of prayer. The third took for his Text the 7th of *Matthew* 19. to the end, *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is cut downe, &c.* And upon that [p.13.] parable of the two Builders, on the rock the first, the other on the sand, &c. By this time the day was well up, then I taught out of the 9th of *Ezra* 3. & 9. where I described a day of Fasting, and the right carriage of it; yet by the parable of a Nut, I shewed that outward acts are as the shell, which is necessary, but a broken and believing heart is the kernell, and so ended the forepart of the day. After a little respite (in which time a Question came to me, if it were lawfull to take a pipe of Tobacco?) we met again, the first took his Text *Job*. 3. 16. 22. and his Preface was, *I read or rehearse this, and let every one read it in his owne heart.* The second took his Text, *Matth.* 13. 24. to 31. from the Parable of him that sowed good seed, and the enemy came and while they slept sowed tares, &c. The third took his Text, *Luke* 3^d, 4. 5. 6. ver. *Prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, &c.* By this time night drew on, then I took for my Text, *Deut.* 29. and the 1. to 16. where *Israel* entred into Covenant with the Lord: and finally our Covenant in the forecited words I expressed, and they joyntly consented unto; first the Rulers, then all the people, then was the Collections for the poor, and by dark night we finished our work. Thus have I briefly described that blessed day wherein these poor souls solemnly became the people of the Lord: this was on the 24th day of the 7th Moneth, 1651.

Upon the 8th of the *Oct.* Moneth, which was our next Lecture (for it is in that place but once in a fortnight, I holding a Lecture each other week still at any other place) it pleased our Governour with many others attending him, to visit our poor works and day of small things, where they viewed our House, our Fort, our Bridge, advised about a place for a Mill, &c.) At the season they came unto our Lecture, and observed the carriage and behaviour of things and men: among other things one of our *Indians* did (as we are wont) exercise, which they took so much notice of, and were so far affected with, as that it pleased the Governour to advise me to write the substance of that which he spake, which is as followeth; his Text was *Matth.* 13. 44, 45, 46. *Again the Kingdome of Heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field, the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth* [p. 14.] *the feild: 45. Again, the Kingdome of Heaven is like*

unto a Marchant-man seeking goodly Pearles : 46. *Who when he had found one Pearle of great price, he went and sold all that he had and bought it.* The substance of these words he did twice rehearse, then for instruction he first propounded what is this treasure which is hid in a feild ? He answered, it is Repentance for sin, Faith in Christ, and pardon of sin, and all grace, as also praying to God, the worship of God, and his appointments, which are the means of Grace, on which he dilated, shewing what excellent Pearles these are, exhorting all to account so of them, and on this point he did much insist : secondly, he asked what is the Feild where these Pearles are to be found ? He answered, the Church of Christ, which they did desire to constitute in this place, and to that end came thither to dwell : thirdly, he asked what it is to sell all that a man hath to buy this Feild ? He answered, to part with all their sins, and to part with all their old Customes, and to part with their Friends and Lands, or any thing which hindereth them from coming to that place, where they may gather a Church, and enjoy all these Pearles ; and here he insisted much to stir them up, that nothing should hinder them from gathering together into this place where they might enjoy such a mercy.

Then he proceeded to the second Parable, and his first Question was, Who is the Marchant man that seeketh goodly Pearls ? He answered, it is all you *Indians* which pray to God, and repent of sin, and come to hear the Word of God, you come to seek for excellent Pearls ; and here also he insisted : his second Question was, What is this Pearle of great Price ? Now in answer to this Question he did not pitch it on Christ alone, and shew the worth and price of Christ : but he did pitch it on Faith in Jesus Christ, and Repentance for sin, and stood upon the excellency and necessity thereof. And this was the greatest defect I observed in his Exercise, which seing I undertake to relate that which none but my selfe understood, I dare not but truly relate, because the Lord heard all, and I must give an account of this relation before him : his next question was, What is meant by all the Riches he had ? He answered, his sins, his evill Customes, his evill manners, in which [p. 15.] he formerly took much pleasure ; and here he dilated also : Lastly he asked how did he sell them all, and buy the pearle ? He answered, by casting away and forsaking all his sins, mourning and repenting of them, praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ. And here he fervently dilated and so ended ; and this according to the best of my memory and observation, is the substance of what he delivered. Whereby you may observe the manner of my teaching them, for they imitate me, as for our Method of preaching to the *English* by way of Doctrine, Reason, and Use, neither have I liberty of speech for that way of teaching, being very unskillfull in their Language, nor have they sufficient ability of understanding to profit by it, so well as by this way, whereof you have herein a little Taste.

Jo: Eliot.

The next Letter good Reader (for we place them according to their severall dates) is one that came from Mr. John Wilson that reverend holy man, who is Pastor of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England, who accompanying the Governour, together with Mr. Eliot and sundry others, to their new Towne built by the Converted Indians, where they purpose by Gods permission to cohabite together, that so they may enjoy all those Ordinances the Lord Jesus hath left unto his Church. Now what Mr. Wilson there saw, heard, and observed, that he hath written over to us, and we have published for thy information and consolation.

Honoured and ever deare Sir.

TOUCHING the Work of God among the *Indians*, for ought I heare or see from them that are most conversant therein, as Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Mahew*, and Mr. *Leverich*, with whom I have made diligent enquiry ; It doth prosperously succeed to their great encouragement, [p. 16.] and ours in the Lord. There was here some few weeks since, the prime *Indian* at *Marthas Vineyard* with Mr. *Mahewe* (*Humanequinn*) a grave and solemn Man, with whom I had serious discourse, Mr. *Mahewe* being present as Interpreter between us, who is a great proficient both in knowledge and utterance, and love, and practice of the things of Christ, and of Religion, much honoured and revered, and attended by the rest of the *Indians* there, who are solemnly Covenanted together, I know not how many, but between thirty or forty at the least, and receive none into their Fraternity or Combination, but those which give good proof of their upright desires to their Conscience, in their professions and conversations, who when Mr. *Mahewe* cannot be with them (as at many set times he is) doth in the week time instruct himselfe from Mr. *Mahewes* mouth, and prepare for their instruction on the Lords day, which they conscionably observe, and have their constant solemn meetings together : This man where he was, had communion on the Lords day with Mr. *Eliots Indians* neer *Dorchester* Mill, unto whom he Preached or declared what he had learned himselfe from the Scripture, some two hours together, with solemn prayer before and after, and then ended with a *Psalme*, such as at home is wont to be sung among his usuall hearers. The Lords day after he was in our Assembly, the Boat then being ready to carry him home by the next opportunity, and truly my reverence to him was such, as there being no room I prayed our brethren to receive that good *Indian* into one of their pewes, which

they did forenoon and afternoon, and at meale; I perceived by him that he had understanding of what he heard Mr. *Leverich* being lately here and at my house (who also Preached at our new Church) I conferred with him about the beginnings and progresse of the Lords work, among his neighbouring *Indians* at *Sandwich*, and did hear from him, what did my heart good. And therefore when he took his leave of me I requested him that he would doe me the favour at his return home, to send me a brief story of that good hand of God which was there upon them, *ab origine*, which I thank him he did soon after, and I thought not amisse to inclose it, as it came to me, being written with his own hand, not doubting [p. 17.] but it would add unto your rejoycing in the Lord. About a fortnight since there was a Lecture to be of Mr. *Eliot* at *Natick*, the new *Indian* Towne, where he useth frequently to Preach to them, besides what he doth neer home (on either side) and many times doth keep the Lords day with them, whereof having some notice, and that the Governour Mr. *Endicot* intended then to be there, my Cousin *Rawson* and I with some other, did prepare to ride thither, the Governour and his Sergeants lying at *Dedham*, which is within seaven or eight miles of the Towne, and we at Mr. *Jacksons* neer *Watertown* Mill (in like distance in the next morning after we had been some hours there where we found Mr. *Eliot*, and by that time we had viewed all things, the Governour came with about twenty Horsemen from *Dedham*, and made a like view, after which the Lecture or Sermon began in the Fort, which the *Indians* have made of whole trees very handsome and firme, which is neer a faire house which the *Indians* have built after the *English* manner high and large (no *Englishmans* hand in it, save that one day or two they had an *English* Carpenter with them to direct about the time of rearing, with chimneys in it: In which Mr. *Eliot* and those which accompany him use to lye, and the *Indian* School-Master was there teaching the Children, who doth read and spell very well himselfe, and teacheth them to doe the like (besides writing) and as there is a large Roome below, so there is a like Chamber above, in a Corner whereof Mr. *Eliot* hath a little Room inclosed, and a bed and bed-sted therein, and in the same Chamber the *Indians* doe as in a Wardrobe hang up their skins, and things of price, as counting them there to be very safe, as well when the doors be open, as when they be locked, they have laid out 3 fair long streets there, two on this side the River, and one on that, and have severall house-lots apportioned severally to every one, which doe or be to inhabite there, and in many of them there are fruit-trees already planted, and they are building *English* houses for themselves mean while living in *Wigwams*, whereof there is good store neer the hill side, at present there being a goodly plaine from the Towne towards *Dedham*) over the River (that is *Charles River*) they have made a firme high foot-bridge [p. 18.] archwise to walk to and

fro, having heaped on the bottome tymbers huge stones, the more to fortifie it, and it was a great encouragement to them, that the last year (when a like Bridge made by the *English* in the new *Dedham* Village called *Medefield* some four or five miles from them) was throwne downe by the force of the flouds or Ice, yet theirs did stand firme and upright. But to returne to the Fort, and to the busines of the day, that is Round and Capacious, and they have prepared there a large Canopie of Matts upon poles for Mr. *Eliot* and the chief of his Company to sit under, and other sorts for themselves and other hearers. The *Saneps* or men by themselves and the *Squaes* or women by themselves, besides the *English* then present (which were about thirty) there were I think not fewer than a hundred men women and young ones; among the *Indians* there be some greater proficients in knowledge, and of better utterance by far then their fellowes, grave and serious men, whom Mr. *Eliot* hath trained up (or the Lord rather by his instructions and directions) to instruct and exhort the rest of the *Indians* in their Lords day and other meetings, when he cannot come to them himselfe. There be some five of these, one of them was prepared before we came, and appointed to begin this Exercise: the further relation of the manner of this *Indians* behaviour in Preaching, together with the substance of that Sermon being before set downe by Mr. *Eliot* may be never omitted: other particulars in order to the exact description of the *Indian* Fort and buildings in Mr. *Eliots* Letter is defective are here supplied. This man being of middle age, and clad all in *English* apparrell (as most if not all others of them are) sitting in the midst, on a stoole, under the shelter, did begin with prayer very solemnly, standing up for some halfe quarter of an houre, then sitting downe spake unto them of the two Parables, concerning the Feild wherein the treasure hid, and the wise Marchant selling all for the Pearl; we understood him not (save Mr. *Eliot*) excepting now and then a word or two, he discoursed to them some three quarters of an hour at the least, with great devotion, gravity, decency, readines and affection, and gestures very becomming, and sundry mentions he made of Jesus Christ, especially in the beginning, and towards [p.19.] the ending as if he were the scope of all, and the rest of the *Indians*; diverse old men and women, and the younger did joyne and attend vvith much Reverence, as if much affected therewith; then he ended vvith Prayer as he beganne. Then Mr. *Eliot* Prayed and Preached in the *Indian* Language for some hour more, about coming to Christ, and bearing his Yoake. This Text vv as translated by him from the Scripture into *English*, speaking vvith much authority, and after his latter Prayer the *Indian* School-Master read out of his Book one of the *Psalmes* in meeter, line by line, translated by Mr. *Eliot* into *Indian*, all the men and vvomen ,&c. singing the same together in one of our ordinary *English* tunes melodiously. I should have said that

after Mr. *Eliots* Sermon there vvere two or three grave *Indians* that propounded to Mr. *Eliot* each of them a Question, very pertinent to the matter he handled about the yoak of Christ, and coming to Christ, which he answered, interpreting to us both their Questions, and the summe of his owne Answers. After this the Lord did stir up my heart to make an Exhortation to the *Indians*, which Mr. *Eliot* Expounded to them, and also the Governours Speech, which God did stir him up too unto the same purpose, declaring our joy to see such beginnings, and warning them of the great danger if they should decline from what they had already come unto, either in their knowledge, affection, or Christian practice, encouraging them against what might damp or deter.

Then all of us taking us to our horses left Mr. *Eliot* and them together, the Governour and his Company to lye at *Dedham*, and the rest of us when we had rid two or three miles with them did returne into our own way towards our former lodging, having been every one of us much refreshed in our spirits in what we saw & were informed of, viz. of God amongst them. Not long before this, travelling with Mr. *Eliots* brother I conferred in the way seriously with him about these *Indians* for he useth to accompany his brother, and is a right godly and diligent man, desiring to know what solidity he found by experience in them. Who did acquaint me that there was difference between them as between the *English*, some being less serious then others, and lesse spirituall; but that there was a [p. 20.] considerable Company of solide ones that were constant and forward in good duties, as well on the week dayes as on the Lords. And that he had purposely sometimes in the dark walked the Round, as it were alone, and found them in their severall Families as devout in Prayer, &c. as if there had been any present to observe: and that carried it very modestly, utterly refusing to receive any reliefe from Mr. *Eliots* Table, choosing rather to live on the provisions at home which came in by their owne labour: and when once Mr. *Eliots* owne provisions failed (he being detained among them sundry dayes beyond his intent) they soon took notice, and of their own accord did bring unto him variety of the best which they had themselves; and he professed unto me that upon all his best observation, there was a very hopefull beginning amongst them, of the Grace and Kingdome of our Lord Jesus. The Lord vouchsafe to be the *Omega* among them as well as the *Alpha* of this blessed change.

Boston : 27 : 8ber
51.

Your most loving Friend,
and Brother in Christ,
John Wilson.

As Mr Wilson was stirred up in himselfe to send us the Relation of his owne Observations upon his Journey with Mr. Eliot, so he having received some precious lines from an able Minister of the Gospel, viz. Mr Leverich of Sandwich in the Government of New Plymouth, whom the Lord hath stirred up to labour also in the Conversion of the Indians : the ears seeming as it were white unto Harvest, and the Labourers but very few, he adventures to put in his sickle, not without hopefull successe, as will appear in his following lines. And for the discouragements mentioned [p. 21.] in his Letter, know that divers of his people having cast off all the Ordinances of God in his Church, at last came to be seduced by every idle spirit that came amongst them, to be led into such fancies as we are ashamed to mention. And so this good man upon this occasion turned to the Indians, where he meets with an abundant blessing upon his endeavours.

Reverend Sir.

I Salute you in the Lord, I shall trouble you only with two things, first, the moving causes inducing me to set upon this worke : Secondly, with what successe I have hitherto been entertained, by the blessing of God upon my weak endeavours. For the first of these, I suppose its not unknown to your selfe: amongst many others, what singular exercise I have had in these parts, and what singular Conflicts I have met withall in my travails amongst our owne Countreymen, divers of them transported with their (though not singular) Fancies, to the rejecting of all Churches and Ordinances by a new cunning, and I perswade my selfe one of the last but most pernicious plot of the Devill to undermine all Religion, and introduce all Atheisme and profanenesse, if it were possible, together with which, I have observed a spirit of Pharisaisme and formality too, too evidently creeping upon and strongly possessing others generally, besides other discouragements I shall forbear to mention, which considered divers of our brethren, together with my selfe, upon consultation had together, were resolved to move together else whether, where we might hope for more and better encouragement, as touching our Communion, if God so pleased : but were dissuaded by divers our honoured Friends, both by their Letters and more private Councils, unto whom we gave way, at least for the present : not long after hav-

ing an hopefull *Indian* [p. 22.] in my house, he propounds to me a motion of teaching the *Indians* neer us. And somtimes after Mr. *Eliot* invites me to the same work by his Letters: then I thought with my self I must stay, and began to tast the motion with more affection, resolving, that if God would please to fit up the rooms of others with the accesse of such forlorne Creatures, and bring in such as wandred in the high wayes, lanes, and hedges; and Call in the lame, and halt, and blind, in stead of those Contemnners, it would be a mercy; and by no other respects in this world, was my breast inclined unto this work, and to attend God in it. As touching the second, for matter of successe and encouragement, I cannot but reckon this one, and that not the least, that though the *Indian* tongue be very difficult, irregular, and anomalous, and wherein I cannot meet with a Verb Substantive as yet, nor any such Particles, as Conjunctions, &c. which are essentiall to the severall sorts of axioms, and consequently to all rationall and perfect discourses, and that though their words are generally very long, even *sesquipedalia verba*, yet I find God helping, not onely my selfe to learne and attaine more of it in a short time, then I think I could or did of Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew, in the like space of time, when my memory was stronger, and when all known rules of Art are helpfull to fasten such notions in the mind of the learner; but also the *Indians* to understand me fully (as they acknowledge) so far as I have gone. I am constrained by many ambages and circumlocutions to supply the former defect, to expresse my selfe to them as I may. The next encouragement I may not without ground omit to mention is this, that it pleaseth God to help some of these poor Creatures to look over and beyond the Examples of some of our looser sort of *English*, which I look upon as a great stumbling block to many. It's to be lamented that the name of God so generally professed by those looser sort of *English*, should be so generally polluted by them, and blasphemed by Heathens, through the occasion of their loosenes and deniall of the power of godlinesse, yet God gives some of theirs a spirit of discerning between precious and vile, and a spirit of Conviction, to acknowledge (oh that ours would lay it to heart) there is no difference between the worst [p. 23.] *Indians*, and such *English*, saying *they are all one Indians*, yea and further, to put a like difference between such *Indians* amongst themselves here and elsewhere, as appear to be more serious in their Inquiries after God, and conscientious according to their light, and such others that are more slight, and meer pretenders to Religion. Thirdly, for more particular observations. 1. God hath brought some of them to a sence of their sinnes, and a fear of his justice. Here I shall insert an example or two, one of them being to repeat such Principles I had begun to train them in, in a Catechisticall way (for my penury confines me to this method at present, and I hope it may be never the worse for them) was a good

while before he could speak, having his countenance sad before (and as I have understood since a week together after our former Exercise) and in speaking the tears all the while trickling downe his Cheekes : After being demanded by me what was the matter of his sadnesse, he answers me, he did now understand that God was a just God, and for himselfe he had been very wicked, even from a child. And another, whom I used as my Interpreter now and then in teaching them, falls suddenly and publicquely into a bitter passion, crying out, and wringing his hands, out of the like apprehension of his Condition, as he told me afterwards, and I find no one of them (daring men) to speak of their good hearts, but some more some lesse sensible of the contrary. Secondly, God hath brought some of them to some Evangelicall Conviction, one acknowledging that though he and others leave their former evils, and should keep Gods Commandements, yet without Christ they must goe to hell. Thirdly, Two or three of them have complained of the hardnesse of their hearts, and are questioning of Remedies. Fourthly, Speaking to them of the mercy of God in Christ, one of them tells publicquely, it did him more good to hear of Christ, then to hear of all earthly good things, I would fain hope for seeds of faith in such. Fifthly, Two of them I deal withall particularly for personall evils, by name for the sinne of Fornication, which they were carried away into, which my *Indian* acquainting my selfe with after our Exercise I spake unto, shewing them the evills of this sinne [p. 24.] and aggravating of it by the knowledge they now had of God, &c. and exhorting them to Repentance, and to seek mercy in Christ ; whereupon one of them fell into bitter weeping, presently the other though his heart was shut up at present, yet not long after, and with longer continuance said, I have observed in others a sence of temptations, spirituall bondage, which they expressed naturally thus ; one saith that he and the Devill were all one Souldiers, and this in sadnesse of spirit, and speech : another laying his hands upon his knees and hams, complains he was a man tyed in Cords, and prayes to God to be unloosed, and in generall they are observed divers of them to pray with much affection, mourning ; in so much that they are in this respect a wonderment to their Companions, who enquired what is the matter why they doe so, &c.

A fourth encouragement to me is this, I find the Devill bestirring himselfe, and betaking of himselfe to his wonted practice of stirring up oppositions against this work by his Instruments, as fearing the ruine of his Kingdome, their Countreymen manifesting their hatred, threatning they shall not plant, hunt, &c. as before ; yea the Controversie or enmity rather arises between Parents and Children, &c. Lastly, and not long before I was last with you in the Bay upon a second day in the morning before they went away, there came to me to the number of twenty of them, voluntarily professing one by one their

desire to fear God, promising that they would leave their sins (some intermixing acknowledgements of their sins and ignorance : and one that *English* and *Indians* knew she had been very wicked) hereunto calling *Jehovah* to witnes ; and this to doe all their dayes, as long as they live : some bringing their Children, and causing them to make the like profession ; whereupon I was the more stirred towards them in my spirit (though I acknowledge I was loath to make an absolute engagement) to promise them I would endeavour to be as helpfull to them as I could in teaching them : which when I had done, they gave me thanks publiquely ; and since this, they living some seaven miles from us, have built a *Wigwam* of purpose neer our Town to receive them when they come on the Lords dayes ; and truly Sir, they are so attentive in hearing, [p. 25.] that it grieves me I cannot speak to them as I desire, they seeming to be hungry, and I wanting bread for them. And thus Sir, you have a naked Narration of our proceedings, with the events fallen out by Gods providence within not many moneths. It is I believe a day of small things, and so lookt at by our *English* many of them, who surely would have perished in their darknesse, if all others should have contemned them as they these, I pray God they perish not in the light, however I am resolved to bable to them as I may, considering that out of the mouths of babes God ordaines praise, and found strength to still the Enemy, &c. the beginnings of Gods great works are often in great obscurity, where he appoints the end to be glorious. Also I remember one sowes and another reaps, which where ever they be such as are faithfull shall rejoyce together. I doubt not Sir, of your fervent prayers (which I doe further beg of you and others that know how to pity lost ones) for my selfe and poor *Indians*, that the Lord will prosper our indeavours this way, and water them with his abundant blessings in Jesus Christ, that the day-spring from on high may visit such poor souls as are in darknesse, and the shadow of death, and bring them to life in Jesus Christ.

Sandwich this 22 of
the 7th. 1651.

William Leverich.

The next Letter is a testimoniall from a private hand of what Mr. Leverich mentions in his to Mr. Wilson, where we may see some fruits of his labours testified by a neighbour of his at Sandwich, which is fiftie miles from that place, where Mr. Eliot hath taught other Indians for divers years : but we doe not a little rejoyce to hear that Mr. Leverich is engaged in this worke ; because he is a grave learned knowing and a prudent Christian, one in-

deed from whom by Gods blessing we may expect much good. [p. 26.]

Concerning the *Indians* I have seen and heard more this Summer then ever I did before, I have seene some *Indians* crave a blessing before meat, and returne thanks after meat, pray morning and evening, some of them doe frequent our meetings, they come constantly eight or ten miles every Saturday, and the Monday they returne home againe, while our Exercise doth last, they doe attend diligently, but understand but little, but when that is done Mr. *Leve-rich* and they doe put questions one to another, and Mr. *Leverich* hath an *Indian* that speaks good *English*, and he is Interpreter. There is a man that lives neer us, that comes from an Island that is called *Martins Vineyard*, where is a Minister that speaks good *Indian*, he doth preach to them every week, he hath told me that that Minister told him, that there are some of them *Indians*, that are able to give a better reason of their Faith, then some of the Members of their Church; some of them will Preach, and they have private meetings, and keep very good orders.

Sandwich 22^d September. 1651.

Anthony Bessey.

The next Letter we present thee withall good Reader, is one from Mr. Mayhew, whom God hath honoured with abundant successe in making his labours the instrumentall meanes to turne many of the Heathen from their evill wayes to the Lord our God. This he not onely wrote to Mr. Henry Whitfield, who is a Minister in Winchester, but also to a Member of our Corporation, being the same Narrative word for word, for ought we discerne, where-in appeareth a mighty progresse in godlines since our last Treatise published by Mr. Henry Whitfield upon his coming hither from New England. God not onely daily addin; to their number [p. 27.] such as in Charity we conceive appertain to his Election: but stirred them up (being neer two hundred persons) to enter into a more close way of the Gospel, declaring themselves to be the worshippers of the everliving God. With many other things ministring much consolation to evcry Christian heart, to see these very Powwawes fall off from the worship of Devills and embrace the glad tidings of Salvation.

*Reverend and dearly Beloved in
Christ Jesus.*

SIR,

WHat you have done in the *Indian* busines, and concerning my selfe in particular, doe give good testimony of your holy desires to further the work of the Lord amongst them. The good providence of God in bringing you unto us, and the free engaging of your selfe in this work of the Lord, and that upon the best ground, did fully perswade my heart of your faithfullnesse therein, and of an inward blessing from God upon us thereby ; although I should never have seen a return in outward supplies, as now through mercy I have, as an acceptable and very helpfull fruit of Christian goodnes and bounty received from your selfe and Christian Friends, that the Lord hath stirred up both to pray earnestly, and contribute freely for the promoting of the work of the Lord in my hand amongst the poor *Indians*. Sir, assure your selfe, and let all our beloved Friends know, that what is done by you together in this behalf, doth not only strengthen my hands, and give me advantage to be more helpfull to the *Indians*, but also is a further encouragement unto my heart from the Lord to do to the utmost of my power in this service he hath called me unto, [p. 28.] and wherein he hath afforded me his gracious presence unto this day ; and not only in supporting me therein, but also in some remarkeable passages of his power and mercy amongst the *Indians*, those miserable Captives, something whereof your selfe hath been an eye-witnes unto, and have already heard, yet now being further advantaged through the grace of God appearing with us, and knowing it will be acceptable to your selfe, and our dearly beloved Christian Friends, that long for and rejoyce in the gracious appearance of Jesus Christ in his Kingly Sovereignty and power, where he hath not formerly been known, I shall by the help of God certifie you how the Lord hath carried on his own work with us since your departure from us.

It pleased the Lord who hath drawne the *Indians* from the *Pawwaws* to worship himselfe, whereat the *Pawwaws* were much discontented, yet now to perswade two of themselves to run after those that followed hard after God, desiring that they might goe with them in the wayes of that God whose name is *Jehovah* ; and they came

much convinced of their sinnes that they had lived in, and especially of their *Pawwawing*, saying, I throw it from me with hatred of it, being sorry that ever I medled with it. And now I have heard of *Jehovah*, by his help I put it under my feet, and hope to trample it down in the dust with the Devill and *Pawwawnomas* (or Imps) I throw it into the fire, and burn it. Thus they fully made known unto all both by word and gesture, and by more such like expressions they then used, not only their indignation against it, but that they would never make use of it more. One of them did then discover the bottom of his witchcraft, confessing that at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four living Creatures; one was like a man which he saw in the Ayre, and this told him that he did know all things upon the Island, and what was to be done; and this he said had its residence over his whole body. Another was like a Crow, and did look out sharply to discover mischiefs coming towards him, and had its residence in his head. The third was like a Pidgeon, and had its place in his breast, and was very cunning about any businesse. The [p. 29.] fourth was like a Serpent, very subtile to doe mischiefe, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills, and such as he had trusted to for safety, and did labour to raise up for the accomplishment of any thing in his diabolical craft, but now he saith, that he did desire that the Lord would free him from them, and that he did repent in his heart, because of his sin.

The other said his Conscience was much troubled for his sin, and they both desired the Lord would teach them his wayes, have mercy upon them, and pardon their sins, for Jesus Christ his sake: and truly it did give to us who were present a great occasion of praising the Lord, to see those poor naked sons of *Adam*, and slaves to the Devil from their birth, to come toward the Lord as they did, with their joynts shaking, and their bowels trembling, their spirits troubled, and their voices with much fervency, uttering words of sore displeasure against sin and Satan, which they had imbraced from their Childhood with so much delight, accounting it also now their sin that they had not the knowledge of God.

Secondly, that they had served the Devil, the Enemy both of God and Man.

Thirdly, that they were so hurtfull in their lives, and were also thankfull that now through the blessing of God they had an opportunity to be delivered out of that dangerous condition. The *Indians* did all much rejoyce to see the *Pawwaws* turn from their wicked wayes to serve the Lord. Not long after the *Pawwaws* had forsaken their old way, on a Lecture day after Exercise diverse *Indians* desired to become the servants of the Lord, amongst whom was a *Pawwaw*, called *Tequanonim*, who was of great esteem and

very notorious ; for he as they said, and in their ignorance conceived, never did hurt to any, but alwayes good, endeavouring the good and preservation of the *Indians* ; whereunto also he was accompted by them to be strongly provided. And as himself said he had been possessed from the crowne of the head to the soale of the foot with *Pawwawnomas*, not onely in the shape of living Creatures, as Fowls, Fishes, and creeping things, but Brasse, Iron, and Stone. It was therefore the more to be acknowledged the work of God, that he should forsake this way, his friends, his gain, to [p. 30.] follow the Lord, whose wayes are so despicable in the eyes of devillish minded men. This *Pawwaw* declaring by what means the Lord took him off this devillish Trade, said that he had heard some things from my Father, who took occasion to discourse with him about the way of true happinesse, that he should never forget, blessed be God, his Counsell had so good an effect, as I hope it hath on many others. It pleased the Lord who will have all the gods of the earth to be terrible unto him, for he meeting *Mimanequem* in the wood by accident, told him that he was glad he had an opportunity to speak his minde unto him, for he had many searchings of heart about his *Pawwawing*, and did think it was not a good way, and that God was angry with him for it ; for said he my Wife hath been a long time sick, and the more I *Pawwaw* for her, the sicker she is ; And this doth agree with an observation of the *Indians* of this Island, viz. that since the Word of God hath been taught unto them in this place, the *Pawwaws* have been much foiled in their devillish tasks, and that instead of curing have rather killed many ; but in a word, the fruit of this and all other means was a publique manifestation of hatred to his former wayes, wondering he was yet alive who was so sinfull, and that he desired to be better, and to beleve in Christ, for whose sake onely, he did believe his sinnes could be pardoned, and that he did desire to heare the Word of God. This man hereby hath made those of his owne house to be his Enemies ; his Wife, his Children, and most of his friends and kindred, who remain obstinate still, whereby he meets with many troubles and temptations : one of his brethren being very sick did earnestly desire that he would *Pawwaw* for him, which he refused, his brother told him that he might keep it private, but he still refused, telling him that notwithstanding that, if he should answer his desire, he should break his Covenant, and sinne against God ; and therefore would not.

There came pressing in at the same time about fifty *Indians*, desiring to joyne with the Worshippers of God in his service. It would be too long for me to set downe what every one said before they entred into Covenant, only this I may not omit, that all of them came confessing their sinnes, some in speciall [p. 31.] the naughtinesse of their hearts, others in particular, actual sinnes they

had lived in : and also they all desired to be made better, and to attend unto the Word of God, to that end looking onely to Christ Jesus for salvation. I observed also that they generally came in by Families, bringing also their Children with them, saying, I have brought my Children too, I would have my Children serve God with us, I desire that this son and this daughter may worship *Jehovah*, and if they could but speak, their Parents would have them say something to shew their willingnesse to serve God : And when the Commandements were repeated, they all acknowledged them to be good, and made choice of *Jehovah* to be their God, promising by his help to walk according to his Counsels : And when they were received by them that were before in this generall Covenant, it was by loud voices giving thanks to God that they were met together in the wayes of *Jehovah* : this is all before the end of the year 1650.

And now through the mercy of God there are an hundred ninetie-nine, men, women, and children, that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and everliving God. There are now two meetings kept every Lords day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house : *Hiacomes* teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and *Mumanequem* accordingly at the farthest, the last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle : And the Lord doth much assist them, blessed be the name of the Lord. I have also undertaken to keep by the help of God two Lectures amongst them, which will be at each once a fortnight : And I hope it will be by the blessing of God very profitable unto them. This winter I intend, if the Lord will, to set up a School to teach the *Indians* to read, *viz.* the children, and also any young men that are willing to learne, whereof they are very glad. I am also endeavouring their Cohabitation with all convenient speed, that so they may be more helpfull one to another ; and also the better advantaged to carry on that work they have set upon to Gods glory, and their own comfort. And what I have written concerning the *Parowaves*, and the fifty *Indians* that were admitted to those [p. 32.] that worshipped God in one day : There were diverse *English* both eye and ear witnesses thereof, as well as my selfe, and we could not but acknowledge much of the Lords power and goodnesse to be visible amongst them, who without being driven by power, or allured by gifts, were so strongly carried against those wayes they so much loved, to love the way that nature hates. Let us therefore magnifie the Lord, who alone doth this, and seek unto him to doe more and more still, that so one generation may praise his works to another, and that so both we and them may abundantly utter the memory of his great goodnesse and power, in that new Song, *Revelations* 5. 9. untill that we all meet together in Heaven, and sing glorious praises unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and

unto the Lamb for ever and ever. In whom I heartily recommend you unto God, desiring to be recommended by you, and in him to rest.

From the Vineyard this 16th

of October. 1651.

Yours to be commended in

and for the Lord Jesus.

Thomas Mayhew.

The next Letter you meet withall came from the present Governour of the Massachusets, directed to the President of our Corporation, and another of the Members thereof, which wee thought good to publish, that every Christian Reader may partake in the same consolation, wherewith he and we are comforted; and joyne with us in prayer to the Lord of the Harvest, that he would provide more Labourers to enter upon this soul-saving worke, and enlarge the hearts of all his people in this Nation towards the same.

[p. 33.] ***Much honoured and beloved in
the Lord Jesus.***

I Esteeme it not the least of Gods mercies that hath stirred up the hearts of any of the people of God to be instrumentall in the enlarging of the Kingdome of his deare Sonne here amongst the Heathen *Indians*, which was one end of our comming hither, and it is not frustrated. It was prophesied of old, and now begins to be accomplished, *Psal.* 2. 8. Neither can I but acknowledge the unspeakable goodnesse of God that gives us favour in the sight of our Countrey men to helpe on with so large a hand of bounty, so glorious a work, provoked thereunto by your worthy selves, the chiefe Actors of so good a designe, let me (with leave) say confidently, you will never have cause to repent it; For the work is Gods and he doth owne it, the labour there hath been yours, and your Master

will reward it. I think Religion and Conscience binde me to seek unto God for you, and to praise him with you, for what is already begun. The Foundation is laid, and such a one that I verily beleeve the gates of Hell shall never prevaile against. I doubt not but the building will goe on apace, which I hope will make glad the hearts of Thousands. Truly Gentlemen, had you been eare and eye-witnesses of what I heard and saw on a Lecture-day amongst them about three weeks since, you could not but be affected therewith as I was. To speak truly I could hardly refrain tears from very joy to see their diligent attention to the word first taught by one of the *Indians*, who before his Exercise prayed for the manner devoutly and reverently (the matter I did not so well understanding) but it was with such reverence, zeale, good affection, and distinct utterance, that I could not but admire it; his Prayer was about a quarter of an houre or more, as we judged it; then he took his Text, and Mr. *Eliot* their Teacher told us that were *English* the place [p. 34.] (there were some Ministers and diverse other godly men there that attended me thither) his Text was in *Matth.* 13. 44, 45, 46. He continued in his Exercise full halfe an houre or more, as I judged it, his gravity and utterance was indeed very commendable; which being done Mr. *Eliot* taught in the *Indian* tongue about three quarters of an hour as neer as I could guesse; the *Indians* which were in number men and women neer about one hundred, seemed the most of them so to attend him, (the men especially) as if they would loose nothing of what was taught them, which reflected much upon some of our *English* hearers. After all there was a *Psalme* sung in the *Indian* tongue, and *Indian* mee-ter, but to an *English* tune, read by one of themselves, that the rest might follow, and he read it very distinctly without missing a word as we could judge, and the rest sang chearfully, and prettie tune-able. I rid on purpose thither being distant from my dwelling about thirty eight, or forty miles, and truly I account it one of the best Journeyes I made these many years. Some few dayes after I desired Mr. *Eliot* briefly to write me the substance of the *Indians* Exercise, which when he went thither again, namely to *Naticke*, where the *Indians* dwell, and where the *Indian* taught, he read what he remembered of it first to their School-Master who is an *Indian*, and teacheth them and their Children to write, and I saw him write also in *English*, who doth it true and very legible, and asked him if it were right, and he said yea, also he read it unto others, and to the man himselfe, who also owned it. To tell you of their industry and ingenuitie in building of an house after the *English* manner, the hewing and squaring of their tymber, the sawing of the boards themselves, and making of a Chimney in it, making of their ground-sells and wall-plates, and mortising, and letting in the studds into

them artificially, there being but one *English* man a Carpenter to shew them, being but two dayes with them, is remarkeable. They have also built a Fort there with halfe trees cleft about eight or ten inches over, about ten or twelve foot high, besides what is intrencht in the ground, which is above a quarter of an acre of ground, as I judge. They have also built a foot bridge over *Charles Rivers*, with Groundsells and Spurres to [p. 35.] uphold it against the strength of the Flood and Ice in Winter; it stood firme last Winter, and I think it will stand many Winters. They have made Drummes of their owne with heads and brases very neatly and artificially, all which shews they are industrious and ingenuous. And they intend to build a Water-Mill the next Summer, as I was told when I was with them. Some of them have learnt to mow grasse very well. I shall no further trouble you with any more Relation at this time concerning them. But a word or two further with your patience concerning other *Indians*. The work of God amongst the *Indians* at *Martins Vineyard*, is very hopefull and prosperous also. I mist of Mr *Mayhew* their Teacher, who was lately at *Boston*, and therefore cannot give you a particular account thereof at this present time; yet I cannot but acquaint you what other motions there are touching other *Indians*. There came to us upon the 20th of this instant Moneth, at the Generall Court one *Pummakummim* Sachem of *Qunnubbágge*, dwelling amongst or neer to the *Narragansets*, who offered himselfe and his Men to worship God, and desired that some *English* may be sent from the *Massachusetts* Government to plant his River, that thereby he may be pertaker of Government, and may be instructed by the *English* to know God. We shall I hope take some care and course about it, and I hope we shall have more help to carry on that work also; For there are some Schollers amongst us who addict themselves to the study of the *Indian* Tongue. The Lord in mercy recompence it into your Bosomes, all that labour of love vouchsafed to the poor *Indians*, which are the hearty prayers, and earnest desire of, much honoured,

Boston the 27th of

the Eight. 1651.

Your loving Friend in all

service of Christ.

John Endecott.

[p. 36.] *The next thing we present the Reader withall, is a private passage from one in New England to his godly Friend here, who was so much affected therewith, as he found out our Treasurer of the Corporation, by name Mr. Richard Floyd at the Meremaide in Cheapside, and desired it might be published to the world amongst other things, when we should publish and print what we received of like nature. And how ever it is but briefe in it selfe, yet full of sweetnesse and plainnesse of spirit which we offer to thy view.*

THe best News I can write you from *New-England* is, the Lord is indeed converting the *Indians*, and for the refreshing of your heart, and the hearts of all the godly with you ; I have sent you the Relation of one *Indian* of two yeares profession, that I took from his owne mouth by an Interpreter, because he cannot speak or understand one word of *English*.

The first Question was ;

Q. How did you come first to any sight of sinne ?

A. His answer was, *Before the Lord did ever bring any English to us, my Conscience was exceedingly troubled for sin, but after Mr. Mayhew came to preach, and had been here some time, one chiefe Sagamore did imbrace the Gospel, and I hearing of him, I went to him, and prayed him to speake something to me concerning God, and the more I did see of God, the more I did see my sinne, and I went away rejoycing, that I knew any thing of God, and also that I saw my sinne.*

Q. I pray what hurt doe you see in sinne ?

A. *Sin, sayth he, is a continuall sicknesse in my heart.*

Q. What further evill doe you see in sinne ?

A. *I see it to be a breach of all Gods Commandements.*

Q. Doe you see any punishment due to man for sinne ?

A. *Yea, sayth he, I see a righteous punishment from God due to man for sinne, which shall be by the Devills in a place like unto fire (not [p. 37.] that I speake of materiall fire, (saith he) where man shall be for ever dying and never dye.*

Q. Have you any hope to escape this punishment ?

A. *While I went on in the way of Indianisme I had no hope, but did verily believe I should goe to that place, but now I have a little hope, and hope I shall have more.*

Q. By what meanes doe you look for any hope ?

A. *Sayth he, by the satisfaction of Christ.*

I prayed the Interpreter, to tell him from mee that I would have him thinke much of the satisfaction of Christ, (and so he told him) I prayed him to returne mee his Answer.

A. *I thanke him kindly for his good Counsell, it doth my heart good, sayd he, to heare any man speake of Christ.*

Q. What would you thinke if the Lord should save you from misery ?

A. *If the Lord, said he, would save me from all the sinne that is in my heart, and from that misery, I should exceedingly love God, and saith he, I should love a man that should doe mee any good, much more the Lord, if he should doe this for mee.*

Q. Doe you thinke that God will doe you any good for any good that is in you ?

A. *Though I beleeeve that God loves man that leaves his sinne, yet I beleeeve it is for Christs sake.*

Q. Doe you see that at any time God doth answer your prayers ?

A. *Yea, sayth he, I take every thing as an Answer of prayer.*

Q. But what speciall answer, have you taken notice of ?

A. *Once my wife being three dayes and three nights in labour, I was resolved never to leave praying till she had deliverance, and at last God did it, and gave her a sonne, and I called his name Returning, because all the while I went on in Indianisme I was going from God, but now the Lord hath brought mee to him backe againe.*

By this time Captaine Gooking came to us, and he asked him this Question :

Q. What he would thinke if he should finde more affliction and trouble in Gods wayes, then he did in the way of Indianisme.

A. *His answer was, when the Lord did first turne me to himselfe [p. 38.] and his wayes, he stripped mee as bare as my skinne, and if the Lord should strip mee as bare as my skinne againe, and so big Saggamore should come to mee, and say, I will give you so big Wampom, so big Beaver, and leave this way, and turne to us againe : I would say, take your riches to your selfe, I would never forsake God and his wayes againe.*

This is a Relation taken by my selfe, *William French.*

The last Letter we offer to the Readers view, is a Letter directed to one of our selves from Mr Thomas Allen, who came lately from New England, and is now settled in the Ministry at Norwitch in Norfolk, wherein he beareth witnes to the reallitie and truth of this worke of the Lord in New England begun upon the Indians ;

against all such that raise up false reports against the same, or such as labour to weaken the same, by lessening the number of such as are wrought upon by the power of the Gospel preached to them.

Honored Sir ;

IT seemes that some of late have been so impudently bold (which I cannot sufficiently wonder at) as to report and publicly affirme, that there was no such thing as the preaching and dispersing of the Gospell amongst the Natives in *New England* : verily Sir, I doe beleieve that the Devill himscelfe (who is the Father of Lyes) would not, yea durst not have uttered such a notorious untruth as that was. Now although I confesse I have not been present at the places where the *Indians* are wont to meete, to heare such as doe preach unto them, by reason of my bodily weakness and indisposition to travell so farre into the Wildernesse, yet thus much I can testifie (if my Testimony may be of any use) being lately come over from *New England* ; that there are divers persons in severall places, who doe take paines, and [p. 39] labour in that Worke there, *viz.* not onely Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, who hath preached among them for many yeares up & downe in the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts* ; and Mr. *Mahew*, who for a good while hath taken paines among the *Indians* at an Island called *Martins Vineyard* ; but of late also Mr. *Leveridge* in the Jurisdiction of *Plymouth*, and Mr. *Blynman* who lives now in a new Plantation in the *Pequotts* Countrey. As for the successe of the preaching of the Gospel unto the Natives, I have heard Mr. *Eliot* affirme, that he is so well perswaded of the Worke of grace in some of them, as that he could comfortably joyne in Church fellowship with them : Mr. *Mahew* also (who came to see mee a little before my coming from thence) told me that after Mr. *Whitfeilds* coming thence (for he had been upon that Island, as he came to the Bay, and was present also with Mr. *Mahew* amongst the *Indians*) there were neer upon one hundred (I think he said Ninety and odd) persons of them more who came in to heare him preach unto them, and some *Pawaws* also, and one of some Eminency amongst them, who did acknowledge his Evill in such doings, and made a Declaration of the manner how he came at first to be a *Pawaw*, the which also Mr. *Mahew* did relate unto mee. Sir, that there is such a work in hand in *New-England* as the preaching of the Gospel unto the Natives there, all the Magistrates and Ministers and people in that place (who know any thing) will be readie to attest, and therefore such as dare af-

firme the contrary, may as well say, that the Sunne doth not shine at Noone day, when the skie is cleere, and doe indeed deserve a Publique Witnesse to be borne against them, for such a Publique, and so notorious an untruth; The good Lord humble them deeply for it, if it be his good will, and pardon it to them through his grace in Christ.

Thus Sir, not having further at this present to be troublesome unto you, desiring an Interest in your earnest prayers for mee, be-seeching the Lord to let his presence and blessing be with you, and upon your great and weighty businesses, I take leave, resting

Norwich 8d. 11m.

Your humble Servant in the Lord,

1 6 5 1 .

Thomas Allen.

[p. 40.] **T***Hus having presented the Christian Reader with a view of those things that God hath brought to our hands, which we of the Corporation conceive our selves bound in duty to publish to the world, looking upon it as one meanes to advance the work in the hearts of Gods people, and to stirre them up thereby to contribute more freely towards the carrying on the same: The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonialls, and shall insert more, is because too many that come from thence labour to blast the worke, by reporting here that there is no such worke afoote in the Countrey: or if it be it is but for the loaves, & if any be truly converted, 'tis not above five or seaven at most? These things as they are very grievous to us to heare, so we take God to witnes, that as we are in sincerity exercised in a great deale of care and travell to carry on the worke: so we publish to the world no more then what we have received, and beleeeve to be really true. And if these testimonies related in the foregoing discourse, be not sufficient to satisfie any still doubting spirit, there are some eminent Gentlemen come from thence, who are ready to resolve*

them in the truth hereof, as Mr Edward Hopkins, late Governour of Connectacutt, Mr Francis Willowby, (and others) a late Magistrate of the Massachusets. Besides if any shall repaire to Coopers Hall, we shall be willing to show them the originall Copies we have received, which we have transcribed for the Presse : the time for any to repaire thither is Saturday every weeke between the houres of ten and twelve in the Morning, where our Corporation sit, and where we shall gladly take paines to satisfie the doubt of any : and thinke nothing too much wherein we may be serviceable to the Lord Jesus in a worke having so much tendency to his glory in the propagation of his Kingdome.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the said Corporation by *William Steele* Esquire, President.

F I N I S .

Tears of Repentance:
Or, A further
Narrative of the Progress of the *Gospel*
Amongst the
INDIANS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND:

Setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry Confessions of sin by diverse of the said *Indians*, wrought upon by the saving Power of the Gospel; Together with the manifestation of their *Faith* and *Hope* in *Jesus Christ*, and the Work of Grace upon their Hearts.

Related by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Mayhew*, two Faithful Laborers in that work of the Lord.

Published by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto

Isay, 42. 3. *A bruised Reed shall he not break, and the smoking Flax, shall he not quench.*

London : Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to [be] Sold
at his Shop, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil,
near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

T O
HIS EXCELLENCY
The Lord General
C R O M W E L .

*W*hat the Jews once said of their Centurion, He loved our Nation, and built us a Synagogue, the same may we affirm upon a more Noble Accompt of Your Lordship, and of those faithful Centurions and Soldiers under Your Conduct; by how much the Adventure of your Lives in the Cause of God, for the Good of your Country, is a more infallible Demonstration of your Love to it: forasmuch as the King of Saints, is also King of Nations, and when he shall be the desire of all Nations, will prove their safest Interest. Upon consideration whereof, it was but equal that Mr. Eliot a faithful Laborer of Christ in spreading the Everlasting Gospel to the poor Indians, should prefix Your Lordships Name to his Relation of the Progress of Divine Grace amongst them: And with his Judgment, We of the Corporation, who are subordinately intrusted, do so far concur, especially moved thereunto by that liberal and Exemplary Contribution to this Glorious Work lately promoted by Your Lordship, and Your Officers with the Army, that we thought not fit either to sever that Narrative, and this of Mr. Mayhew's or to send them abroad under any other Name to the Publick View.

Coopers-Hall, *London*,
March, 26. 1653.

Signed in the Name and by
the Appointment of the
said Corporation, by

William Steel, President.

***To the much Honored Corporation in
London, Chosen to Place of Pub-
lick Trust for the promoting of the
Work of the Lord among the Indians
in NEW-ENGLAND.***

Worthy Sirs,

IT hath not been from any disrespect to your selves, that I have not formerly directed to your Presence, and presented into your Hand, what have already been let go, which made Relation of the Work of God among the *Indians* in this Island (commonly called *Martins Vineyard*) This year there was an opportunity not to be refused, of certifying the Right Worshipful *John Endicot* Esquire, Governor of the *Massachussets* in *New-England* of what I had to communicate concerning the *Indians*, from whose hand also you will receive it; but yet I may not for several causes, neglect the writing to your selves the same things, with more particulars since adjoyned, in the conclusion to accompany the former unto your Pious and Prudent consideration, to which they are committed to be (as I have received them from God) the tokens of more Grace in store to be bestowed on Indian souls.

Highly esteemed in the Lord Jesus,

WHEN the Lord first brought me to these poor *Indians* on the *Vinyard*, they were mighty zealous and earnest in the Worship of False gods and Devils; their False gods were many, both of things in Heaven, Earth, and Sea: And there they had their Men-gods, Women-gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and Fellowships of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongst men, besides innumerable more feigned gods

belonging to many Creatures, to their Corn, and every Colour of it : The Devil also with his Angels had his Kingdom among them, in them ; account him they did the terror of the Living, the god of the Dead, under whose cruel power and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be translated when they died ; for the same word they have for *Devil*, they use also for a *Dead Man*, in their Language : by him they were often hurt in their Bodies, distracted in their Minds, wherefore they had many meetings with their *Pawwaws*, (who usually had a hand in their hurt) to pacify the Devil by their sacrifice, and get deliverance from their evil ; I have sometimes marvelled to see the vehemency of their Spirits, which they acted with no less bodily violence therein. The *Pawwaws* counted their Imps their Preservers, had them treasured up in their bodies, which they brought forth to hurt their enemies, and heal their friends ; who when they had done some notable Cure, would shew the Imp in the palm of his Hand to the Indians who with much amazement looking on it, Deified them, then at all times seeking to them for cure in all sicknesses, and counsel in all cases : This Diabolical way they were in, giving heed to a multitude of Heathen Traditions of their gods, and many other things, under the observation whereof, they with much slavery were held, and abounding with sins, having only an obscure Notion of a god greater than all, which they call *Mannit*, but they knew not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him.

What an entrance I had at first amongst these miserable Heathen, how called thereunto, and what success God blessed us with, hath been in some measure already published, which will I hope through the dew of Gods blessing from Heaven, have such a gracious increase, that the blossoming and budding time shal at least be acknowledged, and by many more God blessed for it, in the growth of the fruit to more maturity ; Since it hath pleased God to send his Word to these poor captivated men (bondslaves to sin and Satan) he hath through

mercy brought two hundred eighty three Indians (not counting yong children in the number) to renounce their false gods, Devils, and Pawwaws, and publicly in set meetings, before many witnesses, have they disclaimed the Divinity of their formerly adored multitude, defied their tyrannical Destroyer the Devil, and utterly refused the help of the Pawwaws in any case; neither have they at any time, either by threatnings or flatteries been drawn thereto, although their lives have been in hazard; yea, eight of their Pawwaws have forsaken their Devilish craft, and profitable trade as they accounted it, for to embrace the Word and Way of God. The Indians which do pray to God, were not compelled thereto by power, neither also could they be allured by gifts, who received nothing for about seven years time, much less that which counterpoise their troubles, and exceed to the drawing of them from the beloved waies of their own Worships: Surely it were great uncharitableness, and derogatory from the glory of God, to think that none of these are truly changed, and that God himself by his Word and Spirit, hath not in mercy prevailed in their hearts against these evils; nay, may we not hope and be perswaded by this, and some other appearances of God amongst them, that some of them are truly turned to God from Idols, to serve the Living and true God? Serve him, through mercy they do in some hopeful Reformations, walking inoffensively and diligently in their way, which I hope will more plainly appear when they are in a way more hopeful (by the blessing of God to their further well-being) which I hope will be in the best time.

I cannot but take notice of this good providence of God by the way, That he hath mercifully preserved all the Indians which call upon his Name (from the beginning of the Work unto this day) from all extraordinary evil, whereby the Devil and Witches use to torment the Bodies and Minds of Men, not one of them or their children (as I know) or have heard have been touched by them in this kind (only a Pawwaw or two, have not been

delivered from his Imps presently after his renouncing of them, but for some time have had the sence of them in his Body with much pain :) The mischief that the Pawwaws and Devils usually do to the common Indian this way, is both by outward and bodily hurt, or inward pain, torture, and distraction of mind, both which I have seen my self: To accomplish the first, the Devil doth abuse the real body of a Serpent, which comes directly towards the man in the house or in the field, looming or having a shadow about him like a man, and do shoot a bone (as they say) into the Indians Body, which sometimes killeth him. An instance whereof I can give, whereby it may the more plainly appear, that it is a great mercy to be delivered therefrom; and it is of a youth, who living with his Parents upon a neck of Land, They did not pray unto *Jehovah*, yet their Neighbours who lived there with them, did; This Youth was hurt after the same manner, and then presently his Parents pulled down the house they lived in, and fled to an Island near by, where I saw the Indian thus hurt in his Thigh, he was grievously tormented, and his Kindred about him mourning, not knowing where to find any comfort, or help, for cure could not be had from their gods or Pawwaws: I then took the opportunity to reason with them about their way, with the best wisdom God gave me, but all in vain, for they would not hear to seek the true God, notwithstanding he had shewn his displeasure so apparently against them for their former refusing of Him, but they still followed on their wonted Serpentine Machinations: The Pawwaws, and their devillish train, with their horrible outcries, hollow bleatings, painful wrestlings, and smiting their own bodies, sought deliverance, but all in vain, for he died miserably. Hereby, and by several other things, I perceive that they are not (in a manner) indifferent, whether they serve their own gods or not, or change them (as some think) for they are naturally like the Heathens of *Chittim* and *Kedar*, which would not change their gods, which yet are no gods; when God blames his people for changing their glory

for that which doth not profit; I hope therefore that it is something of Grace, that many chuse to worship the true God. But touching the former vexing mischiefs, A *Sachem*, and no good friend to the work, could not but acknowledg the blessing of God among the Praying Indians; When I came over (said he) at the further end of the Island, there was a storm (mentioning the afore-said evils, with some more) but when I came to this end I found a calm, the Praying indians were all well, they arose in the morning, Prayed to God, and went about their business, and they are not hurt nor troubled like the other Indians: And the Pawwaws themselves, some of them do say, That they cannot make their power seize on any of them: Questionless they have tried their Skill and Satan hath not been wanting to assist them, who is so unwilling to fall down from his Rule, and to be driven from his old Possessions. A Pawwaw told me, who was of no small note among the Heathen formerly, and also with the best, now he hath forsaken his Pawwawing, That after he had been brought by the Word of God to hate the Devil, and to renounce his Imps (which he did publicly) that yet his Imps remained still in him for some months tormenting of his flesh, and troubling of his mind, that he could never be at rest, either sleeping or waking: At length one time when I went down to keep the farthest Lecture about seven miles off, he asked me some Questions, whereof this was one, *viz.* That if a Pawwaw had his Imps gone from him, what he should have instead of them to preserve him? Whereunto it was Answered, That if he did beleieve in Christ Jesus, he should have the Spirit of Christ dwelling in him, which is a good and a strong Spirit, and will keep him so safe, that all the Devils in Hell, and Pawwaws on Earth, should not be able to do him any hurt; and that if he did set himself against his Imps, by the strength of God they should all flee away like Muskeetoos: He told me, That he did much desire the Lord, it might be so with him. He further said, That ever since that very time God hath in mercy delivered him from them, he is not troubled with

any pain (as formerly) in his Bed, nor dreadful visions of the night, but through the blessing of God, he doth lie down in ease, sleeps quietly, wakes in Peace, and walks in safety, for which he is very glad, and praises God.

This last spring, the Indians of their own accord made a motion to me they might have some way ordered amongst them, as a means whereby they might Walk in good Subjection to the Law of God, wherunto they desired to enter into Covenant; they told me that they were very desirous to have their sins suppressed which God did forbid, and the duties performed, which he hath Commanded in his Word; and thereunto they desired me to inform them, what punishment the Lord did appoint to be inflicted on those which did break any part of his Law, for they were very willing to submit themselves to what the will of the Lord is in this kind. I was not willing on the sudden to draw forth in writing an Answer to their desire, but rather chose to take a longer time of Consideration in a Work of so great Concernment, and refer them to the Word of God, shewing them many places for their information, most whereof they had heard of formerly: They also further desired, That they might have some men Chosen amongst them with my Father and my self, to see that the Indians did walk orderly, and that such might be encouraged, but that those which did not, might be dealt with according to the word of the Lord; I could not but approve and encourage the motion, seeing they spake not as those in *Psal. 2. 3. Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us*, but sought totall subjection and strict obedience to God: yet I told them that it was a matter of great weight, shewing them many things which I thought necessary for them to know, but needless now to relate. A day of fasting and prayer to repent of our sins, and seek the gracious help of our God for Christ Jesus sake, we appointed; and another shortly after to finish the work in: Some of the Indians spake something for their benefit; and about ten or twelve of them prayed, not with any set Form like Children, but like Men indued with a good

measure of the knowledg of God, their own wants and the wants of others, with much affection, and many Spiritual Petitions, savoring of a Heavenly mind ; and so are they streitned in respect of help from man, that it appears the more plainly to be the Dictates of Gods Spirit. A Platform of the Covenant in Answer to their desires, I drew forth the same morning in the Indian Language, which I have here sent in English.

Wee the distressed Indians of the Vineyard (or Nope the Indian name of the Island) That beyond all memory have been without the True God, without a Teacher, and without a Law, the very Servants of Sin and Satan, and without Peace, for God did justly vex us for our sins ; having lately through his mercy heard of the Name of the True God, the Name of his Son Christ Jesus, with the holy Ghost the Comforter, three Persons, but one most Glorious God, whose Name is J E H O V A H : We do praise His Glorious Greatness, and in the sorrow of our hearts, and shame of our faces, we do acknowledg and renounce our great and many sins, that we and our Fathers have lived in, do run unto him for mercy, and pardon for Christ Jesus sake ; and we do this day through the blessing of God upon us, and trusting to his gracious help, give up our selves in this Covenant, Wee, our Wives, and Children, to serve J E H O V A H : And we do this day chuse J E H O V A H to be our God in Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in his Word, our King, our Judg, our Ruler by his Magistrates and Ministers ; to fear God Himself, and to trust in Him alone for Salvation, both of Soul and Body, in this present Life, and the Everlasting Life to come, through his mercy in Christ Jesus our Savior, and Redeemer, and by the might of his Holy Spirit ; to whom with the Father and Son, be all Glory everlasting. Amen.

After I had often read this Covenant and expounded it unto them, they all with free Consent willingly and thankfully joyned therein, and desired *Jehovah* his blessing for Jesus Christ his sake, the Lord be gracious to our beginnings.

Within two or three weeks there came an Indian to me in business, and by the way he told me, that some Indians had lately kept a day of Repentance to humble themselves before God in prayer, and that the word of God which one of them spake unto, for their Instruction, was *Psal. 66. 7. He ruleth by his Power for ever, his eyes behold the nations, let not the rebellious exalt themselves.* I asked him what their end was in keeping such a day? He told me those six things: First, they desired, That God would slay the rebellion of their hearts. Secondly, That they might love God, and one another. Thirdly, That they might withstand the evil words and temptations of wicked men, and not to be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be obedient to the good Words and Commands of their Rulers. Fifthly, That they might have their sins done away by the Redemption of Jesus Christ. And Lastly, That they might walk in Christs way.

Now for the state of things with us, we are by the help of God about to begin a Town that they may Cohabit and carry on things in a Civil and Religious way the better; The praying Indians are constant attenders to the word of the Lord, and some of them (I hope) conscientious seekers after the knowledge of God, and themselves, and not without obtaining (by the grace of God) some saving benefit to their own Souls, which will by his own blessing, in the best time, more plainly appear. About 30. Indian Children are now at School, which began the Eleventh day of the Eleventh month. 1651. they are apt to learn, and more and more are now sending in unto them. The Barbarous Indians, both men and women, do often come on the Lecture dayes, and complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps, and hopes of their own power, seek Subjection to *Jehovah*, to be taught, governed, and saved by him, for Christs sake. The Name of the Lord alone be praised for what is begun; What is further needfull, I earnestly desire may be fervently prayed for, and expected by faith, to be effected and finished

by the gracious hand of God, who have laid the foundation, and will not leave his own works unperfect, which is the comfort of an unworthy Laborer in the Lords Vineyard, and an earnest desirer to be remembred at the Throne of Grace.

Having a little more liberty, I shall certifie you of something more, which I have taken notice of amongst the poor Indians.

I observed that the Indians when they chose their Rulers, made choyce of such as were best approved for their godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and encourage holiness, and since they have been forward upon all occasions, to shew their earnest desire thereof. There was an Indian that was well approved for his Reformation, that was suspected to have told a plain Lye for his Gain; the business was brought to the publick Meeting, and there it was notably sifted with zeal and good affection; but at length the Indian defending himself with great disdain, and hatred of such an evil, proved himself clear, and praised God for it. The same Indian was a little before, very sick, and he told me that when he thought he should die, he did so love God, that he was not unwilling to die, and leave his wife, and children, or any thing else, but that he was only desirous to live for this cause, That he might be more taught by the Word of God, and be helpful to teach the Indians the Way of God.

I have also observed how God is pleased to uphold some of these poor Indians against opposition. I was once down towards the further end of the Island, and lodged at an Indians house, who was accounted a great man among the Islanders, being the friend of a great *Sachem* on the *Mayn*; this *Sachem* is a great Enemy to our Reformation on the Island: At this mans house when I had sate a while, his son being about thirty years old, earnestly desired me in his Language, to relate unto him some of the ancient Stories of God; I then spent a great part of the night (in such discourse as I thought fittest for them) as I usually do when I lodg in their houses,

what he then heard (as he expressed) did much affect him: And shortly after he came and desired to joyn with the praying Indians to serve *Jehovah*, but it was to the great discontentment of the *Sachems* on the *Mayn*, and those Indians about him: News was often brought to him that his life was laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him, they desired him therefore with speed to turn back again; The man came to me once or twice, and I perceived that he was troubled, he asked my counsel about removing his Habitation, yet told me, That if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast, and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he had rather lose his life than keep it on such terms; for (said he) when I look back on my life as it was before I did pray to God, I see it to be wholly naught, and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty waies; but when I look on that way which God doth teach me in his Word, I see it to be wholly good; and do wholly love it. Blessed be God that he is not overcome by these temptations.

The next thing I judg also worthy to be observed, My Father and I were lately talking with an Indian, who had not long before almost lost his life by a wound his Enemies gave him in a secret hidden way, the mark whereof he had upon him and will carry it to his grave: This man understanding of a secret Plot that was to take away his Enemies life, told my Father and I, That he did freely forgive him for the sake of God, and did tell this Plot to us that the mans life might be preserved: This is a singular thing, and who among the Heathen will do so?

I observe also that the Indians themselves do endeavour to propagate the knowledg of God, to the Glory of God and the good of others: I heard an Indian (after I had some discourse with the Indians in the night) ask the *Sachem*, and many others together, how they did like that counsel they heard from the word of God: They answered, very wel; then said he why do you not take

it? why do you not do according to it? He further added, I can tell you why it is, Because you do not see your sins, and because you do love your sins; for as long as it was so with me, I did not care for the Way of God; but when God did shew me my sins, and made me hate them, then I was glad to take Gods Counsel: this I remember he spake, with some other things, with such Gravity and truth, that the *Sachem* and all the company was not able to gain-say.

Myoxeo also lately met with an Indian, which came from the *Mayn* who was of some note among them; I heard that he told them of the great things of God, and of Christ Jesus, the sinfulness and folly of the Indians, the Pardon of sin by Christ, and of a good life; and so were they both affected, that they continued this discourse two half nights, and a day, until their strength was spent: He told him in particular, how a Beleever did live above the world, that he did keep worldly things alwaies at his feet (as he shewed him by a sign) That when they were deminished, or increased, it was neither the cause of his Sorrow, or joy, that he should stoop to regard them, but he stood upright with his heart Heavenward, and his whol desire was after God, and his joy in him. Now Much honored in the Lord, and all that love Christ Jesus in truth, let me prevail with you that we may be presented by you at the Throne of Grace in his worthiness to obtain those blessings, that concerns his Kingdom and Glory; our Comfort and Salvation: And you are, and shall also be, ever humbly so prayed for, by him, who is

From the Vinyard the
22. of October, 1652

Yours obliged, and ever

to be commanded in the

Work of the Lord Jesus

Thomas Mayhew.

**To His Excellency, the Lord General
Cromwel ; Grace, Mercy, and Peace,
be Multiplied.**

Right Honorable

E*Nvy it self cannot deny that the Lord hath raised and improved You in an Eminent manner to overthrow Antichrist, and to accomplish, in part, the Prophecies and Promises of the Churches Deliverance from that Bondage : In all which Service, the Lord hath not only kept Your Honor unstained, but also caused the Lustre of those precious Graces of Humility, Faith, Love of Truth, and Love to the Saints, &c, with which, through His Free Grace, He hath enriched You, to shine forth abundantly, beyond all exception of any that are, or have been Adversaries to Your Proceedings. Now as the design of Christ in these daies is double, namely, First, To overthrow Antichrist by the Wars of the Lamb ; and Secondly, To raise up His own Kingdom in the room of all Earthly Powers which He doth cast down, and to bring all the World subject to be ruled in all things by the Word of His mouth. And as the Lord hath raised and improved You, to accomplish (so far as the Work hath proceeded) the first part of His Design, so I trust that the Lord will yet further improve You, to set upon the accomplishment of the second part of the design of Christ ; not only by endeavoring to put Government into the hands of Saints, which the Lord hath made You eminently careful to do, but also by promoting Scripture Government and Laws, that so the Word of Christ might rule all. In which great Services unto the Name of Christ, I doubt not, but it will be some Comfort to Your heart to see the Kingdom of Christ rising up in these Western Parts of the World ; and some confirmation it will be, that the Lords time is come to advance and spread His Blessed Kingdom, which shall (in his season)*

fill all the Earth : and some incouragement to your heart to prosecute that part of the Design of Christ, namely, That Christ might Reign. Such Considerations, together with the Favorable Respect You have alwaies shewed to poor New-England, hath imboldened me to present unto Your Hand, these first Confessions of that Grace which the Lord hath bestowed upon these poor Natives, and to publish them under the protection of Your Name, begging earnestly the continuance of Your Prayers for the further proceeding of this gracious Work : And so committing your Honor to the Lord, and to the Word of His Grace, and all Your weighty Affairs to His Heavenly Direction, I rest

Your Honors to serve You,
in the service of Christ

J O H N E L I O T.

To the READER.

Christian Reader,

I *Know thy Soul longeth to hear Tydings of Gods grace poured out upon these goings down of the Sun, because the Spirit of God by the Word of Prophesie, useth to raise up and draw forth such actings of Faith, as accord with the accomplishment of those Prophesies, when the time of their accomplishment is come. When Israel was to return from Babylon, the Spirit by the word of Prophesie, raised up such actings of Faith, as were put forth in the exercise of all gifts necessary for the accomplishment thereof. Daniel prayeth. Zerubbabel hath a Spirit of Ruling the peoples affections are loose from their dwellings, and have a Spirit of Traveling. Ezra, Nehemiah, and all the rest of the Worthies of the Lord, are raised at that time to accomplish what is Prophesied. In these times the Prophecies of Antichrist his downfall are accomplishing. And do we not see that the Spirit of the Lord, by the word of Prophesie, hath raised up men, instruments in the Lords hand, to accomplish what is written herein. And the Spirit of Prayer, and expectation of Faith is raised generally in all Saints, by the same word of Prophesie. In like manner the Lord having said, That the Gospel shall spread over all the Earth, even to all the ends of the Earth; and from the rising to the setting Sun; all Nations shall become the Nations, and Kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ. Such words of Prophesie hath the Spirit used to stir up the servants of the Lord to make out after the accomplishment thereof: and hath stirred up a mighty Spirit of Prayer, and expectation of Faith for the Conversion both of the Jewes, (yea all Israel) and of the Gentiles also over all the world. For this Cause I know every beleaving*

neart, awakened by such Scriptures, longeth to hear of the Conversion of our poor Indians, whereby such Prophecies are in part begun to be accomplished. Yea, the Design of Christ being to erect his own Kingdom, in the room of all those Dominions, which he doth, and is about to overturn : You shall see a Spirit by such words of Prophecie poured forth upon the Saints (into whose hands Christ will commit the manageing of his Kingdom on Earth) that shall carry them forth to advance Christ to rule over men in all affairs, by the word of his mouth, and make him their only Law-giver, and supream Judge, and King.

It is a day of small things with us : and that is Gods season to make the single beauty of his humbling Grace, to shine in them, that are the veriest ruines of mankind that are known on earth ; as Mr. Hooker was wont to describe the forlorn condition of these poor Indians. I see evident demonstrations that Gods Spirit by his word hath taught them, because their expressions, both in Prayer, and in the Confessions which I have now published, are far more, and more full, and spiritual, and various, then ever I was able to express unto them ; in that poor broken manner of Teaching which I have used among them. Their turning doctrins into their own experience, which you may observe in their Confessions, doth also demonstrate the Teachings of Gods Spirit, whose first special work is Application. Their different Gifts likewise, is a thing observable in their Confessions, wherein it is not to be expected that they should be all Eminent, it is not so in any Society of men ; but in that there be some among them that are more eminent, it is a sign of Gods favor, who is raising up among themselves, such as shall be his instruments to conveigh a blessing unto the rest. Their frequent phrase of Praying to God, is not to be understood of that Ordinance and Duty of Prayer only, but of all Religion, and comprehendeth the same meaning, with them, as the word [Religion] doth with us : And it is observable, because it seemeth to me, That the Lord will make them a Praying people : and indeed, there is a great Spirit of Prayer poured out upon them, to my wonderment ; and you may easily apprehend, That they who

are assisted to express such Confessions before men, are not without a good measure of enlargement of Spirit before the Lord.

The points of Doctrine that are here and there dropped in their Confessions, may suffice at present for a little taste to the Godly discerning Saints, That they are in some measure instructed in the chief points of Salvation, though there be no Doctrinal Confession on purpose set down to declare what they have learned, and do beleve.

If any should conceive that that word which they so often use [I thought, or I think] should need explication, as a godly Brother did intimate to me on the Fast day, let this suffice, That it is to be Construed by the present Matter: For sometimes it is a thought of Faith; sometime of fear: sometime of Unbelief; sometime of Carnal Reason; and sometime of Ignorance.

Lastly, It is plainly to be observed, That one end of Gods sending so many Saints to NEW-ENGLAND, was the Conversion of these Indians. For the Godly Counsels, and Examples they have had in all our Christian Families, have been of great use, both to prepare them for the Gospel, and also to further the Lords work in them, as you may evidently discern in most of their Confessions.

Beloved Reader, I have no more to say as necessary to Prepare for the following Matter, only to beg, yea earnestly to beg the continuance of all your Prayers; by the power whereof (through the Grace and Intercession of Christ) I beleve this wheele of Conversion of these Indians, is turned: and my Heart hath been alwayes thereby encouraged to follow on to do that poor little I can, to help forward this blessed Work of Spreading and Exalting the Kingdom of our dear Savior Jesus Christ, under the direction and protection of whose Word and Grace, by Faith committing you; I rest,

Your unworthy Brother,

in our dear Savior,

JOHN ELIOT.

To the Christian Reader.

THE Amplitude and large extent of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ upon Earth, when *the Heathen shall be his Inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth his Possession; and when all Kings shall fall down unto him, and all Nations do him service, all contrary Kingdoms and Powers being broken in pieces and destroyed*, is a thing plainly and plentifully foretold and promised in the Holy Scriptures; *Psal. 2. 8. and 22. 27. and 72. 11. and 86. 9. Dan. 2. 35. 44, 45. and 7. 26, 27. Zech. 14. 9.* And although as yet our Eyes have never seen it so, nor our Fathers afore us, many Nations and People having hitherto been overspread, and overwhelmed in Pagan Blindness and Ignorance, having scarce ever heard of Christ, or of His Name; and many others that in some sort have heard of Him, having no more Grace but to make and maintain Opposition against Him, and against His Kingdom, some more professedly, and others more covertly and under fairer pretence, as in the great Dominions of the *Turk*, and of the *Pope*, is apparent; yet *the time is coming, when things shall not thus continue but be greatly changed and altered, because the Lord hath spoken this Word, and it cannot be that his Word should not take effect*: And if the Lord have spoken it, his People have good ground and reason to beleeve it, and to say as the holy Apostle in another case, *I beleeve God that it shall be even as it was told me, Act. 27. 25.* Yea, to beleeve it and wait for it, as for that which in Gods appointed and due time shall surely come to pass, and not fail, as *Hab. 2. 3.* And not only so, but heartily to desire it, and fervently to pray for it, as a thing wherein the Glo-

ry of God, and of Jesus Christ is not a little concerned and interested; for if the multitude of People be the Kings Honor, *Prov.* 14. 28. it must needs be the Honor of Christ Jesus the King of *Sion*, when multitudes of People do submit unto Him as to their King; and therefore it should be earnestly craved of God by all his Saints in their Prayers, that so it may be, according as the Sanctifying of Gods Name, and the coming of his Kingdom are the two first Petitions in that Rule and Pattern of Prayer commanded and taught by our Savior to his Disciples, *Matth.* 6. 9, 10. And no man needs to doubt but that those things which are matter for Faith and Prayer to be exercised about their accomplishment, are matters of Thanksgiving when once they come to pass.

Which being so, the godly Christian, who shall read or hear this ensuing Relation concerning the workings of Gods Grace towards these Indians in *New-England*, and the Confessions of sundry amongst them, will, I doubt not, see abundant cause of thanksgiving to the Lord therein. For hereby it will appear, That the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus which every faithful soul, doth so much desire to see enlarged, is now beginning to be set up where it never was before, even amongst a poor people, forlorn kind of Creatures in times past, who have been without Christ, and without God in the world, they and their Fathers, for I know not how many Generations; yea, so far from knowing and acknowledging God in Christ, that they have been little better than the beasts that perish. But now they that were far off, the Lord is at work to make them neer unto himself by the blood of Jesus, as *Eph.* 2. 13. that they which in time past were not a People, might ere long become the People of God; and they be called Beloved, which were not Beloved; and in the place where it was said unto them, *Ye are not my People*, that there ere long, they might be called, *The Children of the Living God*, as *1 Pet.* 2. 10. *Rom.* 9. 25, 26. which is the Lords doing, and it ought to be marvelous in our eyes. And the truth is, there are many marvels in it; marvelous free-grace, and riches

thereof, to look upon a People so wretched and unworthy; yea, it were marvelous Grace so much as once to offer the Salvation of God in Christ to any such as they are, being not only the poor and maimed, halt and blind, but also, as it is in *Luk.* 14. 21. ranging and roving in the High-waies, and Hedges; and yet behold, even these are not only invited, but their hearts inclined to come in. Marvelous Wisdom and Power is in it also that of matter so rugged, and unlikely the Lord should ever frame and fashion any gracious and holy building to Himself, which I hope he is now a doing. And to say no more, His marvelous Sovereignty and Liberty is therein to be observed also, who till now of late hath seen meet never to look after this People, but hath suffered them all this while to walk in their own waies, waies of Sin, and waies of Death: yea, and though there hath been Plantations of the English in the Country now 20. years and more, yea, some matter of 30. years or thereabout, yet of all this time (except some little workings in a few) no considerable work of Grace hath appeared amongst the Indians till now of late; so true is that saying, *The times and seasons, the Father hath put them in his own Power, Act.* 1. 7.

If any shall say, Oh but, we are doubtful whether any sound and saving work be yet wrought in them or no: Such an one I would wish seriously to weigh and consider the ensuing Confessions, and then perhaps he will be better satisfied touching this Point; for there he shall find many expressions savoring of their clear sight and sence of sin, and that not only of gross and external sins, but also of such as are more inward in the Heart and Soul: Also he shall find expressions tending to shew their expecting all righteousness and salvation by Christ alone. Now considering how the Work of the Spirit of God is said by Christ Himself to consist in great part in convincing of sin, and of righteousness; of sin in mens selves, and of righteousness in Christ, *Joh.* 16. 9. And considering also, how the least beginnings of Grace are accepted of him that would not break the bruised Reed,

nor quench the smoaking Flax, *Matth.* 12. 20. And lastly, considering how it were not reasonable to expect such ripeness in these people, as might be expected and found in others, who have had more time and means, and better help and breeding than these have had: If these things I say be considered, it may be an Inducement to hope the best in charity concerning the Work of Grace in their Souls, as Charity hopeth all things, beleeveth all things, 1 *Cor.* 13. But thus much at the least I conceive is cleer, and cannot be denied that since the Word of God hath been taught and preached among them, the Spirit of the Lord hath been working thereby in the hearts of many of them such Illumination, such Conviction, &c, as may justly be looked at (if not as a full and through Conversion, yet) as an hopeful beginning and preparation thereto, if the Lord be pleased to go on with what he hath begun, as I hope he will. And if there were no more but only a hopeful beginning, and preparative to Conversion, yet even this were matter of much comfort to the Saints, and of thanksgiving to the Lord; as it was in *Israel* at the building of the Temple, when no more was yet done, but only the foundation laid, *Ezr.* 3. 10, 11. yet even then they sung for joy, giving praise and thanksgiving to the Lord: How much more should it be so, if the Work of Regeneration be already truly wrought in any of them, as I hope it is in sundry; In such case, how ever it be with men on Earth, sure there is joy in Heaven amongst the Angels of God, when there is so much as one sinner that is truly brought home to God by Repentance, *Luke* 15. 7. 10.

But how shall we know that the Confessions here related, being spoken in their Tongue, were indeed uttered by them in such words, as have the same signification and meaning with these that are here expressed, for we have only the testimony of one man to assure us of it? It is true, we have only the testimony of one man for it; but yet it is such an one, as is unwillingly alone in this matter, having seriously endeavored to have had divers other Interpreters present at *Natick* that day, but could

not obtain what he did desire and endeavor herein ; a man whose pious and painful labors amongst this People have rendred him approved and highly honored in the eyes of his Brethren about him, for indefatigable diligence, and earnest love to the Lord Jesus, and their poor souls ; a man whose integrity and faithfulness is so well known in these Parts, as giveth sufficient satisfaction to beleev that he would not wittingly utter a falshood in any matter whatever, and much less so many falshoods, & that in such a publick manner, in the view of God & the World, as he must needs have done if he have coyned these Confessions of his own head, and have not to his best understanding truly related them in our Tongue, according as they were uttered by them in theirs.

If any shall then ask, If there be such a Work of God amongst them, Why were they not combined and united into Church-Estate, when there was that great Assembly at *Natick*, on the thirteenth of *Octob.* last ? Such an one may do well to consider, that the material Temple was many yeers in building, even in the daies of *Solomon*, who wanted no helps and furtherances thereunto, but was abundantly furnished therewith, and longer in Redifying after the Captivity ; and therefore no marvel if the building of a Spiritual Temple, an holy Church to Christ, and a Church out of such rubbish as amongst Indians, be not begun and ended on a sudden ; It is rather to be wondered at, that in so short a time, the thing is in so much forwardness as it is. Besides, It is a greater matter to have Indians accepted and owned as a Church amongst themselves, and so to be invested with all Church-power as a Church, when yet they are not furnished with any to be an able Pastor and Elder over them, by whom they might be directed and guided in all the Affairs of the Church, and Administrations of the House of God : this I conceive is a far greater matter than the admitting of them as Members into any Church or Churches of the English already so furnished ; which latter (for ought I know) might speedily be done, and with much satisfaction, if it were suitable in regard of

their different Language, and the remoteness of their Habitations, whereas to the former there seems to be a great necessity, or expediency at the least, that they should first be provided of some to be afterward set over them in the Lord. Even amongst the English, when any company amongst us have united themselves into Church-Estate, it hath been usual that they have had one or other amongst them upon whom their eyes have been set, as intending them to be Pastors or Teachers to them; afterward, when once they should be combined as a Church, and where it hath so been, they have found the Comfort and benefit of it; whereas those few that have proceeded otherwise, have found trouble and inconvenience therein. And if it be so amongst the English, who usually have better abilities, how much more amongst the Indians, whose knowledg and parts must needs be far less? Not to insist upon the Rehearsal of those two Reasons mentioned by the Reverend Author of this Relation, *viz.* The shortness of the time to furnish the Work that day, and the want of Interpreters, of whom there was not any present but himself. Concerning which Reasons, I can freely ad my testimony, that those two were the principal, if not the only Reasons which that day were insisted on, and publickly rendred for deferring the Inchurching of them to another time.

It may be some have thought, and I hear some have spoken little less, That this whol business of the Indians of which there have been so many speeches in Old *England* and New, is but a devise and design to get money, and that there is indeed no such matter as any Work of Gods grace amongst that People. But if there were any truth in this saying or Surmise, I marvel why the Magistrates and Elders then present at *Nutick*, did upon the reasons rendred, advise the deferring of the inchurching of the Indians that day, and why they did not rather hasten forward the Work without any more ado, or longer delay. For the report of a Church of Indians would in all likelihood have more prevailed for the end alledged, than all that hath been reported hitherto. But our attend-

ing in this business to the Honor of Jesus Christ, and the good of these poor peoples souls, and so to that which Rule and right Reason required, rather than to what might seem conducive for worldly advantage, may be a sufficient witness of our sincerity, contrary to the conceit and surmise afore mentioned, and a sufficient confutation of it. And yet though they be not combined into Church-Estate, there is so much of Gods Work amongst them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness for any to make light or nothing of it. To see and to hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and their eyes in solemn Prayer to the Living God, calling on him by his Name *JEHOVAH*, in the Mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see them and hear them confessing the Name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness, sure this is more than usual. And though they spake in a language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, we saw them, and we heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with much good affection, and holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts. Nor is it credible to me, nor for ought I know to any that was present that day, that in these things they were acted and led by that Spirit which is wont to breath amongst Indians, the Spirit of Satan or of corrupt Nature, but that herein they had with them another Spirit.

But if there be any work of Grace amongst them, it would surely bring forth, and be accompanied with the Reformation of their disordered lives, as in other things, so in their neglect of Labor, and their living in idleness and pleasure. I confess the Allegation is weighty, and I deny not but some sober and godly persons, who do heartily wish well to this work, have been as much trou-

bled in their minds touching this particular as any that I know of. But yet something may be said in answer thereto, & chiefly this, That since the Word of God came amongst them, and that they have attended thereto, they have more applied themselves unto Labor then formerly: For evidence whereof, appeal may be made to what was seen at *Natick* that day, and is still to be seen in that place, I mean the Grounds that they have fenced in, and clawed and broken up, and especially their capacious Meeting-house, the Dimensions whereof are expressed in the Relation: little did I think when I saw that Fabrick, but that some English Carpenter or other had had the chief hand in the framing and erecting of it; and that more hands than Indians, yea, and more English than one had been employed about it. But now understanding that the Indians alone were the Builders of it, it is a good testimony to me both of their industry, and likewise of their Skill; for where these are utterly wanting, yea, where there is not some good measure of them, such a Building I conceive could never be raised. It is true, that considering the manner of their bringing up, being little accustomed to labor, but the contrary, it is not much to be marveled if they be not comparable therein to some English, who from their Child-hood have been trained up thereto; yet we see they are coming to it, and I hope will fall to it more and more; let all that love their souls, pray for them that they may, yea, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ pray for them, that the Work of God may still prosper amongst them, that many more of them may be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and that being converted they may be preserved in Christ, and be built up in him to further growth and perfection, from day to day. And let unfeigned thanksgiving be rendred to the Lord by his Saints for all that is already wrought amongst them: And Oh, let the English take heed, both in our dear Native Country, and here, lest for our unthankfulness, and many other sins, the Lord should take the Gospel from us, and bestow our mercy therein upon them as upon a Nation that would yeeld the fruits thereof in

better sort than many of us have done. The sins of the Jewish Nation to whom the Gospel was first preached provoked God to take his Kingdom from them, and to call in the Gentils : yet it appeareth by *Rom.* 11. 11. 14. 31. that this mercy vouchsafed to the Gentiles, shall in time provoke the Jews to an holy Jealousie, and Emulation, to look after that mercy again that once they refused, that so through the mercy bestowed on the Gentiles, they (I mean the Jews) might at last again obtain mercy. Happy were the English if we could yeeld the fruits of Gods Gospel, that it might not be taken from us ; and happy also if the mercy coming to these Indians (though not yet taken from us) might provoke us so to do, that so the Kingdom of God, the Gospel of Salvation, being not taken from us, and given to them, but though given to them, yet might still continue with us, and with our Posterity from Generation to Generation.

Dorchester in New-England
this 13th of 10^{ber} 1652.

RICH. MATHER.

[p.1] ***A brief Relation of the Proceedings***
of the Lords Work among the INDIANS, in reference
unto their Church-Estate ; The Reasons of the not ac-
complishing therof at present : With some of their Con-
fessions ; whereby it may be discerned in some measure
how far the Lord has prepared among them fit Matter
for a CHURCH.

THese *Indians* (the better and wiser sort of them) have for some years inquired after Church-Estate, Baptism, and the rest of the Ordinances of God, in the observation whereof they see the Godly English to walk. I have from time to time, delayed them upon this point, That until they were come up unto Civil Cohabitation, Government, and Labor, which a fixed condition of life will put them upon, they were not so capable to be betruſted with that Treasure of Chriſt, leſt they ſhould ſcandalize the ſame, and make it of none effect, becauſe if any ſhould through temptation, fall under Censure, he could eaſily run away (as ſome have done) and would be tempted ſo to do, unleſs he were fixed in an Habitation, and had ſome means of livelihood to loſe, and leave behind him : ſuch Reasons have ſatisfied them hitherto. But now being come under Civil Order, and fixing themſelves in Habitations, and bending themſelves to labor, as doth appear by their works of Fencings, Buildings &c. and eſpecially [p.2] in building without any English Workmans help, or direction a very ſufficient Meeting-Houſe, of fifty foot long twenty five foot broad, neer twelve foot high betwixt the joints, wel ſawen and framed (which is a ſpecimen, not only of their ſingular ingenuity, and dexterity, but alſo of ſome induſtry) I ſay this being ſo, now my argument of delaying them from entering into Church-Eſtate, was taken away. Therefore in way of preparation of them thereunto, I did this Summer call forth ſundry of them in the dayes of our publick Aſſemblies in Gods Worſhip ; ſometimes on the Sabbath when I could be with them, and ſometimes on Lecture daies, to make confeſſion

before the Lord of their former sins, and of their present knowledge of Christ, and experience of his Grace ; which they solemnly doing, I wrote down their Confessions : which having done, and being in my own heart hopeful that there was among them fit matter for a Church, I did request all the Elders about us to hear them reade, that so they might give me advice what to do in this great, and solemn business ; which being done on a day appointed for the purpose, it pleased God to give their Confessions such acceptance in their hearts, as that they saw nothing to hinder their proceeding, to try how the Lord would appear therein. Whereupon, after a day of Fasting and Prayer among our selves, to seek the Lord in that behalf, there was another day of Fasting and Prayer appointed, and publick notice thereof, and of the names of Indians were to confess, and enter into Covenant that day, was given to all the Churches about us, to seek the Lord yet further herein, and to make solemn Confessions of Christ his Truth and Grace, and further to try whether the Lord would vouchsafe such grace unto them, as to give them acceptance among the Saints, into the fellowship of Church-Estate, and enjoyment of those Ordinances which the Lord hath betruſted his Churches withal. That day was the thirteenth of the eighth month.

When the Assembly was met, the first part of the day was spent in Prayers unto God, and exercise in the Word of God ; in which my self firſt ; and after that two of the Indians did Exercise ; and so the time was spent till after ten or near[p.3] eleven of the clock. Then addressing our selves unto the further work of the day, I first requested the reverend Elders (many being present) that they would ask them Questions touching the fundamental Points of Religion, that thereby they might have some tryal of their knowledg, and better that way, than if them selves should of themselves declare what they beleieve, or than if I should ask them Questions in these matters : After a little conference hereabout, it was concluded, That they should first make confession of their experience in the Lords Work upon their hearts, because in so doing, it is like something will be discerned of their knowledg in the Doctrines of Religion : and if after those Confessions there should yet be cause to inquire further touching any Point of Religion it might be fitly done at last. Whereupon we so proceeded, and called them forth in order to make confession. It was moved in the Assembly by Reverend Mr. *Wilson*, that their former Confessions also, as well as these which they made at present, might be read unto the Assembly, because it was evident that they were daunted much, to speak before so great and grave an Assembly as that was, but time did not permit it so to be then : yet now in my writing of their Confessions I will take that course, that so it may appear what encouragement there was to proceed so far as we did ; and that such as may reade these their Confessions, may the better discern of the reality of the Grace of Christ in them.

[p. 4.] *The first which was called forth is named Tother-swamp, whose former Confession read before the Elders, was as followeth:*

BEfore I prayed unto God, the English, when I came unto their houses, often said unto me, Pray to God; but I having many friends who loved me, and I loved them, and they cared not for praying to God, and therefore I did not: But I thought in my heart, that if my friends should die, and I live, I then would pray to God; soon after, God so wrought, that they did almost all die, few of them left; and then my heart feared, and I thought, that now I will pray unto God, and yet I was ashamed to pray; and if I eat and did not pray, I was ashamed of that also; so that I had a double shame upon me: Then you came unto us, and taught us, and said unto us, *Pray unto God*; and after that, my heart grew strong, and I was no more ashamed to pray, but I did take up praying to God; yet at first I did not think of God and eternal Life, but only that the English should love me and I loved them: But after I came to learn what sin was, by the Commandements of God, and then I saw all my sins, lust, gaming, &c. (he named more.) You taught, That Christ knoweth all our hearts, and seeth what is in them, if humility, or anger, or evil thoughts, Christ seeth all that is in the heart; then my heart feared greatly, because God was angry for all my sins; yea, now my heart is full of evil thoughts, and my heart runs away from God, therefore my heart feareth and mourneth. Every day I see sin in my heart; one man brought sin into the World, and I am full of that sin, and I break Gods Word every day. I see I deserve not pardon, for the first mans sinning; I can do no good, for I am like the Devil, nothing but evil thoughts, and words, and works. I have lost all likeness to God, and goodness, and therefore [p.5.] every day I sin against God, and I deserve death and damnation: The first man brought sin first, and I do every day ad to that sin, more sins; but Christ hath done for us all righteousness, and died for us because of our sins, and Christ teacheth us, That if we cast away our sins, and trust in Christ, then God will pardon all our sins; this I beleieve Christ hath done, I can do no righteousness, but Christ hath done it for me; this I beleieve, and therefore I do hope for pardon. When I first heard the Commandements, I then took up praying to God and cast off sin. Again, When I heard, and unerstood Redemption by Christ, then I beleived Jesus Christ to take away my sins: every Commandement taught me sin, and my duty to God. When you ask me why do I

love God? I answer, Because he giveth me all outward blessings, as food, clothing, children, all gifts of strength, speech, hearing; especially that he giveth us a Minister to teach us, and giveth us Government; and my heart feareth lest Government should reprove me; but the greatest mercy of all is Christ, to give us pardon and life.

Totherswamp

The Confession which he made on the Fast day before the great Assembly, was as followeth :

I Confess in the presence of the Lord, before I prayed, many were my sins, not one good word did I speak, not one good thought did I think, not one good action did I doe : I did act all sins, and full was my heart of evil thoughts; when the English did tell me of God, I cared not for it, I thought it enough if they loved me : I had many friends that loved me, and I thought if they died I would pray to God : and afterward it so came to pass; then was my heart ashamed, to pray I was ashamed, & if I prayed not, I was ashamed; a double shame was [p. 6.] upon me : when God by you taught us, very much ashamed was my heart; then you taught us that Christ knoweth all our harts : therefore truly he saw my thoughts, and I had thought, if my kindred should die I would pray to God; therefore they dying, I must now pray to God : and therefore my heart feared, for I thought Christ knew my thoughts : then I heard you teach, *The first man God made was named Adam, & God made a Covenant with him, Do and live, thou and thy Children; if thou do not thou must die, thou and thy Children* : And we are Children of *Adam* poor sinners, therefore we all have sinned, for we have broke Gods Covenant, therefore evil is my heart, therefore God is very angry with me, we sin against him every day; but this great mercy God hath given us, he hath given us his only Son, and promiseth, That whosoever beleeveth in Christ shall be saved : for Christ hath dyed for us in our stead, for our sins, and he hath done for us all the words of God, for I can do no good act, only Christ can, and only Christ hath done all for us; Christ have deserved pardon for us, and risen again, he hath ascended to God, and doth ever pray for us; therefore all Beleevers Souls shall goe to Heaven to Christ. But when I heard that word of Christ, Christ said *Repent and Beleeve*, and Christ seeth *who Repenteth*, then I said, dark and weak is my Soul, and I am one in darkness, I am a very sinful man, and now I pray to Christ for life. Hearing you teach that Word that the Scribes and Pharisees said *Why do thy Disciples break the Tradition of the Fathers?* Christ answered, *Why do ye make void the Commandements of God?* Then my

heart feared that I do so, when I teach the Indians, because I cannot teach them right, and thereby make the word of God vain. Again, Christ said *If the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch*; Therefore I feared that I am one blind, and when I teach other Indians I shal caus them to fall into the ditch. This is the love of God to me, that he giveth me all mercy in this world, and for them al I am thankfull; but I confess I deserve Hell; I cannot deliver my self, but I give my Soul and my Flesh to Christ, and I trust my soul with him for he is my Redeemer, and I desire to call upon him while I live.

[p. 7.] This was his Confession which ended, Mr. *Allin* further demanded of him this Question, How he found his heart, now in the matter of Repentance

His answer was; I am ashamed of all my sins, my heart is broken for them and melteth in me, I am angry with my self for my sins, and I pray to Christ to take away my sins, and I desire that they may be pardoned.

But it was desired that further Question might be forborn, lest time would be wanting to here them all speak.

Then Waban was called forth whose Confession was as followeth; no former confession of his being read unto the Elders.

BEfore I heard of God, and before the English came into this Country, many evil things my heart did work, many thoughts I had in my heart; I wished for riches, I wished to be a witch, I wished to be a Sachem; and many such other evils were in my heart: Then when the English came, still my heart did the same things; when the English taught me of God (I coming to their Houses) I would go out of their doors, and many years I knew nothing; when the English taught me I was angry with them: But a little while agoe after the great sickness, I considered what the English do; and I had some desire to do as they do; and after that I began to work as they work; and then I wondered how the English come to be so strong to labor; then I thought I shall quickly die, and I feared lest I should die before I prayed to God; then I thought, if I prayed to God in our Language, whether could God understand my prayers in our Language; therefore I did ask Mr. *Jackson*, and Mr. *Mahu*, If God understood prayers in our Language? They answered me God doth understand all Languages in the World. But I do not [p. 8.] know how to confess, and little do I know of Christ; I fear I shall not beleieve a great while, and very slowly; I do not know what grace is in my

heart, there is but little good in me ; but this I know, That Christ hath kept all Gods Commandements for us, and that Christ doth know all our hearts ; and now I desire to repent of all my sins : I neither have done, nor can do the Commandements of the Lord, but I am ashamed of all I do, and I do repent of all my sins, even of all that I do know of : I desire that I may be converted from all my sins, and that I might beleve in Christ, and I desire him ; I dislike my sins, yet I do not truly pray to God in my heart : no matter for good words, all is the true heart ; and this day I do not so much desire good words, as throughly to open my heart : I confess I can do nothing, but deserve damnation ; only Christ can help me and do for me. But I have nothing to say for my self that is good ; I judg that I am a sinner, and cannot repent, but Christ hath deserved pardon for us.

This Confession being not so satisfactory as was desired, Mr. *Wilson* testified, that he spake these latter expressions with tears, which I observed not, because I attended to writing ; but I gave this testimony of him, That his conversation was without offence to the English, so far as I knew, and among the Indians it was exemplar : his gift is not so much in expressing himself this way, but in other respects useful and eminent ; it being demanded in what respects, I answered to this purpose, That his gift lay in Ruling, Judging of Cases, wherein he is patient, constant, and prudent, insomuch that he is much respected among them, for they have chosen him a Ruler of Fifty, and he Ruleth well according to his measure. It was further said, they thought he had been a great drawer on to Religion ; I replied, so he was in his way, and did prevail with many ; and so it rested.

[p.9.] *The next that was called, was William of Sudbury, his Indian Name is Nataôus, his former Confession read before the Elders, was as followeth :*

I Confess that before I prayed, I committed all manner of sins, and I served many gods : when the English came first, I going to their houses, they spake to me of your God, but when I heard of God, my heart hated it ; but when they said the Devil was my god, I was angry, because I was proud : when I came to their houses I hated to hear of God, I loved lust in my own house and not God, I loved to pray to many gods. Five years ago, I going to English houses, and they speaking of God, I did a little like of it, yet when I went again to my own house, I did all manner of sins, and in my heart I did act allsins though I would not be seen by man. Then going to your

house, I more desired to hear of God ; and my heart said, I will pray to God so long as I live : then I went to the Minister Mr. *Browns* house, and told him I would pray as long as I lived : but he said I did not say it from my heart, and I beleeve it. When *Waban* spake to me that I should pray to God, I did so. But I had greatly sinned against God, and had not beleeved the Word but was proud : but then I was angry with my self, and loathed my self, and thought God will not forgive me my sins. For when I had been abroad in the woods I would be very angry, and would lye unto men, and I could not find the way how to be a good man : then I beleeved your teaching, That when good men die, the Angels carry their souls to God ; but evil men dying, they go to Hell, and perish for ever. I thought this a true saying, and I promised to God, to pray to God as long as I live. I had a little grief in my heart five years ago for my sins : but many were my [p.10.] prides ; sometime I was angry with my self, and pityed my self ; but I thought God would not pardon such a proud heart as mine is : I beleeve that Christ would have me to forsake my anger ; I beleeve that Christ hath redeemed us, and I am glad to hear those words of God ; and I desire that I might do al the good waies of God, and that I might truly pray unto God : I do now want Graces, and these Christ only teacheth us, and only Christ hath wrought our redemption, and he procureth our pardon for all our sins ; and I beleeve that when beleevers dy, Gods Angels carry them to Heaven ; but I want faith to beleeve the Word of God, and to open my Eyes, and to help me to cast away all sins ; and Christ hath deserved for me eternall life : I have deserved nothing my self ; Christ hath deserved, all, and giveth me faith to beleeve it.

William of Sudbury :

His Indian Name is

N A T A Ô U S.

The Confession which he made on the fast day before the great Assembly was as followeth.

BEfore I prayed to God I committed all sins ; and serving many gods. I much despised praying unto God, for I beleeved the Devil, and he did dayly teach me to sin, and I did them : sometimes hearing of God my heart did hate it, and went to my own house, because I did love to commit all sin there. About Six years ago a little I liked to hear of God, and yet I hated that which was good : hearing that *Cutshamoquin* prayed, then I thought I will pray also : a year after, I heard of praying to God, and I went to Mr. *Browns*

house and told him I will pray to God as long as live ; he said, I doubt of it, and bid me cut off my hair, and I did so presently ; and then I desired to be like God, and Jesus Christ, and to call [p.11] on him, but I found it very hard to beleve ; yet I thought, I will pray as long as I live. Hearing that Word, That Christ dyed for us, was buried & rose again, and hearing of that Word also, Seek peace & imbrace the Word : then I began to beleve that Christ died for us, for sin ; and I saw my heart very full of sin. And hearing that word, That Christ went to the Mount *Olivet*, and ascended, I beleved and thought, Oh that God would pardon me ; but I fear he will not, because I have been so long time a sinner. Sometime I am angry with my self, for my many Evil thoughts in my heart ; and to this day I want grace, and cannot confess, because I have been so great a sinner : and this day I confess, a little I pray, and that I can pray but a little and weakly. When I heard that word of God, That all from the rising to the setting Sun shall pray I first understood it not, and wondered how it should be : after I saw that when they beleve and obey God, then he will teach them to do right things, and God will teach us to do all things for God, sleeping and waking to be with God. But still do foolishly and not according to my prayer : I cannot get pardon of my sins, for my sins are great in thought, word, and deed : and no man can cast off his own sins, but that is the work of Christ only to work it in us ; a man cannot make a right prayer but when Christ assisteth him ; then we shall do all things well. I beleve that Christ is God, and the Son of God because when he dyed, he rose again, and he dyed for our sins ; and I beleve he is in Heaven and ever prayeth for us, and sendeth his gospel unto us : and I am angry with my self, because I do not beleve the word of God, and gospel of Jesus Christ.

[p. 12.] *The next which was called forth was Monequasun, who is our Schoolmaster ; whose former Confession, read before the Elders, was as followeth.*

I Confess my sorrow for all my sins against God, and before men : When I first heard instruction, I beleved not, but laughed at it, and scorned praying to God ; afterward, when we were taught at *Cohannet* (that is the place where he lived) I still hated praying, and I did think of running away, because I cared not for praying to God ; but afterwards, because I loved to dwell at that place, I would not leave the place, and therefore I thought I will pray to God, because I would still stay at that place, therefore I prayed not for the love of God, but for love of the place I lived in ; after that I desired a

little to learn the Catechisme on the Lecture daies, and I did learn the ten Commandements, and after that, all the points in the Catechisme; yet afterwards I cast them all away again, then was my heart filled with folly, and my sins great sins, afterwards by hearing, I began to fear, because of my many sins, lest the wise men should come to know them, and punish me for them; and then again I thought of running away because of my many sins: But after that I thought I would pray rightly to God, and cast away my sins; then I saw my hypocrisy, because I did ask some questions, but did not do that which I knew: afterward I considered of my question, and thought I would pray to God, and would consider of some other Question, and I asked this, Question, *How should I get Wisdom?* and the Answer to it did a little turn my heart from sin, to seek after God; and I then considered that the Word of God was good; then I prayed [p. 13] to God because of the Word of God. The next Lecture day you taught that word of God, *If any man lack Wisdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth freely to them that ask him, and upbraideth no man, James, 1. 5.* Then again a little my heart was turned after God, the Word also said, *Repent, mourn, and beleeve in Jesus Christ:* this also helped me on. Then you taught, *That he that beleeveeth not Christ, and repenteth not of sin, they are foolish and wicked; and because they beleeve not, they shall perish:* then I thought my self a fool, because I beleeved not Christ, but sinned every day, and after I heard the Word greatly broke the Word. But afterward I heard this promise of God *Who ever repenteth and beleeveeth in Christ, God will forgive him all his sins, he shall not perish;* then I thought, that as yet, I do not repent, and beleeve in Christ: then I prayed to God, because of this his Promise; and then I prayed to God, for God and for Christ his sake: after that again I did a little break the Word of Christ. And then I heard some other words of God, which shewed me my sins, and my breakings of Gods word; and sometimes I thought God and Christ would forgive me, because of the promise to them that beleeve in Christ, and repent of sin, I thought I did that which God spake in the Promise. Then being called to confess, to prepare to make a Church at *Natick*, I loved *Cohannet*; but after hearing this instruction, *That we should not only be Hearers, but Doers of the Word*, then my heart did fear. And afterward hearing that in *Matthew*, Christ saw two brethren mending their Nets, he said, *Follow me and I will make you Fishers of men*, presently they followed Christ; and when I heard this, I feared, because I was not willing to follow Christ to *Natick*; they followed Christ at his Word, but I did not, for now Christ saith to us, *follow Me:* then I was much troubled, and considered of this Word of God. Afterward I heard another word, the blind men cried after Christ and said, *Have mercy on us thou Son of David*, but after they came to Christ he called them, and asked them, *What shall I do for you?* they said,

Lord open our eyes ; then Christ had pity on them, and opened their eyes, and they followed Christ ; when I heard this, my heart was troubled, then I prayed to [p. 14.] God and Christ, to open mine eyes, and if Christ open my eyes, then I shall rejoyce to follow Christ : then I considered of both these Scriptures, and I a little saw that I must follow Christ. And now my heart desireth to make confession of what I know of God, and of my self, and of Christ : I beleve that there is only one God, and that he made and ruleth all the World, and that he the Lord, giveth us al good things : I know that God giveth every day all good mercies, life, and health, and all ; I have not one good thing, but God it is that giveth it me, I beleve that God at first made man like God, holy, wise, righteous ; but the first man sinned, for God promised him, *If thou do my Commandements, thou shalt live, and thy Children ; but if thou sin, thou shalt die, thou and thy children* ; this Covenant God made with the first man. But the first man did not do the Commandements of God he did break Gods Word, he beleved Satan ; and now I am full of sin, because the first man brought sin ; dayly I am full of sin in my heart : I do not dayly rejoyce in Repentance, because Satan worketh dayly in my heart, and opposeth Repentance, and all good Works ; day and night my heart is full of sin. I beleve that Jesus Christ was born of the *Virgin Mary* ; God promised her she should bear a Son, and his Name should be J E S U S, because he shall deliver his people from their sins : And when Christ came to preach, he said, *Repent, because the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand* ; again Christ taught, *Except ye repent and become as a little child, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* ; therefore humble your selves like one of these little children, and great shall be your Kingdom in Heaven. Again Christ said, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden with sin, and I will give you rest : take up my Cross and Yoak, learn of me for I am meek, and ye shall find rest to your souls, for my yoak is easie and burden light* : these are the Words of Christ and I know Christ he is good, but my works are evil : Christ his words are good, but I am not humble ; but if we be humble and beleiving in Christ, he pardons all our sins. I now desire to beleve in Jesus Christ, because of the word of Christ, that I may be converted and become as a little Child. I confess my sins before God, and before Jesus [p. 15.] Christ this day ; now I desire all my sins may be pardoned ; I now desire repentance in my heart, and ever to beleve in Christ ; now I lift up my heart to Christ, and trust him with it, because I beleve Christ died for us, for all our sins, and deserved for us eternal life in Heaven, and deserved pardon for all our sins. And now I give my soul to Christ because he hath redeemed : I do greatly love, and like repentance in my heart, and I love to beleve in Jesus Christ, and my heart is broken by repentance : al these things I do like wel of, that they may be in my heart, but

because Christ hath all these to give, I ask them of him that he may give me repentance, and faith in Christ, and therefore I pray and beseech Christ dayly for repentance and faith ; and other good waies I beg of Christ dayly to give me : and I pray to Christ for al these gifts and graces to put them in my heart : and now I greatly thank Christ for all these good gifts which he hath given me. I know not any thing, nor can do any thing that is a good work : even my heart is dark dayly in what I should do, and my soul dyeth because of my sins, and therefore I give my soul to Christ, because my soul is dead in sin, and dayly doth commit sin ; in my heart I sin, and all the members of my body are sinful. I beleieve Jesus Christ is ascended to Heaven through the clouds, and he will come again from Heaven : Many saw Christ go up to Heaven, and the Angels said, even so he will come again to judg all the world ; and therefore I beleieve Gods promise, That all men shall rise again when Christ cometh again, then all shall rise, and all their souls comes again because Christ is trusted with them, and keeps their souls, therefore I desire my sins may be pardoned ; and I beleieve in Christ ; and ever so long as I live, I will pray to God, and do all the good waies he commandeth.

[p. 16.]

Monequassun,

The Confession which he made on the Fast day before the great Assembly was as followeth

I Confess my sins before the Lord, and before men this day : a little while since I did commit many sins, both in my hands and heart ; lusts, thefts, and many other sins, and that every day : and after I heard of praying to God, and that others prayed to God, my heart did not like it, but hated it, yea and mocked at it ; and after they prayed at *Cohannet* I stil hated it, and when I heard the Word I did not like of it but thought of running away, because I loved sin : but I loved the place of my dwelling, and therefore I thought I wil rather pray to God, and began to do it ; a little I desired to learn the ten Commandements of God, and other points of Catechisme ; and then a little I repented, but I was quickly weary of repentance, and fell again to sin, and full of evil thoughts was my heart : and then I played the Hypocrite, and my heart was full of sin : I learned some things, but did not do what God commanded, but I sinned and playd the hypocrite ; some things I did before man but not before God. But afterward I feared because of my sins, and feared punishment for my sins, therefore I thought again I would run away ; yet again I loving the place, would not run away, but would pray to God : and I asked a Question at the Lecture, which was this, *How I should get Wisdom ?* the Answer made me a little to understand : but afterward I heard the word *If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, who*

giveth liberally to all that ask, and upbraideth none. But then I did fear Gods anger, because of all my sins, because they were great. Afterward hearing that Word, That Christ is named *Jesus*, because he redeemeth us from all our sins : I thought Christ [p. 17.] would not save me, because I repent not, for he saveth only penitent Beleevers ; but I am not such an one, but still a dayly sinner. Afterward hearing that Word, *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled* : then I thought I am a poor sinner and poor is my heart : then I prayed to God to teach me to do that which he requireth, and to pray aright. Afterward hearing that word, *Who ever looks upon a Woman to lust after her, hath already committed Adultery with her in his heart* ; then I thought I had done all manner of sins in the sight of God, because he seeth lust in the heart, and knoweth all the evil thoughts of my heart ; and then I did pray unto God, *Oh ! give me Repentance and Pardon.* Afterwards when I did teach among the Indians, I was much humbled because I could not reade right, and that I sinned in it ; for I saw that when I thought to do a good work, I sinned in doing it, for I knew not what was right nor how to do it. In the night I was considering of my sins and could not find what to do : three nights I considered what to do, and at last God shewed me mercy, and shewed me what I should do. And then I desired to learn to read Gods Word, and hearing that if we ask wisdom of God, he will give it, then I did much pray to God, that he would teach me to reade. After a years time, I thought I did not rightly seek, and I thought I sinned, because I did not rightly desire to read Gods Word, and I thought my praying was sinful, and I feared, how should I, my wife, and child be cloathed, if I spend my time in learning to reade ; but then God was merciful to me, and shewed me that Word, *Say not, what shall I eat, or drink, or where-with shall I be cloathed, wicked men seek after these ; but first seek the Kingdom of Heaven, and these things shall be added to you* ; then I prayed God to teach me this word, and that I might do it : and then I desired to read Gods word, what ever I wanted. Afterward hearing that we must make a Town, and gather a Church at *Natick*, my heart disliked that place ; but hearing that word, *That Christ met two Fishers, and said, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men, and presently they left all and followed him* ; hearing this I was much troubled, because I had not beleaved Christ, for I would not [p. 18.] follow him to make a Church, nor had I done what he commanded me, and then I was troubled for all my sins. Again hearing that word *That the blind man called after Christ, saying thou Son of David have mercy on me ; Christ asked him what he would have him do ; he said, Lord open my eyes* ; and presently Christ gave him sight, and he followed Christ : then again my heart was troubled, for I thought I still beleeve not, because I do not follow Christ, nor hath he yet opened mine eyes : then I prayed to Christ to open my eyes,

that I might see what to do, because I am blind and cannot see how to follow Christ, and do what he commandeth, and I prayed to Christ, Teach me Lord what to do, and to do what thou sayest ; and I prayed that I might follow Christ : and then I thought I will follow Christ to make a Church. All this trouble I had to be brought to be willing to make a Church : and quickly after, God laid upon me more trouble, by sickness and death ; and then I much prayed to God for life, for we were all sick, and then God would not hear me, to give us life ; but first one of my Children died, and after that my Wife ; then I was in great sorrow, because I thought God would not hear me, and I thought it was because I would not follow him, therefore he hears not me : then I found this sin in my heart, That I was angry at the punishment of God : but afterward I considered, I was a poor sinner, I have nothing, nor Child, nor Wife, I deserve that God should take away all mercies from me ; and then I repented of my sins, and did much pray, and I remembred the promise to follow Christ, and my heart said, I had in this sinned, that followed not Christ, and therefore I cryed for pardon of this sin : and then hearing of this Word, *Who ever beleeveth in Christ his sins are pardoned, he beleeveth that Christ died for us ;* and I beleaved. Again hearing that Word, *If ye be not converted, and become as a little Child you cannot go to Heaven ;* then my heart thought, I do not this, but I deserve Hell fire for ever ; and then I prayed Christ, Oh ! turn me from my sin, and teach me to hear thy Word ; and I prayed to my Father in Heaven : and after this, I beleaved in Christ for pardon. Afterward I heard that Word, That it is a shame for a man [p. 19.] to wear long hair, and that there was no such custom in the Churches : at first I thought I loved not long hair, but I did and found it very hard to cut it off ; and then I prayed to God to pardon that sin also : Afterward I thought my heart cared not for the Word of God : but then I thought I would give my self up unto the Lord, to do all his Word. Afterward I heard that word, *If thy right foot offend thee cut it off, or thy right hand, or thy right eye ; its better to go to Heaven with one foot, or hand, or eye, than having both to go to Hell ;* then I thought my hair had been a stumbling to me, therefore I cut it off, and grieved for this sin, and prayed for pardon. After hearing that word, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavie laden with your sins, and I will give rest to your souls ;* then my heart thought that I do dayly hate my sins, Oh ! that I could go to Christ ! and Christ looketh I should come unto him, and therefore then I prayed, Oh ! Christ help me to come unto thee : and I prayed because of all my sins that they may be pardoned. For the first man was made like God in holiness, and righteousness, and God gave him his Covenant ; but Adam sinned, beleiving the Devil, therefore God was angry, and therefore all we Children of Adam are like the Devil, and dayly sin, and break every law of God, full of evil thoughts, words, and works, and only Christ can

deliver us from our sins, and he that beleeve in Christ is pardoned ; but my heart of myself cannot beleeve : Satan hath power in me, but I cry to God, Oh ! give me faith, and pardon my sin, because Christ alone can deliver me from Hell ; therefore I pray, Oh ! Jesus Christ deliver me. Christ hath provided the new Covenant to save Beleevers in Christ, therefore I desire to give my soul to Christ, for pardon of all my sins : the first Covenant is broke by sin, and we deserve Hell ; but Christ keepeth for us the new Covenant, and therefore I betrust my soul with Christ. Again, I desire to beleeve in Christ, because Christ will come to judgment, and all shall rise again, and all Beleevers in this life shall then be saved ; therefore I desire to beleeve Christ, and mortifie sin as long as I live ; and I pray Christ to help me to beleeve : and I thank God for all his mercies every [p. 20.] day : and now I confess before God that I loath my self for my sins and beg pardon.

Thus far he went in his Confession ; but they being slow of speech time was far spent and a great assembly of English understanding nothing he said, only waiting for my interpretation, many of them went forth, others whispered, and a great confusion was in the House and abroad : and I perceived that the graver sort thought the time long, therefore knowing he had spoken enough unto satisfaction (at least as I judged) I here took him off. Then one of the Elders asked, if I took him off, or whether had he finished ? I answered, That I took him off. So after my reading what he had said, we called another.

The next who was called forth was Ponampam, who had formerly twice made confession, and both read before the Elders. His first Confession was as followeth.

WHEN God first had mercy on us, when they first prayed at Noonanetum, I heard of it, and the first word that I heard was, *That all from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, shall pray unto God* ; and I thought, Oh ! let it be so. After I considered what the word may be, and understood by it, That God was mercyfull ; afterwards when you alwayes came to us, I only heard the word, I did not understand it, nor meditate on it, yet I found that all my doings were sins against God ; then I prayed unto God. Afterwards I heard, That God would pardon all that beleeve in Christ ! and quickly after I saw my sins to be very many ; I saw that in every thing I did, I sinned : & when I saw these my sins against God I was weary of my self, & angry with my self [p. 21.] in my heart ; but the free mercy of God caused me to hear his word, and then I feared because every day sin was in my heart, and I thought in vain I

looked to Christ : Then hearing this word of Christ, that Christ taught through every town and village, *Repent and beleeve*. If any one repent, and mourn, and beleeve, I will pardon him ; then my heart thought I will pray to God as long as I live : but sometimes my heart was ashamed, and sometimes my heart was strong, and God seeth my heart : I now desire to repent, and beleeve in Christ, and that Christ will pardon me, and shew mercy to us all.

Ponampam,

His Second Confession was as followeth :

WHEN I prayed not unto God I ever sinned every day : but when *Noonanetam Indians* first prayed I heard of it, and three nights I considered whether I should pray or no, but I found not how to pray unto God, but how not to pray : but then I heard Gods free mercy in his word, call all to pray, *from the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof* ; yet presently I lost that word, and sinned again and committed many sins. Then Gods free mercy shewed me in the Catechism, *That God made all the World*, yet my heart did not beleeve, because I knew I sprung from my Father and Mother : I did alwaies act many sins, because I was born in sin, and in vain I heard Gods word. Then I heard Gods Word, *That Christ was made man*, yet I did but hear it, though I thought it might be true : I thought I would cast off all sin but then I found that I loved them very much. I heard Gods promise to *Abraham, To increase his Children as the Stars for number*, but I beleeved not, because he had but one Son : and thus I cast off the word, and committed sins. I heard also from the word, That all men are not alike to God, some are first to God, [or preferred before other ;] but I did [p. 22.] not beleeve it because all men die alike ; therefore they are not the Sons of God, and God is not their Father : So still I beleeved not the Word, but broke Gods Word dayly, and in vain I heard Gods Word. Afterward I heard that Word of God to *Moses, Ple be with thy mouth, for who maketh the seeing Eye or hearing Ear, is it not I?* saith the Lord : then I understood a little of God, and of his Word ; but still I acted much sin. Afterward I heard that Word of Free-Grace, *Repent, and beleeve the Gospel, and who ever beleeve shall be saved* ; then my heart beleeved, then I saw I had prayed but afore man, & so was my hearing, or any other duty ; and I saw other of my sins against God ; and then I saw that my heart did not beleeve as it should, & I desired

to be open in my doings ; I saw I brake every command of God ; yet presently I lost this, and the Word of Christ was of little worth unto me ; and I saw I loved sin very much. Then again I heard that word, That all shall pray from the rising to the sitting Sun ; then I thought I will pray to God, and yet only my tongue prayed. Then again I heard the Catechism, That God made *Adam* and *Eve*, and al the world, and a little I beleaved that word. Afterward I heard another word, *That they are Bastards, not Sons, whom God afflicts not* : I did a little think this to be a truth, and then I prayed more unto God, and yet I saw I feared man more than God : but notwithstanding, I have prayed unto God from that day unto this day ; yet I see I sin every day. When I heard that word that God spake to *Moses* in the Mount by a Trumpet, and said : *Thou shalt not have any other God, thou shalt not lust, nor lye, nor kill, &c.* I saw all these I had broken ; I heard the Word, but sinned in what I heard : I heard that my heart must break and melt for sin, and beleieve in Christ, and that we should try our hearts if it be so ; yet I could try but little, nor find but little, but still I sinned much. I heard that Word, That they which cast off God, God will cast off them ; and I feared lest God should cast me away, because of my sins : I was ashamed of my sins, and my heart melted, and I thought I will give my self to God and to Christ, and do what he will for ever ; and because of this promise of pardon to al that repent and beleieve, my heart desireth to pray to God as long as I live.

[p. 23.]

Ponampam ;

The Confession he made on the Fast day, before the great Assembly was as followeth :

BEfore I prayed unto God, I committed all manner of sins ; and when I heard the Catechism, *That God made me*, I did not beleieve it, because I knew I sprang from my Father and Mother, and therefore I despised the Word, and therefore again I did act all sins, and I did love them. Then God was merciful to me, to let me hear that Word, That al shal pray from the rising to the sitting Sun ; and then I considered whether I should pray, but I found not in my heart that all should pray : but then I considered of praying, and what would become of me if I did not pray : and what would become of me, if I did pray ; but I thought if I did pray, the *Sachems* would be angry because They did not say, pray to God, and therefore I did not yet pray ; but considering of that word, that all shall pray, I was

troubled, and I found in my heart that I would pray unto God ; and yet I feared that others would laugh at me, and therefore I did not yet pray. Afterward God was yet merciful to me, and I heard that God made the World, and the first man, and I thought it was true, and therefore I would pray to God, because he hath made all ; and yet when I did pray, I thought I prayed not aright, because I prayed for the sake of man, and I thought this to be a great sin. But then I wondered at Gods free mercy to me, for I saw God made me, and giveth me all mercies : and then was I troubled, and saw that many were my sins, and that I do not yet beleave ; then I prayed, yet my heart sinned, for I prayed only with my mouth : and then I repented of my sins, and then a little I considered and remembred Gods love unto us , but I was a sinner, and many were my [p. 24.] sins, and a little I repented of them ; and yet again I sinned, and quickly was my heart full of sin : then again was my heart angry with my self, and often I lost all this again, and fell into sin. Then I heard that word, *That God sent Moses to Egypt, and promised I will be with thee* ; that promise I considered, but I thought that in vain I did seek, and I was ashamed that I did so : and I prayed, Oh God teach me truly to pray, not only before man, but before God, and pardon al these my sins. Again I heard that word, that Christ taught through every Town and Village, *Repent and beleave, and be saved*, and a little I beleaved this word : and I loved it, and then I saw all my sins, and prayed for pardon. Again I heard that word, He that casteth off God, him will God cast off ; and I found in my heart, that I had done this, and I feared because of this my sin, lest God should cast me off, and that I should for ever perish in Hell, because God hath cast me off, I having cast off God : then I was troubled about Hell, and what shall I do if I be damned ! Then I heard that word, If ye repent aud beleave, God pardons all sins ; then I thought, Oh that I had this, I desired to repent and beleave, and I begged of God, Oh give me Repentance and Faith, freely do it for me ; and I saw God was merciful to do it, but I did not attend the Lord, only sometimes ; and I now confess I am ashamed of my sins, my heart is broken, and melteth in me ; I am angry at my self ; I desire pardon in Christ ; I betrust my soul with Christ, that he may do it for me.

By such time as this man had finished, the time was far spent, and he was the fift in number, their speeches being slow, and they were the more slow at my request, that I might write what they said ; & oft I was forced to inquire of my interpreter (who sat by me) because I did not perfectly understand some sentences, especially of some of them : these things did make the work long-som considering the inlargement of spirit God gave some of them ; and should we have proceeded further, it would have been sun-set before the Confessions in

likelihood would have been finished, besides all the rest of the work that was to be done to finish so solemn a work ; and the place [p. 25.] being remote in the woods, the nights long and cold and people not fitted to lie abroad, and no competent lodgings in the place for such persons, and the work of such moment as would not admit an huddling up in hast. And besides all this, though I had fully used all fit means, to have all the Interpreters present that I could, that so the interpretation might not depend upon my single testimony, yet so it was that they all failed, and I was alone (as I have been wont to be in this work) which providence of God was not to be neglected in so solemn a business. Wherefore the Magistrates, Elders, and Grave men present, advised together what to do, and the Conclusion was, Not to proceed any further at present, yet so to carry the matter, as that the Indians might in no wise be discouraged, but encouraged ; to which end one of the Elders was requested to speak unto the English the two above said Reasons, *viz.* The want of Interpreters, And want of Time, to finish at this time so solemn a Work ; but to refer it to a more fitting time. And I was desired to declare it to the Indians, which I did to this purpose, That the Magistrates, Elders, and other Christian People present, did much rejoyce to hear their Confessions, and advised them to go on in that good way ; but as for the gathering a Church among them this day, it could not be ; partly, Because neither Mr. *Mayhew*, nor Mr. *Leveridge*, nor any Interpreter was here (for whom they knew I had sent, some of themselves being the Messengers to carry Letters time enough) and it was Gods Ordinance, That when any were to judg a Case, though they could beleeve one Witness, yet they could not judg under two or three. Also I told them, That themselves might easily see there was not time enough to finish so solemn a work this day ; therefore they advised, and God called to refer it to a fitter season ; in which advice they rested : And so was the Work of that day, with prayers unto God, finished ; the accomplishment being referred to a fitter season.

As for my self, the Lord put it into the hearts of the Elders, to speak unto me words of Comfort, and acceptance of my poor Labor expressing their loving fear, lest I should be discouraged by this disappointment : I shall therefore nakedly [p. 26.] declare, and open my very heart in this Matter. The Lord he knoweth, that with much fear and care I went about this work, even unto the sensible wasting, and weakening of my natural strength, knowing that the investing these young Babes in Christ, with the highest, and all the external privileges of the Church, the Spouse of Jesus Christ on Earth, would have drawn upon me much more labor and care, lest they should in any wise scandalize the same ; unto which I have now more time assigned me by the Lord to prepare them, yea, and a greater advantage than I had before, because this dispensation of the Lord, doth give me occasion to instruct them of their need to be filled with

deeper apprehensions of the weight and solemnity of that great Work, though it is most true, that they also came on unto it with many fears, and questions, what they should do when they should be a Church : When therefore I saw the Lord by the Counsel of his Servants (which is an holy reverend Ordinance of Christ) and by his Providence denying me the help of all Interpreters, having many witnesses how much care and pains I took every way I knew, to be supplied therein ; and that the work it self was extended by the Lords gracious enlarging them in their Confessions, so that the day was not sufficient to accomplish it ; I say, when I saw the Lord speaking that delatory word, I cannot express what a load it took off my heart, and I did gladly follow the Lord therein, yea, and I bless the Lord for that day, that it was carried so far as it was, for the cause of Christ hath many waies gained by it, many hundreds of the precious Saints, being much comforted and confirmed in their hopes of this work of Christ among them, and their faith and prayers much quickned by what they heard and saw. And because all witnesses failed me, let me say but this, I began, and have followed this work for the Lord according to the poor measure of grace received, & not for base ends. I have been true & faithful unto their souls, and in writing and reading their Confessions, I have not knowingly, or willingly made them better, than the Lord helped themselves to make them, but am verily perswaded on good grounds, that I have rather rendered them weaker (for the [p. 27.] most part) than they delivered them ; partly by missing some words of weight in some Sentences, partly by my short and curt touches of what they more fully spake, and partly by reason of the different Idioms of their Language and ours.

Now follow those Preparatory Confessions, which
were read before the Elders,
most of them.

The first that made a publick Confession, and was took in Writing, was Peter, a Ruler of Ten among them, a Godly man, who quickly after he had made this Confession, fell sick, and died, and now injoyeth the fruit of his Faith, the end of his Hope, the salvation of his Soul, among the Blessed ; where I am perswaded he shall be found in the great day. His Confession was as followeth.

WHEN I first prayed to God, I did not fear God, but I feared perdition, because the English had told me, that all should be

damned, that call not upon God. But now I know that God made all the world, and I fear him; now I beleeve that which you teach is true; Now I beleeve that God calleth us to *Natik*, that here we may be ruled by God, and gather a Church; now I beleeve that it is Gods Command, that we should labor Six dayes, and keep the Sabbath on the Seventh day: now my heart is greatly abased, for all my sins; for we see though we pray to God we are ready to offend each other, and be angry with each other, and that we love not each other as we should do; and for this I grieve & my heart crieth: now I remember that God saith thou [p.28.] shalt not lust, but before I prayed to God I was full of lusts. God saith, We must have but one Wife, and at first did make but one man and one woman; but I followed many women. God saith, Remember to keep the Sabbath day holy; but I did hunt, or shoot, or any thing on the Sabbath day: many other sins I committed; but now I see them, and wil cast them away because they are vile, and God forbiddeth them: when I prayed first my sins were not pardoned, for my praying is worth nothing: now I am humbled, and mourn for my sins and yet cannot deliver my self nor get pardon, therefore I trust Christ with my soul.

The next Confession was made by John Speene, as followeth. His first confession was this,

WHen I first prayed to God, I did not pray for my soul, but only I did as my friends did, because I loved them; and though I prayed to God, yet I did not fear sin, nor was I troubled at it. I heard that when good men die, their souls go to God, and are there happy, but I cannot say that I beleeved it. Afterward my heart run away into the country, after our old wayes, and I did almost cast off praying to God. A little while after that, I saw that I had greatly sinned, and then I saw all my sins, afore I prayed to God, and since I prayed to God, and I saw that God was greatly angry for them, and that I cannot get pardon for them; but yet my heart saith I will pray to God as long as I live: I thought God would not pardon me and yet I would cast away my sins. I did greatly love hunting, and hated labor: but now I beleeve that word of God, which saith, Six dayes thou shalt labor: and God doth make my body strong to labor.

[p. 29.]

John Speene,

This Confession being short in some main points, he afterward made Confession as followeth.

WHen I first prayed I prayed not for my soul, but for the sake of men, I loved men, and for their sakes I prayed to God. Before I prayed many were my sins, and my heart was heaped full, and ran over in all manner of lusts and sins. After I heard of praying to God, I let it fall and regarded it not ; after I came to hear the word, I sometimes feared, but soon lost it again. Then my heart ran away after our former courses, and then what ever I heard I lost because my heart was run away ; and many were my sins, and therefore I could not get pardon, because my heart run away, and many were my sins, and I did indeed go into the Country. But afterwards I hearing the Catechism, I desired to learn it, and then I beleaved that when Beleevers die, their souls go to God, and are ever happy ; when Sinners die, their souls go to Hel, and are ever tormented ; and that when Christ judges the world, our bodies rise again, and then we shall receive the judgment of Christ ; the good shal stand at his right hand, the bad at his left ; this I beleaved was true, and then I saw all my great follies and evils : and now my heart desired to lay by hunting, and to work every day ; and this is Gods Command, and therefore a good way ; God said, Thou shalt work six daies, and if thou work thou shalt eat ; therefore I beleeve it, and my heart promiseth that I will this do as long as I live. Now I see I did great folly, for now I hear that God saith *Work* ; and now I fear because God hath afflicted me, in taking away my brother a Ruler : now I am troubled, I fear I sinned in not beleeving our Ruler, because now God hath taken him away ; he taught me good words, but I beleaved them not, and now I repent because Christ calleth me to it : great is the punishment of God in taking away our Ruler ; and now I pray, and say to Christ, Oh Jesus Christ [p. 30.] I have sinned : I beleeve that if I repent and be humbled, and pray not only outwardly but Inwardly, and beleeve in Christ, then God will pardon all my sin ; but I cannot get pardon of sin, I cannot deserve pardon, but only Christ hath merited pardon for us : I cannot deliver my self from all my sins, but Christ redeemeth, and delivereth from all sin : I deserve not one mercy of God, but Christ hath merited all mercies for us.

The next are the Confessions of Robin Speene, who three several times came forth, and confessed as followeth. His first Confession :

I Was ashamed because you taught to pray to God, and I did not take it up ; I see God is angry with me for all my sins, and he hath afflicted me by the death of three of my children, and I fear God is still angry, because great are my sins, and I fear lest my children be not gone to Heaven, because I am a great sinner, yet one of my children prayed to God before it died, and therefore my heart rejoiceth in that. I remember my Panwaning [for he was a *Panwan*] my lust, my gaming, and all my sins ; I know them by the Commandements of God, and God heareth and seeth them all ; I cannot deliver my self from sin, therefore I do need Christ, because of all my sins, I desire pardon, and I beleeve that God calls all to come to Christ, and that he delivereth us from sin.

[p. 31.]

Robin Speene,

His Second Confession.

I Have found out one word more : great are my sins, and I do not know how to repent, nor do I know the evil of my sins ; only this one word, now I confess I want Christ, this day I want him ; I do not truly beleeve nor repent : I see my sin, and I need Christ, but I desire now to be redeemed : and I now ask you this Question, *What is Redemption ?* “ I answered him, by shewing him our estate by “ Nature, and desert, the price which Christ paid for us, and how it “ is to be applied to every particular person ; which done, he proceeded in his confession thus : I yet cannot tell whether God hath pardoned my sins, I forget the word of God ; but this I desire, that my sins may be pardoned, but my heart is foolish, and a great part of the Word stayeth not in my heart strongly. I desire to cast all my sins out of my heart : but I remember my sins, that I may get them pardoned, I think God doth not yet hear my prayers in this, because I cannot keep the Word of God, only I desire to hear the Word, and that God would hear me.

Robin Speen,

His Third Confession.

ONe word more I cal to mind, Great is my sin ! this saith my heart, I have found this sin, when I first heard you teach, that all the world from the rising to the sitting Sun should pray to God, I then wondered at it, and thought, I [p. 32.] being a great sinner, how shal I pray to God ; and when I saw many come to the Meeting, I wondred at it : But now I do not wonder at that work of God, and therefore I think that I do now greatly sin : and now I desire again to wonder at Gods Works, and I desire to rejoyce in Gods good waies. Now I am much ashamed, and fear because I have deserved eternal wrath by my sins : my heart is evil, my heart doth contrary to God : and this I desire, that I may be redeemed, for I cannot help my self, but only Jesus Christ hath done al this for me, and I deserve no good, but I beleeve Christ hath deserved all for us ; and I give my self unto Christ, that he may save me, because he knoweth eternal life, and can give it ; I cannot give it to my self, therefore I need Jesus Christ, my heart is full of evil thoughts ; and Christ only can keep my soul from them, because he hath paid for my deliverance from them.

The next are the Confessions of Nishohkou ; who twice made preparatory Confessions ; the first of which only, was read before the Elders.

GOD in Heaven is merciful, and I am sinful : when I first heard the Word of God, I neither saw nor understood ; but after, when you taught these words, *Be wise, Oh all ye people, and beleve in Jesus Christ*, then I prayed unto God ; yet afterwards I sinned, and almost forsook praying to God. Afterward I understood, That God who made all the World was merciful to sinners : and truly I saw my heart very sinful, because I promised God to pray as long as I live, but my heart hath not so done. Again I promised God I will follow Christ in al things, and now I find my heart backward, and not so forward to make a Church. God promiseth, If foolish ones pray to God for Wisdom he will give it : this Promise I beleeve, but I find my heart full of temptations ; but now I promise [p.33.] God as in the *Psalm*,* All my works shall be done ^{* Psalm,} in wisdom for I confess al my works and words, have been 101. 2.

foolish. God is wise and good, but I am foolish. God who hath made the World, sent his own Son Jesus : and Jesus Christ hath died for us, and deserved for us, pardon and life, this is true ; and he hath done for me all Gods Commandements, for I can do nothing, because I am very sinful. God in Heaven is very merciful, and therefore hath called me to pray unto God. God hath promised to pardon al their sins, who pray unto God, and beleeve in the Promise of Christ, and Christ can give me to beleeve in him.

When he had made this Confession, he was much abashed, for he is a bashful man ; many things he spoke that I missed, for want of through understanding some words and sentences : therefore before the Fast day he made another Confession, which was not read before the Elders ; which was as followeth.

Nishohkou.

I am dead in sin, Oh ! that my sins might die, for they cannot give life, because they be dead : before I prayed to God, I did commit all filthynesse, I prayed to many gods, I was proud, full of lusts, adulteries, and all other sins, and therefore this is my first Confession, that God is mercifull, and I am a sinner, for God have given unto me instruction, and causeth me to pray unto God, but I only pray words ; when I prayed I sometimes wondered, and thought true it is that God made the world, and me : and then I thought I knew God, because I saw these his works, and then I was glad sometimes and gave thanks ; yet presently again I did not rejoyce in it. Again sometimes I thought now I do wel because I pray, and work not on the Sabbath daies, but come to the Meetings, and hear the Word of God : But afterward again, I thought I do not wel, because true it is, That yet I do [p. 34.] not truly pray ; for now I see I sin when I pray : because there is nothing but sin in my mouth, or hand, or heart, and all sins are there, for of these my sins my heart is full, because my heart doth sometimes lust, and steal, and the like. Again, I was not only proud before I prayed, but now I am proud. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I pray, Oh God have mercy on me, and pardon these my sins ; yet sometimes I know not whether God did either hear my prayer, or pardon my sins. Again, afterwards I thought I had greatly sinned, because I heard of the good way of praying unto God, but I do wickedly because I pray not truly, yea, sometimes I have much ado to pray with my mouth, and therefore I sin. I heard of that good way, to keep the Sabbath, and not to work on that day, and I did so : but yet again I sinned in it, because I did not reve-

rence the Word of God ; yea, and sometimes I thought that working on the Sabbath was no great matter. Again, I heard it was a good way to come to the Meetings, and hear the Word of God, and I desired to do it ; but in this also I sinned, because I did not truly hear : yea, sometimes I thought it no great matter if I heard not, and cared not to come to hear, and still I so sinned. Then I thought God was angry, because I have greatly sinned ; desiring to do well and yet again to sin. When I desired to do well, then I sinned, and in all things I sinned. But afterward I was angry with my self, and thought I will not sin again ; and what God saith, is good, but I am sinful because I have done all these evils. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I repent, and say, Oh God and Jesus Christ, have mercy on me, and pardon my sins. Now I desire truly to pray ; now I desire to reverence the Word every Sabbath day : now I desire to hear the Word of God truly ; now I desire to bend my heart to pray, and it may be God will hear me : but quickly after a temptation cometh to my heart, and I did not desire it. Again sometimes I did think, true it is I can do nothing of my self, but Jesus Christ must have mercy on me, because Christ hath done for me all Gods Commandments and good Works, therefore my heart saith, Oh Jesus give me desires after thee : sometimes I think it is [p. 35.] true, I have greatly sinned against God, but great are his mercies : sometimes I hear the Word on the Sabbath day, and he giveth it me, [that is, maketh it my own] sometimes I say the great and mighty God is in Heaven, but these are but words, because I do not fear this great and mighty God ; and I sometimes regard not Gods Word, and make it of none effect, because I do not that which is good, but commit sin : sometimes I say I know Christ, because I know he died for us, and hath redeemed us, and procured pardon for us : yet again I say I sin, because I beleeve not Christ, for that only is right to beleeve in Christ, and do what he saith ; but I think I do this in vain, because I yet do not truly beleeve in Jesus Christ, nor do what he commandeth, and therefore my heart plays the hypocrite ; and now I know what is hypocrisie, namely, when I know what I should do, and yet do it not. Sometimes I think I am like unto Satan, because I do all these sins, and sin in all things I do ; if I pray I sin, if I keep Sabbath I sin, if I hear Gods Word I sin, therefore I am like the Devil. Now I know I deserve to go to Hell, because all these sins I have committed : then my heart is troubled, and I say, Oh God and Christ pardon all my sin, for I cannot pardon my sins my self ; for the first man brought sin into the world, and therefore I am sinful, therefore I pray thee O Lord pardon all the sins which I have done. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and I desire to fear God, because he is a great God, and I desire to do what he saith, and now I desire to do the right way, and now I desire to beleeve Jesus Christ ; and sometimes I think it may be God will hear me, it may be he will par-

don me, yet again I think I cannot be ashamed of sin ; but now I am ashamed of all my sins, and my heart is broken, and all these my sins I cast off, and take heed of: yet then again I sometimes say to God, I cannot my self be humbled, or break my heart, or cast off sin, but I pray thee O Jesus help me to do it. Again sometimes I confess this is true, I cannot redeem my self, nor deliver my self, because of all these my many sins ; truly, full is my heart of sin in every thing, all my thoughts, my words, my looks, my works are full of sin ; true this is, therefore I cannot deliver [p. 36.] my self from sin ; Oh redeem thou my soul from Hel and torment, for I like not to do it with my own hand, therefore I desire Jesus Christ, that I may delight in him ; take thou me and my soul, because thou hast done Gods word, and all good works for me, and hast procured pardon for all my sins, and hast prepared pardon in Heaven, therefore I desire, Oh I desire pardon : but I sometimes think Christ doth not delight in me because I do much play the hypocrite, but if I truly beleieve then he will pardon, but true faith I cannot work ; Oh Jesus Christ help me, and give it me.

Another who made Confession, is named Magus ; which is as followeth :

Heretofore I beleaved not, that God made the world, but I thought the world was of it self, and all people grew up in the world of themselves. When any bid me pray to God, I said I cannot, and none of our Rulers beleieve or pray to God ; yet I went about to seek how to pray to God, I told the wise men I seek how to pray to God, and all of them could not find how to pray to God. Afterward I had a desire to pray God, lest I should lose my soul, but my heart run away, and I could not find how to pray to God, and therefore I thought of going away ; yet I also thought if I do go away, I shall lose my ground. But after this I heard of Gods anger against me, and I beleieved it ; for God made the first man good, and told him if he did well he should live, and this day I beleieve all men should do so ; and then I thought I will pray as long as I live, and I will labor, because Gods promise is, If we labor we shall eat ; and I see that that is a true word ; for they that do labor do eat [that is, have wherewith to be fed] I see that sin alwaies hath continued, from the beginning of the world. I beleieve that word which God told *Eve*, That in sorrow she should bring forth [p. 37.] Children, and I see it daily to be true. I beleieve that word of God, that sin brings misery, and all shall die, because by sin, we break all the Commands

of God : I have been full of lusts, and thefts, &c. all my life, and all the time I have lived. I have done contrary to the Command of God. And I am now grieved, now I hear of all my sins : I beleieve Christ doth convert me to God, and he calleth Children, and old men, and all men to turn unto God, and from their sins ; he calleth to sorrow and repentance, and ever to beleieve in Christ ; and who ever doth this, shall be ever blessed in Heaven ; but if he do it not, he perisheth : if he turn not from sin, dying, he shall go to Hell for ever. I think also, that so long as I live, God doth give me life. I beleieve that we ought to gather into a Church, to serve God as long as we live. But I do not know whether yet God hath pardoned my sins, or not ; but I know Christ, and I know he hath already dyed for me, because I cannot redeem my self.

Another who made Confession, was named Poquanum ; which was as followeth. His first Confession.

A Great while ago the English would tell me of God but I hated it, and would go out of doors, when they so spake unto me, and I murmured at it. When the Indians first prayed to God, I did not think there was a God, or that the Bible was Gods Book, but that wise men made it : When some prayed to God, I went with them, but I did not know God. Afterward my mind was changed thus far, That I desired to be wise, as others were, but yet I knew nothing of God ; yea, after I prayed to God, I still did think there was no God. Afterward I found this in my heart, That we pray to God for our souls ; then I thought all my [p. 38.] praying was nothing, because I was so foolish that I never thought of dying : but after, I learned, That all must die, and good mens souls go to Heaven ; and then I thought of dying, and of my soul : but then I thought we prayed for nothing but that our souls might go to Heaven ; I knew nothing of Christ. But after, when the Children were Catechised, and taught the ten Commandements, I hearkned, and by them I came to know that there was a God, and that there was sin against God ; and hereby God made me to see all my sins, both before I prayed to God, and since ; and I saw Gods anger against me for my sins, before, and since I prayed, because sometimes I came not to the Meeting ; brake my word, regarded not my Children, and I see sin in me, and therefore I do greatly fear Gods anger.

Poquanium ;

His Second Confession was as followeth :

BEfore I prayed unto God, I greatly sinned, I prayed to many gods, and used Panwaning, Adultery, Lust, Lying, and al other sins, and many were my sins, evil thoughts, evil words, and nothing else but evil, hatred, and pride, and all sins against God, coveting other mens goods ; when I stole, I added lying to it when I had done ; I was very proud, I much hated many men, and loved them not because I was angry with them ; and thus I did every day : I would slander my neighbors, great was my pride, I was daily angry with my neighbors, my heart was alwaies full of such waies. When the English said, Pray to God, I cared not for God, because I loved sin, nor did I desire that God should forgive my sin. Afterward I heard the word, That if we truly pray, mourn for sin, cast off sin, desire to hear the word, and beleeve in Christ, God will then pardon, and when he dieth Christ will lead him to Heaven : I much rejoiced to hear of this [p. 39.] pardon, but I must truly beleeve in Christ, else I shal not have pardon : and first I thought God will not pardon me, because I still sinned. But afterward I heard, That though we should pray as long as we live, and never sin more, yet that was of no value ; but we must beleeve in Christ, else there is no pardon ; and this I rejoiced at.

Another who made Confession, is named Nookau, which is as followeth. His first Confession.

FIve years ago, before I prayed I was sick, I thought I should die ; at which I was much troubled, and knew not what to do ; then I thought, if there be a God above, and he give life again, then I shall beleeve there is a God above, and God did give me life : and after that I took up praying to God. Now I beleeve God, one God that made all the world, and governeth it, yet this I only said with my mouth, I did not truly beleeve it in my heart. Then I understood, That God made the first man good, and like God, but he sinned, and we have lost Gods Image, and are like the Devil, and deserve Hell and Damnation : this I now know, and see that I am foolish, and sometime think not of God in an whol day, sometime I do think of God every day ; sometime my heart greatly sinneth, then sometime I presently fear, but again sometimes I am slow to fear ;

I am very foolish because I do not understand the Word, but break the Word of God. I beleeve the Catechism we learn to be according to the Word of God ; but the writings of the Bible are the very Words of God, and the Spirit of God is the Word, and that God giveth all things that are good : I now see my sins before I prayed unto God, and since, and I beleeve that God seeth them all : and my heart feareth, because I do not yet forsake my sins, and I think God will not forgive me, because my [p. 40.] heart is wicked ; I know not when Christ forgiveth my sins, others may know, but I desire that my sins may be pardoned for Christ his sake.

Nookau,

His Second Confession.

BEfore I prayed to God, I greatly sinned every day, I was proud, and lived in adultery, lying, &c. and my heart alwaies full of evil thoughts, and when the English would instruct me, I then thought my waies evil, but the business of praying to God, good ; then I did think, if I could first understand, then I would pray to God, and I was glad to hear of any that did pray to God. When I heard that word at *Cohannet, Who ever lacketh wisdom, let him ask it of God ;* let fools pray to God, and he will give them wisdom : I thought I was a fool, and I beleeved that Word of God. I heard that word of the dry bones, God bid them hear, and promised to put flesh, and sinews, and skin upon them, and make them live ; therefore I desired to hear, because I beleeved the dry bones, and that I was one that did not know God : afterward I was glad of praying to God. Sometimes I beleeved not God and God will not look on such, alwaies I thought God will not forgive me. I wondred at all that prayed to God, because I thought God had given them wisdom : then I thought I am glad I pray to God. Sometime my heart is broken because I shall lose all in this world, and lose my soul also, because I beleeve not, for all the Words of God are true which he hath taught me. Now this day I think I will confess the truth ; Because I have sinned, I want Jesus Christ : and I will truly confess God, because of that word of Christ, *He that confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father :* I wonder at this Instructoin, I desire to confess my heart.

[p.41.] *Another who made his Confession is named Antony, upon whom the Lord was pleased the last Winter to lay*

an heavy stroke; for he and another Indian being at work sawing of Board, and finishing the Peece, they laid it so short, and the Rowl not so stedfast, insomuch that this man being in the Pit directing to lay the Piece, and the other above ordering thereof, it slipped down into the Pit upon this mans head, brake his neather Chap in two, and cracked his Skull, insomuch that he was taken up half dead, and almost strangled with blood; and being the last day of the week at night I had no word until the Sabbath day, then I presently sent a Chyrurgion, who took a discreet order with him; and God so blessed his indeavors, as that he is now well again, blessed be the Lord: and whereas I did fear that such a blow in their Labor might discourage them from Labor, I have found it by Gods blessing otherwise; yea this man hath performed a great part of the sawing of our Meeting-House, and is now sawing upon the School-house, and his recovery is an establishment [p. 42.] of them to go on; yea, and God blessed this blow, to help on the Work of Grace in his soul; as you shall see in his Confession, which followeth.

BEfore I prayed to God I alwaies committed sin, but I do not know all my sins, I know but a little of the sins I have committed, therefore I thought I could not pray to God, because I knew not all my sins before I prayed to God, and since I heard of praying to God: formerly when the English did bid me pray unto God I hated it, and would go out of their houses, when they spake of such things to me. I had no delight to hear any thing of Gods Word, but in every thing I sinned; in my speeches I sinned, and every day I broke the Commands of God. After I heard of praying to God, that *Waban* and my two brothers prayed to God, yet then I desired it not, but did think of running away; yet I feared if I did run away some wicked men would kill me, but I did not fear God. After when you said unto me, pray, my heart thought, I will pray; yet again I thought, I cannot pray with my heart, and no matter for praying with words only: but when I did pray, I saw more of my sins; yet I did but only see them, I could not be aware of them, but still I did commit them: and after I prayed to God, I was still full of lust, and then a little I feared. Sometimes I was sick, and then I thought God was angry, and then I saw that I did commit all sins: then one of my brothers died, and then my heart was broken, and after him another

friend, and again my heart was broken : and yet after all this I broke my praying to God, and put away God, and then I thought I shall never pray to God : but after this I was afraid of the Lord, because I alwaies broke my praying to God and then my heart said, God doth not hear my prayer. When I was sick, and recovered again, I thought then that God was merciful unto me. Hearing that word of God, *If you hear the Word of God, and be forgetful hearers, you sin against God* ; then I thought God will not pardon such a sinner as I, who dayly did so, and broke my praying to God. When I heard the [p.43.] Commandements, I desired to learn them, and other points of Catechism, but my desires were but small, and I soon lost it, because I did not desire to beleeve : then sometimes I feared Gods anger because of al my sins ; I heard the Word and understood only this word, *All you that hear this day, it may be you shall quickly die*, and then I quickly saw that God was very angry with me. Then God brake my head, and by that I saw Gods anger ; and then I thought that the true God in Heaven is angry with me for my sin, even for al my sins, which every day I live, I do. When I was almost dead, some body bid me now beleeve, because it may be I shal quickly die, and I thought I did beleeve, but I did not know right beleeving in Christ : then I prayed unto God to restore my health. Then I beleeved that word, *That we must shortly appear before Jesus Christ* ; then I did greatly fear lest if I beleeved not, I should perish for ever. When I was neer death, I prayed unto God, *Oh Lord give me life, and I will pray to God so long as I live*, and I said, *I will give my self, soul, and body to Christ* : after this, God gave me health, and then I thought, truly, God in Heaven is merciful ; then I much grieved, that I knew so little of Gods Word. And now sometimes I am angry, and then I fear because I know God seeth it ; and I fear, because I promised God when I was almost dead, that if he giveth me life, I will pray so long as I live ; I fear lest I should break this promise to God. Now I desire the pardon of all my sins, and I beg faith in Christ, and I desire to live unto God, so long as I live ; I cannot my self get pardon, but I dayly commit sin, and break Gods Word, but I look to Christ for pardon.

Another who made His Confession is named Owussumag ; which is as followeth :

WHEN I first heard that *Waban* prayed to God, and after that many more prayed. I first feared praying [p. 44.] to God, and instruction, and I hated instruction by the Word of God, and alwaies I laughed at them who prayed to God ; and I alwaies thought

I will yet more commit sin : and I went into the Country, and there I acted much lust, adultery, and the like, and all my Neighbors, we did together seek after wickedness, and every day I was proud, and of high or open eyes. When some of my neighbors began to pray, I went away into the Country, but I could find no place where I was beloved. Then I heard, That when beleevers die, they go to Heaven, when sinners die they go to Hel ; and my heart considered, What good will it be if my soul go to Heaven ? But two years ago, I began to think, I had sinned against God ; and then sometimes I feared, yet again sinned, but my fear was of man, not of God : Then ever my heart said I should be better, if I would pray to God, and sometimes I beleaved that which I was taught, yet again, last year, I sought to go away afar off, but I could think of no place, but I should be in danger to be killed. Then again I much remembered my sins : and again I thought, What will become of me, if I die in my sins ? and then I thought it was good for me to pray unto God so long as I live ; and then my heart turned to praying unto God, and I did pray, and my heart feared when I heard the word read and taught, and I was glad to hear the Word of God ; and then I purposed to pray as long as I live. Sometime I did dayly see my sins, and fear, for I cannot get pardon, only in Jesus Christ. Then I heard that word, *I thank thee oh Heavenly father, that thou hast revealed these things to babes* ; and that word, *that we must forgive each other* : then I saw that I beleaved not one word from Christ, not any word of God ; and dayly my heart wept, that Christ might pardon all my sins against God and Christ : and now unto this day my heart saith I desire the good waies of praying to God, but I cannot know them of my self, but Jesus Christ must teach me them. When I heard, That only Christ must pardon our sins, and that for Christ God will pardon our sins, this day I rejoyce to hear that word of God and all that Christ hath taught me : and now I purpose, That while I live, I will pray unto God, and [p. 45.] Jesus Christ only : and this day I see I cannot know how to find good thoughts ; but this day I desire pardon for all my sins, and to cast them away.

Another who made Confession, is named Ephraim, his Indian Name I have forgotten. It is as followeth :

ALL the daies I have lived, I have been in a poor foolish condition, I cannot tell all my sins, all my great sins, I do not see them. When I first heard of praying to God, I could not sleep quietly, I was so troubled, ever I thought I would forsake the place because of praying to God, my life hath been like as if I had been a

mad man. Last year I thought I would leave all my sins, yet I see I do not leave off sinning to this day ; I now think I shall never be able to forsake my sins. I think sometimes the Word of God is false, yet I see there is no giving over that I might follow sin, I must pray to God ; I do not truly in my heart repent, and I think that God will not forgive me my sins : every day my heart sinneth, and how will Christ forgive such an one ? I pray but outwardly with my mouth, not with my heart ; I cannot of my self obtain pardon of my sins : I cannot tell all the sins that I have done if I should tell you an whole day together : I do every morning desire that my sins may be pardoned by Jesus Christ ; this my heart saith, but yet I fear I cannot forsake my sins, because I cannot see all my sins : I hear, That if we repent and beleeve in Christ, all our sins shall be pardoned, therefore I desire to leave off my sins.

This poor Publican was the last which made his Confession before I read them unto the Elders, and the last of them I shall now publish. I will shut up these Confessions with the Confession (if I may so call it) or rather with the Expression, and manifestation of faith, by two little [p. 46.] Infants, of two years old, and upward, under three years of age when they died and departed out of this world.

The Story is this,

THis Spring, in the beginning of the year, 1652. the Lord was pleased to afflict sundry of our praying Indians with that grievous disease of the Bloody-Flux, whereof some with great torments in their bowels died ; among which were two little Children of the age above-said, and at that time both in one house, being together taken with that disease. The first of these Children in the extremities of its torments, lay crying to God in these words, *God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me* ; and when they gave it any thing to eat, it would greedily take it (as it is usual at the approach of death) but first it would cry to God, *Oh God and Jesus Christ, bless it*, and then it would take it : and in this manner it lay calling upon God and Jesus Christ untill it died : The mother of this Child also died of that disease, at that time. The Father of the Child told me this story, with great wonderment at the grace of God, in teaching his Child so to call upon God. The name of the Father is *Nishohkou*, whose Confession you have before.

Three or four daies after, another Child in the same house, sick of the same disease, was (by a divine hand doubtless) sensible of the approach of death, (an unusual thing at that age) and called to its Father, and said, *Father, I am going to God*, several times repeating it, *I am going to God*. The mother (as other mothers use to do) had made for the Child a little Basket, a little Spoon, and a little Tray : these things the Child was wont to be greatly delighted

withal (as all Children will) therefore in the extremity of the torments, they set those things before it, a little to divert the mind, and cheer the spirit : but now, the child takes the Basket, and puts it away, and said, *I will leave my Basket behind me, for I am going to God, I will leave my Spoon and Tray behind me* (putting them away) *for I am going to God* : and with these kind of expressions, the same night finished its course, and died.

The Father of this child is named *Robin Speen*, whose Confessions [p. 47.] you have before, and in one of them he maketh mention of this child that died in Faith. When he related this story to me, he said, He could not tell whether the sorrow for the death of his child, or the joy for its faith were greater, when it died.

These Examples are a testimony, That they teach their children the knowledge and fear of God, whom they now call upon ; and also that the Spirit of God co-worketh with their instructions, who teacheth by man, more than man is able to do.

I have now finished all that I purpose to publish at this time ; the Lord give them Acceptance in the hearts of his Saints, to engage them the more to pray for them ; and Oh ! that their judgings of themselves, and breathings after Christ, might move others (that have more means than they have, but as yet regard it not) to do the like, and much more abundantly.

FINIS.

A Late and Further
MANIFESTATION
OF THE
Progress of the GOSPEL
AMONGST THE
INDIANS
IN
New-England.

Declaring their constant Love and Zeal
to the Truth: With a readinesse to give
Accompt of their Faith and Hope; as of
their desires in Church Commu-
nion to be Partakers of
the Ordinances of
CHRIST.

*Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about their
Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches.*
Related by Mr. JOHN ELIOT.

Published by the CORPORATION, established by *Act of Parlia-
ment*, for Propagating the Gospel there.

Acts 13. 47. *I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou
shouldest be for Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth.*

LONDON: Printed by M. S. 1655.

W*EE having perused the ensuing Narration, written by Master Eliot, doe conceive it fit to be Printed, That thereby the Servants of God in England may be further enlarged in their Praises to God for his free Grace wonderfully manifested in beginning and so successfully carrying on the hoped for Conversion of the Indians. And also that they may be much encouraged to continue their Prayers, and liberall Contributions for the finishing and perfecting of this blessed and glorious undertaking, so much conducing to the Glory of God, the Salvation of soules, and the Inlargement of the Kingdome of Christ upon Earth.*

May 13. 1655.

H : Whitfeild. } { Edm : Calamy.
Simeon Ashe. } { John Arthur.

**To all that pray and wait for the
Prosperity of *S I O N*, and the
increase of the Kingdome of our Lord
Jesus Christ to the ends of the Earth.**

Grace and Peace be multiplied.

Beloved Brethren,

AS, The *One thing* which ye have desired of the Lord, and which yee have sought after, is, that your selves might dwell in the house of the Lord all the dayes of your lives, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple: So, I am much assured that the next thing which yee have desired of the Lord, and which ye have earnestly sought after, is, that they who have hitherto been strangers to, might dwell also in the house of the Lord all the dayes of their lives, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple; yea, that they might be a house and a Temple of the Lord. This being the gracious designe of your holy breathings unto God, and of your liberall contributings unto men, ye cannot but rejoyce to hear of any thing which looketh like, much more which really is a fruit and return of such breathings and contributings. Holy prayers and zealous endeavours are very sweet in their acts, but they are much more sweet in their effects and issues. It should mightily encourage the seed of *Jacob* to pray, because God hath said, that he hath not said to the seed of *Jacob*, *seeke yee me in vaine*. But how should it provoke the seed of *Jacob* to give thanks, when

they find that they have not sought the Lord in vaine ? and that their labours have not been in vaine in the Lord ?

Beloved Brethren, yee may now see and tast the fruit of those Prophecies, which ye have been helping to the birth. *The Wildernesse and solitary places are glad, the desert rejoyceth and blossometh, as the Rose it blossometh abundantly, and rejoyceth even with joy and singing. The glory of Lebanon is given to it, the excellency of Carmell and Sharon, these see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.*

This little Book of Observations and Experiences gives you a brief and faithfull Narrative of the increasing glory of Christ by the Progresse of the Gospel in *New-England* : It tells you how Christ hath there led captivity captive, and given gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious, that the Lord God might dwell among them. Where the strong man Armed kept the house (for many Ages and Generations, and all was in peace :) there now (Christ) *A stronger then he*, hath come upon him, and hath (in many examples) overcome him and taken from him all his Armour wherein he trusted, and divided his spoyle: Now Christ keeps the house, which Satan formerly kept ; yea, they who were kept by Satan as his house, are now ready and earnestly desire to be built up as a house for Christ. The poor, naked, ignorant *Indians* who lately knew no civill Order, now beg to be brought into Church Order, to live under the Government, and enjoy the holy Ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the purest way of Gospel-worship.

May we not now (*Beloved*) make mention of *Rahab and Babylon* to them that know Christ ? *Behold Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia, this man was borne there ; and of Sion (in New-England) it may be said, this and that man (of the wild, rude, and barbarous Indians) was borne there.* Read this short discourse, and it will tell you that the Lord hath blessed the labours of the Messengers of *Sion* in *New-England*, with the Conversion of some (I may say, of a considerable number) of the *Indians*, to be a kind of first fruits of his (new) Creatures there. O let

old *England* rejoyce in this, that our brethren who with extream difficulties and expences have Planted themselves in the *Indian Wildernesses*, have also laboured night and day with prayers and tears and Exhortations to Plant the *Indians as a spirituall Garden*, into which Christ might come and eat his pleasant fruits. Let the gaining of any of their souls to Christ, and their turning to God from Idols to serve the living and true God, be more pretious in our eyes then the greatest gaine or return of Gold and Silver. This gaine of soules is a *Merchandize* worth the glorying in upon all the *Exchanges*, or rather in all the *Churches* throughout the world. *This Merchandize is Holinesse to the Lord*: And of this the ensuing Discourse presents you with a Bill of many particulars, from your spirituall *Factory in New England*, as the improvement of your former adventures thether, for the promoting of that heavenly Trade ; as also for an encouragement not only to all those who have freely done it already, to adventure yet more, but also for the quickning of those who hitherto have not done it, now to underwrite themselves Adventurers for the advancement of so holy and hopefull a designe. I shall adde only this one word, That, *Whosoever shall thus Adventer for Christ, shall have Christ for his Insurer*. To his Grace and Blessing I recommend both you and this Blessed Work, who am

Dearly Beloved,

*A hearty well-wisher to the Propagation of
the Gospel ; and your Servant for
Christs sake.*

J O S E P H C A R Y L.

**A BRIEF
NARRATION
OF THE
INDIANS
PROCEEDINGS**

In respect of

Church-Estate,

A N D

How the Case standeth at the present
with us.

AFTER I had spent my poor labours among the *Indians* for the space of neer four years, it pleased God to stir up in them a great desire of partaking in the Ordinance of Baptism, and other Ecclesiasticall Ordinances in way of Church Communion. But I declared unto them how necessary it was, that they should first be Civilized, by being brought from their scattered and wild course of life, unto civill Co-habitation and Government, [p. 2.] before they could, according to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, be fit to be betruſted with the ſacred Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, in Church-

Communion. And therefore I propounded unto them, that they should look out some fit place to begin a Towne, unto which they might resort, and there dwell together, enjoy Government, and be made ready and prepared to be a People among whom the Lord might delight to dwell and Rule.

When they understood the mind of God in this matter, they were desirous to set upon the work : The reallity of which desires, the living have actually expressed, by their performance thereof (in some poor measure) and some of them dying, left their earnest affections and desires with the rest, to set upon that work ; especially *Wampooas*, a godly man, of whose death and exhortations that way, I have made some mention in some former Letters.

We accordingly attended therunto, to search for a fit place, and finally, after sundry journeyes and travells to several places, the Lord did by his speciall providence, and answer of prayers, pitch us upon the place where we are at *Natick*. Unto which place my purpose at first was to have brought all the Praying *Indians* to Co-habit together : But it so fell out (by the guidance of God, as it now appeareth) that because the *Cohannet Indians* desired a place which they had reserved for themselves, and I finding that I could not at that time pitch there without opposition from some *English*, I refused that place, and pitched at *Natick*, where I found no opposition at present. This choyce of mine did move in the *Cohannet Indians* a jealousie that I had more affection unto those other *Indians* than unto them. By which occasion (together with some other Providences of God, as the death of *Cutshamoquin*, and the coming of *Josias*, to succeed in the Sachemship in that place) their minds were quite alienated from the place of *Natick*, though not from the work, for they desire to make a Towne in that fore-mentioned place of their owne, named *Ponkipog*, and are now upon the work. And indeed, it now appeareth to be of the Lord, because we cannot have competent accommodations at *Natick*, for those that be there, which are about fifty Lots, more or lesse. [p. 3.] And furthermore, by the blessing of God upon the work, there are People, partly prepared, and partly preparing for three Townes more. Insomuch, as that it is most evident, that had I proceeded according to my first intentions, to have called them all unto that one place, we must have been forced very quickly to have scattered againe, for want of accommodations for so great a company of Inhabitants, and so have discouraged them at our first onset of drawing them from their scattered way of living, unto Co-habitation : seeing it would have brought them unto such wants and streights as they could not have graped withall, but rather would have been occasioned to think there were insuperable difficulties in this enterprise : Whereas in lesser companies they may find a more plentifull and better course of life then they found in that former way out of which they are called ; as through

Gods mercy, and the bounty of good people in *England*, whose love layeth the foundation-stone of the work, they doe already feele and find at *Natick*, and begin to find at *Ponkipog*.

In prosecution of this work in the year 1650 we began by the Lords assistance our first Towne at *Natick*, where we built a Fort, and one dwelling-house. In the year 51 after Fasting and Prayer about that matter, they gave up themselves and their Children to be governed by the Lord, according to his word, in all wayes of civility, and chose among themselves Rulers of ten, fifty, and an hundred, according to the holy Patterne, so far as they could : In which way of Government the Lord hath not a little owned them, and blessed them.

In the year 52 I perceiving the grace of God in sundry of them, and some poor measure of fitnessse (as I was perswaded) for the enjoyment of Church-fellowship, and Ordinances of Jesus Christ, I moved in that matter, according as I have in the Narration thereof, briefly declared. In the year 53 I moved not that way, for these Reasons.

I having sent their Confessions to be published in *England*, I did much desire to hear what acceptance the Lord gave unto them, in the hearts of his people there, who daily labour at the Throne of grace, and by other expressions of their loves, for an holy birth of this work of the Lord, to the praise of Christ, and [p. 4.] the enlargement of his Kingdome. As also my desire was, that by such Books as might be sent hither, the knowledge of their Confessions might be spread here, unto the better and fuller satisfaction of many, then the transacting thereof in the presence of some could doe. These Books came by the latter Ships (as I remember) that were bound for *New-England*, and were but newly out when they set saile, and therefore I had not that answer that year, which my soule desired, though something I had which gave encouragement, and was a tast of what I have more fully heard from severall this year, praised be the Lord.

Besides there fell a great damping and discouragement upon us by a jealousie too deeply apprehended, though utterly groundlesse, viz. That even these praying *Indians* were in a conspiracy with others, and with the *Dutch*, to doe mischief to the *English*. In which matter, though the ruling part of the People looked otherwise upon them, yet it was no season for me to stir or move in this matter, when the waters were so troubled. This businesse needeth a calmer season, and I shall account it a favour of God when ever he shall please to cause his face to shine upon us in it. Yet this I did the last year, after the Books had been come a season, there being a great meeting at *Boston*, from other Colonies as well as our owne, and the Commisсионers being there, I thought it necessary to take that opportunity to prepare and open the way in a readinesse against

this present year, by making this Proposition unto them ; namely, *That they having now seen their confessions, if upon further triall of them in point of knowledge, they be found to have a competent measure of understanding in the fundamentall points of Religion ; and also, if there be due testimony of their conversation, that they walke in a Christian manner according to their light, so that Religion is to be seen in their lives ; whether then it be according to God, and acceptable to his people, that they be called up unto Church-estate ?* Unto which I had I blesse the Lord, a generall approbation.

Accordingly this year 54 I moved the Elders, that they would give me advice and assistance in this great businesse, & that they would at a fit season examine the *Indians* in point of their knowledge, because we found by the former triall, that a day will be too little (if the Lord please to call them on to Church-fellowship) [p. 5.] to examine them in points of Knowledge, and hear their Confessions, and guide them into the holy Covenant of the Lord. Seeing all these things are to be transacted in a strange language, and by Interpreters, and with such a people as they be in these their first beginnings. But if they would spend a day on purpose to examine them in their knowledge there would be so much the more liberty to doe it fully and throughly, (as such a work ought to be) as also when they may be called to gather into Church-Communion, it may suffice that some one of them should make a Doctrinall Confession before the Lord and his people, as the rule of faith which they build upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the same : And themselves (the Elders I mean, if the Lord so far assist the *Indians*, as to give them satisfaction) might testifie that upon Examination they have found a competency of knowledge in them to inable them unto such a work and state. And thus the work might be much shortned, and more comfortably expedited in one day. I found no unreadinesse in the Elders to further this work.

Some dispute there was about Officers in the Church, if they should be found fit matter to proceed, of which I shall anon speak God-willing.

They concluded to attend the work, and for severall Reasons advised that the place should be at *Roxbury*, and not at *Natick*, and that the *Indians* should be called thither, the time they left to me to appoint, in such a season as wherein the Elders may be at best liberty from other publick occasions. The time appointed was the 13 of the 4 moneth ; meanwhile I dispatched Letters unto such as had knowledge in the Tongue, requesting that they would come and help in Interpretation, or attest unto the truth of my Interpretations. I sent also for my Brother *Mayhu*, who accordingly came, and brought an Interpreter with him. Others whom I had desired, came not. I informed the *Indians* of this appointment, and of the end it was appointed for, which they therefore called, and still doe, when they have occasion to speak of it, *Natootomuhteáe kesuk, A day of asking*

Questions, or, A day of Examination. I advised them to prepare for it, and to pray earnestly about it, that they might be accepted among Gods people, if it were the will of God.

[p. 6.] It pleased God so to guide, that there was a publick Fast of all the Churches, betwixt this our appointment, and the accomplishment thereof: which day they kept, as the Churches did, and this businesse of theirs was a Principall matter in their Prayers.

It hath pleased God to lay his hand in sicknesse upon *Monequasun* our *Natick* Schoolmaster, so that we greatly wanted his help and concurrence in this businesse. Yea, and such is his disease (*viz.* an *Ulcer* in his Lungs) that I fear the Lord will take him away from us, to the great hindrance of our work, in respect of humane means: *Lord increase our faith!*

There fell out a very great discouragement a little before the time, which might have been a scandall unto them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and Prayer, and so turned it another way: Thus it was. Three of the unsound sort of such as are among them that pray unto God, who are hemmed in by Relations, and other means, to doe that which their hearts love not, and whose Vices Satan improveth to scandalize and reproach the better sort withall; while many, and some good people are too ready to say they are all alike. I say three of them had gotten severall quarts of strong water, (which sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gaine, are too ready to sell unto them, to the offence and grief of the better sort of *Indians*, and of the godly English too) and with these Liquors, did not onely make themselves drunk, but got a Child of eleven years of age, the Son of *Toteswamp*, whom his Father had sent for a little Corne and Fish to that place near *Wattertowne*, where they were. Unto this Child they first gave too spoonfuls of Strong-water, which was more then his head could bear; and another of them put a Bottle, or such like Vessel to his mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very drunk; and then one of them domineered, and said, *Now we will see whether your Father will punish us for drunkennesse* (for he is a Ruler among them) *seeing you are drunk with us for company*; and in this case lay the Child abroad all night. They also fought, and had been severall times Punished formerly for Drunkennesse.

When *Toteswamp* heard of this, it was a great shame and [p.7.] breaking of heart unto him, and he knew not what to doe. The rest of the Rulers with him considered of the matter, they found a complication of many sins together.

1 The sin of Drunkennesse, and that after many former Punishments for the same.

2 A willfull making of the Child drunk, and exposing him to danger also.

3 A degree of reproaching the Rulers.

4 Fighting.

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Word was brought to me of it, a little before I took Horse to goe to *Natick* to keep the Sabbath with them, being about ten dayes before the appointed Meeting. The Tidings sunk my spirit extreemly, I did judge it to be the greatest frowne of God that ever I met withall in the work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure, I began to doubt about our intended work : I knew not what to doe, the blacknesse of the sins, and the Persons reflected on, made my very heart faile me : For one of the offenders (though least in the offence) was he that hath been my Interpreter, whom I have used in Translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures ; and in that respect I saw much of Satans venome, and in God I saw displeasure. For this and some other acts of Apostacy at this time, I had thoughts of casting him off from that work, yet now the Lord hath found a way to humble him. But his Apostacy at this time was a great Triall, and I did lay him by for that day of our Examination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan aimed at me in this their miscarrying ; and *Toteswamp* is a Principall man in the work, as you shall have occasion to see anon God-willing.

By some occasion our Ruling Elder and I being together, I opened the case unto him, and the Lord guided him to speak some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did relieve my spirit ; and so I committed the matter and issue unto the Lord, to doe what pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet in the Lord. I went on my journey being the 6 day of the week ; when I came at *Natick*, the Rulers had then a Court about it. Soon after I came there, the Rulers came to me with a Question about this matter, they related the whole businesse unto me, with much trouble and grief.

[p. 8.] Then *Toteswamp* spake to this purpose, *I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God tryeth me whether I love Christ or my Child best. They say, They will try me ; but I say, God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth father, or mother, or wife, or Child, better than me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must correct my Child, if I should refuse to doe that, I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham kill his Son, Abraham loved God, and therefore he would have done it, had not God withheld him. God saith to me, onely punish your Child, and how can I love God, if I should refuse to doe that ?* These things he spake in more words, and much affection, and not with dry eyes : Nor could I refraine from teares to hear him. When it was said, The Child was not so guilty of the sin, as those that made him drunk ; he said, *That he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not sin, and in that he did not believe his counsells that he had often given him, to take heed of evill company ; but he had believed Satan and sinners more then him, therefore he needed to be punished.* After other such like discourse, the Rulers left me, and went unto their businesse, which they were about before I came, which they did bring unto this conclusion, and judge-

ment, They judged the three men to sit in the stocks a good space of time, and thence to be brought to the whipping-Post, & have each of them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the stocks a little while, and the next day his father was to whip him in the School, before the Children there ; all which Judgement was executed. When they came to be whipt, the Constable fetcht them one after another to the Tree (which they make use of instead of a Post) where they all received their Punishments : which done, the Rulers spake thus, one of them said, *The Punishments for sin are the Commandements of God, and the worke of God, and his end was, to doe them good, and bring them to repentance.* And upon that ground he did in more words exhort them to repentance, and amendment of life. When he had done, another spake unto them to this purpose, *You are taught in Catechisme, that the wages of sin are all miseries and calamities in this life, and also death and eternall damnation in hell. Now you feelee some smart as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you to repentance, that so you may escape the rest.* And in more words he exhorted them [p. 9.] to repentance. When he had done, another spake to this purpose, *Heare all yee people* (turning himselfe to the People who stood round about, I think not lesse then two hundred, small and great) *this is the Commandement of the Lord, that thus it should be done unto sinners ; and therefore let all take warning by this, that you commit not such sins, least you incur these Punishments.* And with more words he exhorted the People. Others of the Rulers spake also, but some things spoken I understood not, and some things slipt from me : But these which I have related remained with me.

When I returned to *Roxbury*, I related these things to our Elder, to whom I had before related the sin, and my grief : who was much affected to hear it, and magnified God. He said also, That their sin was but a Transient act, which had no Rule, and would vanish : But these Judgements were an ordinance of God, and would remaine, and doe more good every way, then their sin could doe hurt, telling me what cause I had to be thankfull for such an issue : Which I therefore relate, because the Lord did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.

When the assembly was met for Examination of the *Indians*, and ordered, I declared the end and Reason of this Meeting, and therefore declared, That any one, in due order, might have liberty to propound any Questions for their satisfaction. Likewise, I requested the Assembly, That if any one doubted of the Interpretations that should be given of their Answers, that they would Propound their doubt, and they should have the words scanned and tryed by the Interpreters, that so all things may be done most clearly. For my desire was to be true to Christ, to their soules, and to the Churches : And the trying out of any of their Answers by the Interpreters, would tend to the satisfaction of such as doubt, as it fell out in one Answer which they

gave ; the Question was, *How they knew the Scriptures to be the word of God?* The finall Answer was, Because they did find that it did change their hearts, and wrought in them wisdom and humility. This Answer being Interpreted to the Assembly, my Brother *Mahu* doubted, especially of the word [*Hohpoóonk*] signifying *Humility*, it was scanned by the Interpreters, and proved to be right, and he rested satisfied therein. I was purposed my [p. 10.] selfe to have written the Elders Questions, and the *Indians* Answers, but I was so imployed in propounding to the *Indians* the Elders Questions, and in returning the *Indians* Answers, as that it was not possible for me to write unlesse I had caused the Assembly to stay upon it, which had not been fitting ; therefore seeing Mr. *Walton* writing, I did request him to write the Questions and Answers, and help me with a Copy of them, which I thank him, he did, a Copy whereof I herewith send to be inserted in this place, on which, this only I will animadvert, That the Elders in wisdom thought it not fit to ask them in Catechisticall method strictly, in which way Children might Answer. But that they might try whether they understood what they said, they traversed up and downe in Questions of Religion, as here you see.

Postscript.

LET the Reader take notice, That these Questions were not propounded all to one man, but to sundry, which is the reason that sometime the same Questions are propounded againe and againe. Also the number Examined were about eight, namely, so many as might be first called forth to enter into Church-Covenant, if the Lord give opportunity.

[p. 11.]

THE
EXAMINATION
OF THE
INDIANS

A T

Roxbury,

The 13^t Day of the 4th Month,

1 6 5 4.

Quest : **W**hat is God ?

Answ : An Ever-living Spirit.

Q. What are the Attributes of God ?

A. God is Eternall, Infinite, Wise, Holy, Just.

Q. In which of these are we like unto God ?

A. In Wisedome, Holinesse, and Righteousnesse : But in Infinitenesse and Eternity, God is onely like himselfe.

Q. How many Gods are there ?

A. There is one onely God.

[p. 12.] *Q. Have not some Indians many Gods ?*

A. They have many Gods.

Q. How doe you know these Gods are no Gods ?

A. Before the English came we knew not but that they were Gods, but since they came we know they are no Gods :

Q. What doe you find in the true God, that you find not in false Gods ?

A. I see in the English many things, that God is the true God,

Q. What good things see you in the English ?

A. I see true love, that our great Sachems have not, and that maketh me think that God is the true God.

Q. Doe you love God ?

A. A little I love God, my heart wanteth wisdom, but I doe desire to love him.

Q. Why doe you love God ?

A. Because we are taught this, that when we dye, we must goe to God, and live ever with him.

Q. Who among the Indians shall goe to God, and what are the signes that they shall goe to God ?

A. Every man that truly believeth in Jesus Christ shall goe to heaven.

Q. Whether have you not many jealousies and feares that you love not God in truth ?

A. I hope I have some love to God, but I know that I have but little knowledge of him, I hope I love him.

Q. How doe you understand that God ruleth in your heart ?

A. Before I prayed to God, I knew nothing of God, but since I have been taught, I desire to believe.

Q. What is faith in Jesus Christ ?

A. I confesse I deserve to be damned for ever, and I am not able to deliver my selfe, but I betrust my soule with Jesus Christ.

Q. Whether doth not your soule groane within you, under the sense of unbelief, and other sins ?

A. Since I have been taught, I find my selfe very weak, there is a little in me, sometimes my heart mournes, sometimes I desire more.

[p. 13.] *Q. How doe you know the word of God is Gods word ?*

A. I believe the word that you teach us, was spoken of God.

Q. Why doe you believe it ?

A. Therefore I believe it to be the word of God, because when we learn it, it teacheth our hearts to be wise and humble.

Q. Whether are not your sins, and the temptations of Hobbomak more strong since, then before you prayed to God ?

A. Before I prayed to God, I knew not what Satans temptations were.

Q. Doe you know now ?

A. Now I have heard what Satans temptations are.

Q. What is a temptation of the Devill in your heart, doe you understand what it is ?

A. Within my heart there are Hypocrisies, which doe not appear without.

Q. Whether doe not you find this a principall temptation from the wickednesse of your heart, to drive you away from Christ, and

not to believe the gracious Promises in Jesus Christ? Or whether when you find wickednesse in your heart, you are not tempted, that you cannot believe?

A. My heart doth strongly desire to goe on in sin, but this is a strong temptation, but Faith is the work of Jesus Christ.

Q. *Why doe some believe in Christ, and not others, what maketh the difference?*

A. Because Satan speaks to some, and bids them not believe, and they hearken to him, and God speaks to others, and they believe God.

Q. *Why doe they believe God?*

A. It is the work of the Spirit of God teaching them to believe in Jesus Christ.

Another Indian being asked what he could say further to it, he Answered, *Jesus Christ sendeth his Spirit into their hearts, and teacheth them.*

Q. *What moveth Jesus Christ to send his Spirit, whether any thing in your selfe?*

A. I believe, the Promise of God.

Q. *Whether doe you indeed believe there is a God, Christ, Heaven, Hell, whether have you any doubts concerning these things or no?*

[p.14.] I doe but a little know my owne thoughts, but God throughly knoweth my heart, I desire to believe these things, I desire not to be an Hypocrite.

It being put to another Indian for further answer, he answered, My heart desires truly to pray unto God, and I more and more desire to believe these things. When I am taught by the word Preached, I desire to believe in particular, I desire to believe as long as I live.

Q. *What is the Word of God?*

A. That wherein God hath written his Will, and therein taught the way to Heaven.

Q. *What is sin?*

A. There is the root sin, an evill heart; and there is actuall sin, sin is a breaking of the Law of God.

Q. *Wherein doe you breake the Law of God?*

A. Every day in my heart, words, and works.

Q. *Why are you troubled for sin, that none ever knew but your selfe?*

A. I fear God and Jesus Christ.

Q. *What doe you believe about the immortality of the soule, and resurrection of the body? doth the soule dye when the body dyeth?*

A. I believe, when the body of a good man dyeth, the Angels carry his soule to heaven, when a wicked man dyeth, the Devills carry his soule to hell.

Q. *How long shall they be in that state?*

A. Untill Christ cometh to Judgement.

Q. When Christ cometh to judge the world, what then shall become of them?

A. The dead bodies of all men shall rise againe.

Q. Whether shall they ever dye any more?

A. Good men shall never dye any more.

Q. Whether doe you believe that these very bodies of ours shall rise againe?

A. This body which rots in the earth, this very body, God maketh it new.

Q. Who is Jesus Christ?

[p. 15.] *A. Jesus Christ is the Son of God, yet borne man, and so both God and man.*

Q. Why was Christ Jesus a man?

A. That he might dye for us.

Q. Why is Christ Jesus God?

A. That his death might be of great value.

Q. Why doe you say, Christ Jesus was a man that he might dye, doe onely men dye?

A. He dyed for our sins.

Q. What reason or justice is there, that Christ should dye for our sins?

A. God made all the world, and man sinned, therefore it was necessary Christ should dye to carry men up to Heaven. God hath given unto us his Son Jesus Christ, because of our sins.

The Question being put to another for further Answer, his Answer was, *That God so loved the world, that he gave his onely begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

Q. What is God?

A. An Ever-living Spirit.

Q. What are the Attributes of God?

A. As before.

Q. In these Attributes wherein are we like God?

A. As before.

Q. How many Gods are there?

A. One onely God, but he is three, the Father, Son. and Holy Ghost.

Q. What is Eternall?

A. Man is not like God in Eternall being.

Q. What is infinite?

A. All the World hath an end, but God hath no end.

Q. Had God any beginning?

A. No, but he is ever.

Q. Was there alwaies an Heaven and Earth, how came they to be?

A. Jehovah made them, and Governeth them all.

Q. *Were they ever ?*

[p. 16] A. No.

Q. *How did God make the world ?*

A. Onely the Will of God.

Q. *Out of what matter did God make the world ?*

A. Not of any thing at all.

Q. *How long was God making the world ?*

A. Six dayes.

Q. *How cometh it to passe that the Sun riseth and setteth, that there is winter and Summer, day and night ?*

A. All are the work of God.

Q. *Now the world is made can it keepe it selfe ? By whose strength is it kept together ?*

A. God preserveth it, he made it, and keeps it all.

Q. *In what condition was man made ?*

A. Very good, like unto God.

Q. *What is the Image of God in man ?*

A. Holinesse, Wisedome, and Righteousnesse.

Q. *Was there any sin in the soule of man ?*

A. No.

Q. *What Covenant did God make with Adam ?*

A. A Covenant of Works, *Doe this and live*, thou and thy Children, *Sin, and dye*, thou and thy Children.

Q. *How many Commandements are there ?*

A. Ten.

Q. *What is the first Commandement ?*

A. God spake these words, and said, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.*

Q. *What was the sin of Adam ?*

A. He believed the Devil, and eat of the Tree in the midst of the Garden, of which God commanded him not to eat.

Q. *When Adam sinned, what befell him ?*

A. He lost the Image of God.

Q. *What is that Image of God, which he lost ?*

A. Wisedome, Holinesse, and Righteousnesse.

Q. *To whom is man now like ?*

A. He is like unto Satan.

Q. *What is this likenesse to Satan ?*

A. He is Unholy, Foolish, and Unrighteous.

[p. 17.] Q. *How many kinds of sin are there ?*

A. An evill heart, and evill works

Q. *What doe you call it ?*

A. We daily break Gods Commandements, and there is the root sin.

Q. *What is the wages of sin ?*

A. All miseries in this life, and death, and damnation.

Q. Whose wages is death?

A. All unbelievers.

Q. Seeing but one man Adam sinned, how come all to dye?

A. Adam deserved for us all, that we should dye.

The Question being put to another for further answer, he answered, Adam was the first man, and father of all men, and in him we sinned.

Q. Who is Jesus Christ?

A. Christ is God, born like man, God and man in one person.

Q. Why was Christ man?

A. That he might dye.

Q. Why was Christ God?

A. That his death might be of great value.

Q. How many are the Offices of Christ?

A. Three. A Priest, a Prophet, a King.

Q. What Sacrifice did Christ offer?

A. His owne body.

Q. What hath Christ done for us?

A. He hath dyed for us.

Q. What death dyed Christ for us? Who put him to death?

A. Wicked men.

Q. What else hath Christ done for us?

A. He hath kept all the Commandements of God for us, and also dyed for us.

Q. What hath Christ deserved, or merited for us?

A. Pardon of sin and eternall life.

Q. The same Question was asked another, What hath Christ merited?

[p. 18.] *A.* Pardon of all our sins, because he paid a ransome, the favour of God, and Eternall life.

Q. What else hath Christ done for us?

A. He rose again, and ascended into Heaven.

Q. What doth Christ in heaven for us?

A. He appeareth for us before God, he prayeth for us, and giveth us the New Covenant.

Q. What is the New Covenant?

A. The Covenant of Grace, Repent and believe in Christ, and be saved.

Q. Shall all men be saved by Jesus Christ?

A. All that believe in Christ shall goe to heaven, and be saved.

Q. Why doth thy heart desire Jesus Christ more then sin, and thy former Idolls?

A. Before we prayed to God, I did not desire Jesus Christ, I did desire my sins, but now I see my need of Jesus Christ.

Q. Why doe you need Christ?

A. When I dye, Christ carrieth my soule to heaven.

*The same put to another for further answer, he answered,
We need Jesus Christ, because we are full of sinne.*

Q. How doth Christ worke Grace in our hearts?

A. I beleive Christ hath sent his Spirit into my heart by his word.

Q. What is repentance for sinne?

A. I am ashamed of my selfe, and broken is my heart, I hate, and am aware of all sin.

Q. What most of all breaks your heart, why is your heart broken?

A. Because I have sinned against God.

Q. What see you in sin that breaks your heart?

A. It is not my owne work, but Christ sends his Spirit, and breaks my heart.

Q. What doth he put into your heart, that causeth your heart to break?

A. The Spirit.

[p. 19.] *Q. What wounds your heart most, because you sin, or because you must goe to hell?*

A. Because we must goe to hell.

Q. When you heare that Adam by his sin deserved eternall death, and when you hear of the grace of God sending Jesus to save you, which of these break your heart most?

A. Pardon of sin goeth deepest.

Q. What worke of the Spirit finde you in your heart?

A. The Spirit of God breaketh my heart to repent of all my sin, and turneth me from sin to believe in Jesus Christ.

Q. Whether have you found at any time any such worke in your selfe?

A. I am ashamed of my selfe, I doe not thoroughly find it in my heart to be so.

Q. When God sendeth his Spirit, what doth it worke in us?

A. A change of the heart.

Q. What change hath God wrought in you of late, which was not in you in former times?

A. The Spirit turneth us from our sins. to believe in Jesus Christ.

Q. Doe you finde this in your heart, that your heart is turned from your sins?

A. I find my heart turned, I leave my stealing, lying, lust, and now my heart believeth in Jesus Christ.

Q. Doe you believe in Jesus Christ?

A. I doe believe in Jesus Christ.

Q. What is it to believe in Jesus Christ?

A. I confesse I deserve to be damned, and am not able to deliver

my selfe, and therefore I doe give up my selfe unto Jesus Christ, and trust in him, casting away my sins.

Q. Why doe you cast away your sins?

A. They make me that I cannot love Jesus Christ.

Q. Is there any promise set home on your heart that comforteth you, what Promise doe you remember?

A. I believe the Promise of God, that he will pardon believers in Jesus Christ.

So far they proceeded in *Questions* and *Answers*.

[p. 20.] Some or other of the Elders did severall times publickly call upon the Interpreters, to be attentive to all things that passed, because they must relye upon their testimony, or to that purpose, praying them to speak if they doubted of any thing.

In the conclusion, the Elders saw good to call upon the Interpreters to give a publick testimony to the truth of Mr. *Eliots* Interpretations of the *Indians* Answers, which Mr. *Mahu* and the two Interpreters by him, did, all speaking one after another to this purpose, *That the Interpretations which Mr. Eliot gave of their Answers, was for the substance the same which the Indians answered, many times the very words which they spake and alwayes the sense.*

WILLIAM WALTON.

WHen the day was well spent, in this above-written manner, some that were aged desired that an end might be put unto this work for this time, because by this tast which they had, they saw that which gave them comfortable satisfaction. Then I desired that (if it might be without prejudice to any) they might be further tryed with Questions about Christ, and grace wrought in us by the Spirit; and about the Ordinances of Christ (concerning which, no Questions had been yet propounded) and also about the estate of man after death, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the last Judgement, wherein they were, through the grace of Christ, in some measure instructed. But it was said, that they did perceive that they were instructed in points of Catechisme, by what they had heard from them. When they came to a conclusion, one of the Elders (*viz.* Mr. *Ezek : Rogers*) having first privately conferred with such of the Elders as sate near him, spake words of acceptance and encouragement both to me and to the *Indians*, in the name of the rest. But Mr. *Walton* did not write them, and therefore I omit the rehearsing of them.

This great and solemne work of calling up these poor *Indians* unto that Gospel light and beauty of visible Church-estate, [p. 21.] having

now passed through a second Tryall : In the former whereof, they expressed what experience they had found of Gods grace in their hearts, turning them from dead works, to seek after the living God, and salvation in our Saviour Jesus Christ. In this second they have in some measure declared how far the Lord hath let in the light of the good knowledge of God into their soules, and what tast they have of the Principles of Religion, and doctrine of salvation. Now the Question remaineth, *What shall we further doe? And when shall they enjoy the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in Church-estate?*

The work is very solemnne, and the Question needeth a solemn Answer. It is a great matter to betrust those with the holy priviledges of Gods house, upon which the name of Christ is so much called, who have so little knowledge and experience in the wayes of Christ, so newly come out of that great depth of darknesse, and wild course of life; in such danger of polluting and defiling the name of Christ among their barbarous Friends and Countrey-men; and under so many doubts and jealousies of many people; and having not yet stood in the wayes of Christ so long, as to give sufficient proof and experience of their stedfastnesse in their new begun profession. Being also the first Church gathered among them, it is like to be a pattern and president of after proceedings, even unto following Generations. Hence it is very needfull that this proceeding of ours at first, be with all care and warinesse guided, for the most effectuall advancement of the holinesse and honour of Jesus Christ among them.

Upon such like grounds as these, though I and some others know more of the sincerity of some of them, then others doe, and are better satisfied with them : Yet because I may be in a temptation on that hand, I am well content to make slow hast in this matter, remembering that word of God, *Lay hands suddenly upon no man*. Gods works among men, doe usually goe on slowly, and he that goeth slowly, doth usually goe most surely, especially when he goeth by counsell. *Sat cito si sat bene*, the greater proof we have of them, the better approbation they may obtain at last. Besides, we having had one publick meeting about them already this summer, it will be difficult to [p. 22.] compasse another, for we have many other great occasions, which may hinder the same, and it is an hard matter to get Interpreters together to attend such a work, they living so remote. The dayes also will soon grow short, and the nights cold, which will be an hindrance in the attendance unto the accomplishment of that work, which will most fitly be done at *Natick*.

But above all other Reasons this is greatest, that they living in sundry Towns and places remote from each other, and labourers few to take care of them, it is necessary that some of themselves should be trained up, and peculiarly instructed, unto whom the care of ruling and ordering of them in the affaires of Gods house may be committed, in the absence of such as look after their instruction. So that this

is now the thing we desire to attend, for the comfort of our little *Sister that hath no breasts*, that such may be trained up, and prepared, unto whom the charge of the rest may be committed in the Lord. And upon this ground we make the slower hast to accomplish this work among them. Mean while I hope the Commissioners will afford some encouragement for the furtherance of the instruction of some of the most godly and able among them, who may be in a speciall manner helpfull unto the rest, in due order and season.

And thus have I briefly set down our present state in respect of our Ecclesiasticall proceedings. I beg the prayers of the good people of the Lord, to be particularly present at the Throne of Grace, in these matters, according as you have hereby a particular Information how our condition is. And for me also, who am the most unfit in humane reason for such a work as this, but my soule desireth to depend and live upon the Lord Jesus, and fetch all help, grace, mercy, assistance, and supply from him. And herein I doe improve his faithfull Covenant and Promises, and in peticular, the Lord doth cause my soule to live upon that word of his, *Psal. 37. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.* wherein I have food, rayment, and all necessities for my selfe and Children (whom I have dedicated unto the Lord, to serve him in this work of his, if he will please to accept of them) and this supply I live upon in these rich words of gracious Promise, *vers. 3. Trust in the Lord, and doe good, dwell in the Land, and verily thou shalt be fed.*

Herein also I find supply of grace to believe the conversion of [p. 23.] these poor *Indians*, & that not only in this present season, in what I doe already see, but in the future also, further then by mine eye or reason I can see. Which supply of grace, I live upon in those words of his gracious Promise, which I apply and improve in this particular respect, *vers. 4. Delight thyselfe also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart.*

Herein also I find supply of grace to believe, that they shall be in Gods season, which is the fittest, brought into Church Estate; faith fetching this particular blessing out of the rich Fountaine of those gracious words of Promise, *Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to passe.*

Herein also my soule is strengthned and quieted, to stay upon the Lord, and to be supported against all suspitious jealousies, hard speeches, and unkindnesses of men, touching the sincerity and reality of this work, and about my carriage of matters, and supply herein. Which grace my soule receiveth by a particular improvement of that rich treasury of the Promise in these words, *vers. 6. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgement as the noon day.* And herein likewise I find supply of grace, to wait patiently for the Lords time, when year after year, and time after time, I meet with disappointments. Which grace I receive from the commanding force of that gracious Promise, *vers. 7. Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him, fret not thy selfe,* either for one cause, or

another. Thus I live, and thus I labour, here I have supply, and here is my hope, I beg the help of prayers, that I may still so live and labour in the Lords work, and that I may so live and dye.

T*He Corporation (appointed by Act of Parliament)
for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen
Natives in New-England, desire all men to take notice,
That such as desire to be satisfied how the moneys collected,
are disposed of, may (if they please) repaire to Coopers-
Hall, London, any Saturday, between the houres of Nine
and Twelve in the forenoone, where the said Corporation
meet.*

F I N I S .

Concord, New Hampshire, 12 Dec. 1832.

To the Publishing Committee of
the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Gentlemen,

The enclosed List of Representatives to the General Court of Massachusetts for the years 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, was derived from the State Records of Massachusetts, and communicated to me by a gentleman of Boston. If suitable for your Collections, it is at your service.

With respect,

I am, &c.

JOHN FARMER.

A LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN THE

GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

From the Deposition of Sir Edmund Andros, in 1689, to the Commencement of the New Charter, in 1692.

[The number of Courts summoned during this period was sixteen, which, for convenience in designating those in which each member served, will be numbered. 1689, (1) 9 May; (2) 23 May; (3) 5 June; (4) 5 November; (5) 3 December; 1690, (6) 12 February; (7) 28 May; (8) 8 October; (9) 10 December; 1691, (10) 3 February; (11) 14 April; (12) 20 May; (13) 14 October; (14) 8 December; 1692, (15) 8 March; (16) 4 May. The figures after the names show in which Courts the members served. Those in small capitals were speakers.]

Boston, THOMAS OAKES 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; James Taylor 1, 2; John Clark 1, 2, 7, 8; Theophilus Frary 1, 2, 7-16; Timothy Prout 3, 5-16; PENN TOWNSEND 3-16; Adam Winthrop 3-6, 12, 13, 15, 16.

Salem, John Corwin 1, 2; John Price 1-6; John Higginson 3, 5, 6; John Ruck 7-11; Nathaniel Putnam 7-11; Manasseh Marston 12-15; John Putnam 12-15; Timothy Lindall 16.

Dorchester, Samuel Clap 1-16; Timothy Tileston 1-6, 16.

Charlestown, Jonathan Call, sen. 1, 2; John Fowle 1, 2; Richard Sprague 3; Joseph Lynde 3-16; Samuel Heyman 7-16.

Newbury, Stephen Greenleaf 1-7; Thomas Noyes 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 16; Joseph Pike 8-15.

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- Andover*, John Osgood 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Thomas Chandler 7; Christopher Osgood 8, 9; Dudley Bradstreet 10, 11.
- Braintree*, Samuel Thompson 1, 7-10, 12; Christopher Webb 2-6; Joseph Crosby 2; Edmund Quincy 16.
- Medfield*, Edward Adams 1, 2; John Harding 4, 5.
- Wrentham*, John Ware 1, 2; Samuel Fisher 3, 5; Oliver Fisher 4.
- Sherburne*, Edward West 1, 2.
- Beverly*, William Dodge 1, 2, 7; Peter Woodbury 1, 2; William Raymond 3; John Dodge 5, 6; Andrew Elliot 8-16.
- Woburn*, Samuel Walker 1, 2; John Pierce 1, 2; James Convers 3-6, 13, 16; Matthew Johnson 3-12, 14, 15.
- Billerica*, Ralph Hill 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Joseph Walker 1, 2; Simon Crosby 10, 11.
- Dedham*, Nathaniel Stearns 1, 3, 5-8, 10; Thomas Fuller 2; Thomas Metcalf 12; Timothy Dwight 13-16.
- Salisbury*, Jacob Morrill 1, 2, 3, 5; Henry True 1, 2, 9, 16; Nathaniel Brown 12; John Eastman 13, 14.
- Amesbury*, Samuel Colby 1, 2, 3; C. Foote 1, 2; Samuel Foote 6; Thomas Harvey 9, 10; Thomas Fowler 16.
- New Cambridge* (Newton), John Ward 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 15.
- Groton*, John Parris 1.
- Bradford*, Samuel Stickney 1, 2, 3, 6.
- Lancaster*, Ralph Houghton 1, 2; John Moore, jr. 3, 4; John Moore, sen. 5, 6; John Houghton 9.
- Lynn*, Oliver Purchis 1, 2, 3, 5; John Shepard 1, 2; John Burrell 12-16,
- Gloucester*, James Stevens 1, 3, 5, 6, 7; William Ellery 2; William Sargent 8-12.
- Mendon*, Josiah Chapin 1, 2; Capt. Haskell 16.
- Marlborough*, Obadiah Ward, sen. 1, 2, 3, 8-11; John Brigham 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Abraham Williams 13.
- Rowley*, John Pearson, sen. 1-6; Daniel Wicom 1, 2; Ezekiel Jewett 9-11, 13, 14, 16; John Dresser 12.
- Topsfield*, Thomas Baker 1-6; John Gould 9, 10, 11.
- Reading*, Jeremiah Swain 1, 2; Benjamin Fitch 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15; Nathaniel Goodwin 6-11, 16.
- Malden*, Henry Green 1, 2, 3, 16; John Wilson 1, 2, 3; Phineas Sprague 5, 6, 7; John Sprague 4, 6, 8, 10, 11; John Green 13-15.
- Muddy River* (Brookline), Andrew Gardner 1, 2, 3.

Stow, Stephen Hall 1, 2.

Concord, Simon Davis 1 – 7, 16 ; Ebenezer Prout 1 – 7 ; Henry Woodhouse 8 – 11 ; James Blood 12 ; Humphrey Barrett 13.

Milton, William Blake 1 – 6.

Medford, Peter Tufts 1 – 3 ; Peter Tufts, jr. 4 – 6, 10 – 12 ; N. Wade, 13, 14.

Boxford, John Peabody 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14.

Haverhill, Peter Ayer 1 – 6 ; John Johnson 9, 10.

Wenham, Walter Fairfield 1, 2 ; Thomas Patch 1, 2, 3 ; Thomas Fiske 4 – 8, 13.

Sudbury, Peter King 1 – 6 ; Peter Noyes 8 – 11 ; John Haynes 13, 14 ; Joseph Freeman 13, 14.

Roxbury, Samuel Ruggles 1 – 16 ; Nathaniel Holmes 1, 2 ; JOHN BOWLES 3 – 6.

Weymouth, William Torrey 1, 2 ; Ephraim Hunt 1, 2, 7, 12 – 14 ; Jacob Nash 3 – 6, 8, 10, 11 ; John Holbrook 16.

Cambridge, Samuel Champney 1 – 16 ; Edward Fisk 1 – 5 ; David Fisk 6.

Chelmsford, Josiah Richardson 1 – 6 ; Edward Spalding 10, 11.

Marblehead, Nathaniel Norden 1 – 6.

Watertown, WILLIAM BOND 1 – 7, 9, 13 – 15 ; Benjamin Garfield 2, 16 ; Simon Stone 3, 5, 6.

Ipswich, Nehemiah Jewett 1, 2, 7 ; John Wise 1, 2 ; Daniel Epes 3 – 6 ; Simon Stacy 3 – 6 ; Nathaniel Rust 8 – 11 ; Samuel Ingalls 9 – 11 ; Nicholas Wallis 12 – 15 ; William Goodhue, jr. 12, 14, 15 ; Robert Kinsman 16.

Hingham, Thomas Andrews 2 – 6 ; John Leavitt 8, 10 ; Nathaniel Beal 12, 13.

Dunstable, John Waldo 2 ; Cornelius Waldo 3 ; Robert Parris 5.

Deerfield, Thomas Weld 2.

Westfield, Cornet Dewey 2, 13.

Northampton, John King 2, 3 ; Joseph Bridgham 7 ; Medad Pomeroy 9 ; Jona. Hunt 12 ; Joseph Hawley 12, 13, 16.

Hatfield, Samuel Partridge 2, 12, 13 ; Ebenezer Frary 12.

Hadley, Aaron Cook 2, 12 ; A. Cook, jr. 4 ; Timothy Nash 7, 13.

Springfield, Henry Chapin 2 ; John Holyoke 12.

Salem-Village (Danvers), Daniel Andrews 3.

Hull, Abram Jones 4, 5.

Portsmouth, Elias Stileman 7 ; John Foster 7 ; Richard Waldron 12, 13, 16 ; John Pickering 12, 14.

Oakes was Speaker at the 3d, 4th, and 5th Courts ; Bowles at the 6th ; Townsend from 8th to 12th and the 16th ; and Bond at the 13th, 14th, and 15th.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[Continued from Vol. III, Third Series, p. 190.]

REV. DR. HOLMES,

SIR,—As I have hitherto pursued my Ecclesiastical Sketches for New Hampshire without any regard to the order of time the several churches in this State were formed, being, at the time the Sketches commenced, unable to collect any particular information of several of the early churches, the readers of the Collections can have had no connected view of their origin and progress, and their number at different periods. I propose to give you sketches, similar to those already given, of the first fifty Congregational Churches formed in New Hampshire (not including those of which notices have already been given), and shall endeavour to arrange them in the order of time they were respectively organized. Such an arrangement I have long wished to make, and after considerable investigation now attempt, by putting down against each church either the actual time it was formed, or the time when the first pastor was inducted into office. By this method an approximation to correctness may be obtained, as most of the churches were gathered about the time the first ministers were ordained, and generally on the same or the preceding day. The dates without brackets show the time the churches were organized ; those included in brackets the time the first ministers were ordained.

Churches.	Founded.
Exeter 1st church, ...	1638.
Hampton, ...	1639.
Dover, ...	1639.
Portsmouth 1st church, ...	1671.

Churches.	Founded.
Dunstable, ...	[16 Dec. 1685.]
Portsmouth 2d church, ...	1703.
New-Castle, ...	[1704.]
Greenland, ...	[15 July, 1707.]
Hampton-Falls, ...	[13 Jan. 1712.]
Newington, ...	[16 Nov. 1715.]
Durham, ...	26 March, 1718.
Stratham, ...	April or May, 1718.
Kingston, ...	[1725.]
Rye, ...	20 July, 1726.
Concord, ...	18 Nov. 1730.
Somersworth, ...	[28 Oct. 1730.]
Plaistow, ...	2 Dec. 1730.
Newmarket, ...	[1730.]
Chester, ...	[1731.]
Gosport, ...	[26 July, 1732.]
Winchester, ...	12 Nov. 1736.
Pembroke, ...	1 March, 1737.
Kensington, ...	[Nov. 1737.]
Nottingham-West, ...	30 Nov. 1737.
Rochester, ...	[1737.]
East-Kingston, ...	[1738.]
Keene, ...	18 Oct. 1738.
North-Hampton, ...	31 Oct. 1739.
Salem, ...	[30 Jan. 1740.]
Boscawen, ...	[8 Oct. 1740.]
Amherst, ...	22 Sept. 1741.
Swanzey, ...	4 Nov. 1741.
Litchfield, ...	[1741.]
Nottingham, ...	[1742.]
Hollis, ...	[20 April, 1743.]
South-Hampton, ...	[1743.]
Epping, ...	[9 Dec. 1747.]
Exeter 2d church, ...	1748.
Pelham, ...	13 Nov. 1751.
Hampstead, ...	[24 June, 1752.]
Brentwood, ...	[1752.]
Charlestown, ...	[4 Dec. 1754.]
Hopkinton, ...	23 Nov. 1757.
Lyndeborough, ...	3 Dec. 1757.
Portsmouth 3d church, ...	14 Oct. 1758.
Newtown, ...	[1759.]
Sandown, ...	[1759.]

New-Ipswich,		[22 Oct. 1760.]
Walpole,		10 June, 1761.
Epsom,		[23 Sept. 1761.]

EXETER.

The first Congregational church in New Hampshire is supposed to have been established at Exeter in the year 1638. The Rev. John Wheelwright, "having been banished from Massachusetts for his Antinomianism, with eight of his brethren, obtained dismission from the church in Boston ; and they formed themselves into a church, and removed to Exeter that year. He continued there till 1642, when the inhabitants of the town came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and Mr. Wheelwright soon after removed, with several of his friends, to Wells in Maine. The original commission for surveying that town was issued by Thomas Gorges in July 1643, and directed to 'Mr. John Wheelwright, minister of God's word,' and two others. He spent about four years in Wells, when he became reconciled to the government of Massachusetts, and was settled in the ministry at Hampton, in this State, as colleague with Mr. Dalton, where he remained about ten years, and then went to England. He was in favor with Oliver Cromwell ; whose contemporary he was in the University. The Protector, upon Wheelwright's being presented, said that 'he could remember the time when he was more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than he had since been of meeting an army in the field ; for he was infallibly sure of being *tript up* by him.' On the accession of Charles II. Mr. Wheelwright returned to New England and settled at Salisbury, Massachusetts, where he died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, Nov. 15, 1679, being at the time of his decease the oldest minister in the colony. Dr. Cotton Mather said of him that 'he was a man of the most unspotted morals and unblemished reputation,' and that 'his worst enemies never looked on him as chargeable with the least ill practices.' He had been in the ministry in England before he came to America. He fled from persecution in his native land, and met it in the wilderness. He appears to have been a man of piety and talents ; but he was a man, and therefore liable to err. The common effect of persecution is not to convince men of the

right, but to confirm them in the wrong. Mr. Wheelwright became sensible that he had erred, and acknowledged it. The Massachusetts government restored him to the freedom of the colony. But it is no easy matter with most men truly to forgive the man whom they have injured. Mr. Wheelwright was not regarded with that respect and esteem which he appears to have deserved. His descendants were reputable. His son, grandson, and great grandson were of the council for the province of Massachusetts.*

Mr. Wheelwright was succeeded in 1650 by the Rev. SAMUEL DUDLEY, a son of Gov. Thomas Dudley. He was born in England about the year 1606; married in 1633 Mary Winthrop, daughter of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. He left seven sons and as many as five daughters. Thomas Dudley, his eldest son, born in Boston 9 March, 1634, graduated at Harvard College in 1651, and was fellow of the College. Mr. Dudley resided some time in Salisbury, and was deputy from that town in 1641, and was occasionally engaged in public business after his settlement at Exeter. He died in 1683, having been considered "a person of good capacity and learning." His descendants are numerous in this State and Maine.

Rev. JOHN CLARK, who graduated at Harvard College in 1690, succeeded Mr. Dudley, and was ordained 21 September, 1698, when "the church was organized anew." He died in the fall of 1705, [one account I have, says 25 July, 1705,] at the age of 35. Ward Clark, his youngest son, was graduated at Harvard College in 1723, and was the minister of Kingston.

Rev. JOHN ODLIN, who graduated at Harvard College in 1702, succeeded Mr. Clark, and was ordained 12 November, 1706. He died in 1754, aged 72, and was succeeded by his son,

Rev. WOODBRIDGE ODLIN, who graduated at Harvard College, 1738, and was ordained 28 September, 1743. He died 10 March, 1776, aged 57. On the side of his mother, he was descended from Rev. John Woodbridge, the first minister of Andover.

Rev ISAAC MANSFIELD, who graduated at Harvard College in 1767, succeeded Mr. Odlin, and was ordained in 1776, and dismissed in 1787.

* Article ECCLESIASTICAL MEMORANDA in Farmer and Moore's Collections, Vol. II. p. 235.

REV. WILLIAM FREDERIC ROWLAND, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1784, was ordained in 1790. — Such have been the ministers of this ancient church for 187 years, during which time there have been twenty-six years in which it was destitute of regularly settled pastors.

Respectfully yours,

F.

Concord, N. H., 23 July, 1825.

[The first portion of the following paper (pp. 297—308,) was originally published in the "Collections of the New-York Historical Society," (Vol. III. pp. 387—404.) By the courtesy of that Society, the Publishing Committee are enabled to insert it here, with the author's emendations, as giving completeness to Dr. Mease's subsequent communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

DESCRIPTION

OF SOME OF

THE MEDALS,

Struck in relation to Important Events in North America, before and since the Declaration of Independence by the United States. By JAMES MEASE, M. D.

1. OCCASION. — Settlement of Pennsylvania. Silver.

Face. — A head of William Penn.

Legend. — WILLIAM PENN — BORN 1644, DIED 1718.

Reverse. Device. — Penn standing; his left hand on his walking cane, and shaking hands with an Indian Chief, who is holding a bow in his left hand.

Legend. — BY DEEDS OF PEACE.

Exergue. — PENNSYLVANIA, SETTLED 1681.*

2. OCCASION. — In honor of the late General John Armstrong, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for destroying the Kitanning Indian town. Silver.

Device. — An officer followed by two soldiers: the officer pointing to a soldier shooting from behind a tree, and an Indian prostrate before him. In the back ground Indian houses are seen in flames.

Legend. — KITANNING DESTROYED BY COLONEL ARMSTRONG, SEPTEMBER 8, 1756.

Reverse. Device. — The arms of the corporation of Philadelphia. These consisted of four devices: on the right hand, a ship under full sail: on the left, a pair of scales equally balanced: on the right, above the ship, a wheat-sheaf: on the left, two hands locked.

Legend. — THE GIFT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.†

* I am not informed by whose authority this medal was struck. It is preserved in the Cabinet of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

† Silver medals were presented to each of the commissioned officers.

The district including the site of the battle fought between General (then Colonel) Armstrong's troops and the Indians, is now called "Armstrong County," and contained in 1812, according to the official census by the marshal of Pennsylvania, 6,413 inhabitants. The population of the county of Armstrong, in 1830, was 17,625.

I have read the copy of Colonel Armstrong's letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania (William Denny), in one of the books of public documents in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, and can assure the Society, that the following account contains all the essential particulars of the action. The letter is very long, and minutely details the progress of his march, and the occurrences that took place during the expedition. The account is taken from Franklin and Hall's "Pennsylvania Gazette" of September 23d, 1756.

"Saturday last, arrived an express from Colonel Armstrong, of Cumberland county, with advice that he marched from Fort Shirley, on the 30th past, with about 300 of our provincial forces, on an expedition against Kitanning, a town of our Indian enemies on the Ohio, about 25 miles above fort Duquesne (Pittsburg).* On the third inst. he joined the advanced party at the Beaver Dams, near Frankstown; and on the seventh, in the evening, being within 6 miles of Kitanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or at most four Indians at it. It was not thought proper to attempt surprising those Indians at that time, lest, if one should escape, the town might be alarmed; so Lieutenant Hogg, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them till day-break: and our forces turned out of the path, to pass by their fire without disturbing them. About three in the morning, having been guided by the whooping of the Indian warriors at a dance in the town, they reached the river, 100 perches below the body of the town, near a corn-field, in which a number of the enemy lodged, out of their cabins, as it was a warm night. As soon as day appeared, and the town could be seen, the attack began in the corn-field, through which our people charged, killing several of the enemy, and entered the town. Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his house bravely through loop-holes in the logs, and the Indians generally refused quarters, which were offered them, declaring they were men, and would not be prisoners. Colonel Armstrong (who now received a wound in his shoulder by a musket-ball) ordered their houses to be set on fire over their heads, which was immediately done. When the Indians were told that they would be burnt if they did not surrender, one of them replied, 'he did not care, as he could kill four or five before he died;' and as the heat approached, some began to sing. Some, however, burst out of their houses, and attempted to reach the river, but were instantly shot down. Captain Jacobs, in getting out of a window, was shot, as also his squaw, and a lad called the king's son. The Indians had a number of spare arms in their houses, loaded, which went off in quick succession as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been stored in every house, blew up from time to time, throwing some of their bodies a great height in the air. A body of the enemy on the opposite side of the river, fired on our people, and were seen to cross the river at a distance, as if to surround our men; they collected some Indian horses that were near the town, to carry off the wounded; and then retreated without going back to the corn-field to pick up those killed there in the beginning of the action. Several of the enemy were killed in the river, as they attempted to escape

* Kitanning is on the Alleghany river, 44 miles above Pittsburg.

by fording it; and it was computed that, in all, between thirty and forty were destroyed. Eleven English prisoners were released, and brought away, who informed the Colonel, that, besides the powder (of which the Indians boasted they had enough for ten years' war with the English), there was a great quantity of goods burnt, which the French had made them a present of but ten days before. The prisoners also informed, that, that very day, two batteaux of French Indians were to join Captain Jacobs to march and take fort Shirley, and that twenty-four warriors had set out before them, the preceding evening, which proved to be the party that kindled the fire the night before: for our people, returning, found Lieutenant Hogg wounded in three places, and learnt that he had, in the morning, attacked the supposed party of three or four, at the fire place, according to order, but found them too numerous for him. He killed three of them, however, at the first fire, and fought them an hour, when, having lost three of his best men, the rest, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy pursuing. Captain Mercer, being wounded in the action, was carried off by his ensign and eleven men, who left the main body in their return, to take another road."

Annexed, is a return of the killed and wounded, and the names of the released prisoners. Captain Mercer,* with twenty-three soldiers, and four released prisoners afterwards returned safe.

The Corporation of Philadelphia, on the 5th of January, 1757, addressed a complimentary letter to Colonel Armstrong, thanking "him, his officers and men, for their gallant conduct, and presented him with a piece of plate, besides the silver medal. A silver medal was also presented to each of the commissioned officers, and "a small sum of money, to be disposed of in the manner most agreeable to them."

3. OCCASION. — Promoting peace with the Indian tribes.

Device. — A head of George the Second.

Reverse. Device. — A citizen and Indian seated under a tree; the former holding up the calumet of peace: the Indian in the act of receiving it. A fire, as usual on such occasions, is between them. The sun is in the zenith.

Legend. — LET US LOOK TO THE MOST HIGH, WHO BLESSED OUR FATHERS WITH PEACE. — 1757.

The medals were struck at the expense of the association (chiefly composed of the religious society called Quakers), formed for the purpose of promoting peace with the Indian tribes. The gentleman† to whom I owe the knowledge of this fact says further, "I well remember the striking of those medals by my father. They were executed in silver and presented to the Indians by the Society. The appropriate inscription on the reverse, is

* General Mercer of the United States army, who died near Princeton, of the effects of a blow received in the battle at that town, January 12, 1777.

† Mr. Joseph Richardson, assayer of the mint of the United States. Mr. Richardson's father was a silversmith in Philadelphia, and the son of one of the original settlers of the province under William Penn. Mr. Richardson informed me that the original dies of the medals for "Colonel Armstrong," and for "promoting peace with the Indians," were in his possession, and permitted me to have some medals struck from them. One of each is deposited in the cabinet of the [New-York] Historical Society.

truly characteristic, and may serve to convey to posterity a just idea of the men of influence in those days."

4. OCCASION. — Evacuation of Boston by the British troops, in 1776. Gold.

Face. — The head of General Washington, in profile.

Legend. — GEORGIO WASHINGTON SUPREMO DUCI EXERCITUM ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Troops advancing towards a town which is seen at a distance. Troops marching to the river. Ships in view. General Washington in front, and mounted, with his staff, whose attention he is directing to the embarking enemy.

Legend. — HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS

Exergue. — BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM XVII. MARTII MDCCLXXVI.

This medal was ordered to be struck by a resolve of Congress, of March 25th, 1776, and to be presented to General Washington. A vote of thanks was also passed to him, and "the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston."

5. OCCASION. — Surrender of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and his army, at Saratoga, New York, in 1777. Gold.

Face. — A head of General Gates, in profile.

Legend. — HORATIO GATES DUCI STRENUO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Gates and Burgoyne in front of the American and British troops. Burgoyne in the act of presenting his sword to Gates. The Americans on the right, with arms shouldered, and colors flying. The British on the left, in the act of grounding their arms, and laying down their colors. By the side of the two Generals are a drum and stand of colors.

Legend. — SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRIONAL.

Exergue. — HOSTE AD SARATOGAM IN DEDITION. ACCEPTO DIE XVII OCT. MDCCLXXVII.

This medal (which weighs 10 half Joannes,*) was ordered by a resolve of Congress of November 4, 1779, which stated the particular defeats of Burgoyne's army and detachments from it. (Journals of Congress, 1777, p. 472.) The reader is referred to "A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, London 1780," for a variety of interesting details of the march, repeated battles, and progress from Canada to Saratoga of the British army: to the British "Annual Register" for 1779, p. 149: also to General Wilkinson's "Memoirs," for many particulars never before published of that expedition, and of the capitulation of General Burgoyne: see also Gates's Life, in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vol. II. with a plate of the medal.

* Medical Repository, New York, Vol. IV. p. 307

6. OCCASION. — Capture of the English frigate *Serapis*, Captain Pearson, by the *Bon Homme Richard*, Captain John Paul Jones. Gold.

Face. — Head of John Paul Jones, a good likeness.

Legend. — JOANNI PAULO JONES CLASSIS PREFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Two frigates engaged yard-arm and yard-arm: the English ship severely battered in the sides. Another ship lying across the bow of the British frigate.

Legend. — HOSTIUM NAVIBUS CAPTIS AUT FUGATIS.

Exergue. — AD ORAM SCOTIÆ XXIII. SEPT. MDCCLXXVIII.

This medal was struck by order of Congress in 1787. The one I saw was of copper. Considering that Jones fought under the American flag, and that the victory over the *Serapis* was highly honorable to our country, he certainly deserved a medal. He had besides made several other captures, and had done great injury to the British. The action between the *Richard* and the *Serapis* was very severe, and lasted four hours. Jones's account of it, and a journal of his naval exploits, may be seen in "Niles's Register," (Baltimore,) Vol. II. p. 296.* Captain Pearson's is inserted in the British "Annual Register," London, 1779. — See also Clarke's *Naval History of the United States*. The *Serapis* carried 44 guns on two decks, the lower battery consisting of 18-pounders; and the *Countess of Scarborough*, her consort, was a new ship of 22 guns. Jones's ship, the *Richard*, he says, only carried 34 12-pounders. The battle was fought by moonlight, off Flamborough head. To relieve himself from the superiority of his enemies, and to cover his ship from the fire of the *Countess of Scarborough*, Jones grappled with the *Serapis*, on which her consort ceased to fire, the captain knowing that by firing he must endanger the *Serapis*; while the captain of the *Alliance*, the American ship in company with the *Richard*, fired three broadsides, which did much mischief to her. She sunk two days after the action. Pearson was knighted after his exchange, and made one of the officers of Greenwich hospital. He died a few years since.

On the 27th February, 1781, Congress passed a very complimentary resolve expressive of their sense of the military conduct of Captain Jones, especially in the capture of the *Serapis*; and of their approbation of the honor intended to be conferred on him by the King of France (as communicated to them) by investing him with the "cross of military merit." And on the 26th June of the same year, they unanimously elected him captain of the *American*, a 74-gun ship; but he was deprived of the honor of her command, in consequence of the loss of the French ship *Magnifique* 74, in the Harbour of Boston, when Congress seized the opportunity to testify their gratitude to their good ally, by presenting him with the *American* to replace her. The King of France also presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was composed of gold, and bore the following flattering motto:

VINDICATI MARIS
LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR
STRENUO VINDICI.

7. OCCASION. — Taking the fort of Stony-Point, on the North River, by storm. Gold.

* See also the Biography of Paul Jones, by Mr. Sherburne, 1825, and another by his niece, Mrs. Taylor, 1830.

Device. — An Indian Queen crowned, a quiver on her back, and wearing a short apron of feathers : a mantle hangs from her waist behind : the upper end of the mantle appears as if passed through the girdle of her apron, and hangs gracefully by her left side. She is presenting, with her right hand, a wreath to General Wayne, who receives it gracefully. In her left hand, the Queen is holding up a mural crown towards the General. On her left, and at her feet, an alligator is stretched out. She stands on a bow : a shield, with the American stripes, rests against the alligator.

Legend. — ANTONIO WAYNE DUCI EXERCITUS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. Device. — A fort with two turrets, on the top of a hill : the British flag flying : troops in single, or Indian file, advancing in the front and rear up the hill : numbers lying at the bottom. Troops advancing in front, at a distance, on the edge of the river : another party to the right of the fort. A piece of artillery posted on the plain, so as to bear upon the fort : ammunition on the ground : six vessels in the river.

Legend. — STONEY POINT EXPUGNATUM.

Exergue. — XV. JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

By the journals of Congress for July 26, 1779, it appears that the attack on the fort of Stony Point was ordered by General Washington on the 10th of July. General Wayne issued his orders on the 15th, on the night of which day the attack was successfully made. Congress passed a vote of thanks to General Wayne, and the officers and soldiers under his command, particularly mentioning Colonel de Fleury, Major Stewart, Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, the two first of whom led the attacking columns, and the two last the parties ordered to destroy the double row of *abatis*, which they did under a severe fire. The first of them lost 17 out of 20 men. Gibbons, Knox, and Mr. Archer, General Wayne's aid, were promoted ; and the stores were divided among the troops. The fort was garrisoned by the 17th British regiment, the grenadiers of the 71st, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, by whom a stout resistance was made. The prisoners amounted to 543. An excellent account of the gallant exploit may be seen in the British "Annual Register" for 1779, p. 192.* Not a musket was fired by the American troops ; and although the laws of war, and the principle of retaliation would have justified the sacrifice of the garrison in return for the cruel conduct of the British General Grey, when he surprised General Wayne near the Paoli tavern, on the Lancaster road, two years before, yet not a man was killed who asked for quarters.

The medal granted to General Wayne is superbly executed, and most tastefully designed. The description is taken from the original in the possession of General Wayne's son. It weighs 63 dwt. 18 grains. Mr. Gibbons is at present collector of the port of Richmond, Virginia. He and his gallant companion Knox were natives of Pennsylvania : Fleury was a Frenchman. Stewart was killed by a fall from his horse, near Charleston, South Carolina, at the close of the American war. Archer died in Philadelphia, about the year 1786.

* And also in the "Analectic Magazine," Philadelphia, 1819.

Captain Benjamin Fishbourne, of Philadelphia, was another of the aids of General Wayne: both are highly praised by the General in his official letter.

8. OCCASION. — Same as the preceding. Silver.

Device. — America, personified in an Indian queen, is presenting a palm branch to Captain Stewart: a quiver hangs at her back: her bow and an alligator are at her feet: with her left hand she supports a shield inscribed with the American stripes, and resting on the ground.

Legend. — JOHANNI STEWART COHORTIS PREFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — A fortress on an eminence: in the foreground, an officer cheering his men, who are following him over *abatis* with charged bayonets, in pursuit of a flying enemy: troops in Indian files ascending the hill to the storm, front and rear: troops advancing from the shore: ships in sight.

Exergue. — STONEY POINT OPPUGNATUM XV JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

9. OCCASION. — Same as the preceding. Silver.

Device. — A soldier helmeted and standing against the ruins of a fort: his right hand extended, holding a sword upright: the staff of a stand of colors reversed in his left: the colors under his feet: his right knee drawn up, as if in the act of stamping on them.

Legend. — VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM. ET PRÆMIUM D. DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPER MUROS RESP. AMERIC. D. D.

Reverse. — Two water batteries, three guns each: one battery firing at a vessel: a fort on a hill: flag flying: river in front: six vessels before the fort.

Legend. — AGGERES PALUDES HOSTES VICTI.

Exergue. — STONY-PT. EXPUGN. XV. JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

10. OCCASION. — Capture of Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army. Silver.

Device. — A shield.

Legend. — FIDELITY.

Reverse. — A wreath.

Legend. — VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ.

Three of these medals were struck by vote of Congress of 3d November, 1780, and presented to John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, who "intercepted Major John André in the character of a spy, and, notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdaining to sacrifice their country for the sake of gold, secured and conveyed him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Benedict Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, and the United States rescued from

impending danger." A pension of 200 dollars annually, during life, was bestowed on each of them. The medals were presented in the presence of the whole army, the year following, by General Washington, with a copy of the resolve ordering the medals, and of the vote of thanks. The design for the medal was given in the resolve of Congress. Paulding died February, 1818. Van Wart died in May, 1828. Williams died in August, 1831, at Livingstonville, Schoharie Co., N. York, aged 79 years. In June, 1829, a monument was erected to the memory of Van Wart, in Greensburgh, Westchester Co., New York, near to the place of the residence of the deceased patriot, in the presence of his widow, descendants, a large assemblage of citizens, and military corps. The following account of it is taken from a newspaper of the time:—

"The monument is a neat structure of white marble, consisting of a base of three ascending steps, and a pedestal upon which stands an obelisk, — in all being from fifteen to eighteen feet high. It stands by the road-side, in a retired valley, in the town of Greensburgh, about three miles due east from Tarrytown, on the Hudson. A little creek winds its way through this valley, bending round to the north in the course of a few miles, until it leaps into the Hudson at Yonkers. The following inscriptions are copied from the pedestal of the monument:

" On the North Side.

"Here repose the mortal remains of

" 'ISAAC VAN WART,

" 'An Elder of Greensburgh Church, who died on the 23d of May, 1828, in the 69th year of his age. Having lived the life, he died the death, of a Christian.'

" On the South Side.

" 'FIDELITY.

" 'On the 23d of September, 1780, ISAAC VAN WART, accompanied by John Paulding, and David Williams, all farmers of the county of Westchester, intercepted Major André, on his return from the American lines, in the character of a spy; and notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdained to sacrifice their country FOR GOLD,—secured and carried him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, the American army saved, and our beloved country, now free and independent, rescued from most imminent peril.'

" On the East Side.

" 'VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ.

" 'Nearly half a century before this monument was built, the Conscript Fathers of America, had, in the Senate Chamber, voted that ISAAC VAN WART was a faithful patriot,—one, in whom the love of country was invincible, and this tomb bears testimony that the record is true.'

" On the West Side.

" 'The Citizens of the county of Westchester erected this tomb in testimony of the high sense they entertained for the virtuous and patriotic conduct of their fellow citizen, and as a memorial sacred to public gratitude.'

"It was on the whole a very interesting spectacle. The number of people present to witness or bear a part in the ceremony, was not far from fifteen hundred; among these latter were twenty-one survivors of the army of the revolution. Several of this little band have the appearance of prosperous days, and a green old age; but far the greater number looked as though time had laid his hand heavily upon them; and several were evidently tottering upon the verge of that bourne, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' All, however, cheerful; and, as they had not met together for years before, they soon engaged in fighting their battles o'er again. This tract of country, it will be recollected, was what was called neutral ground, — lying between the contending armies, and subject to irruptions from both, and consequently to frequent skirmishings. The little valley, too, where the people were now assembled, had been the theatre of some brisk fighting, and near the very spot where the monument was now erected, Mr. Acker, or 'Rifle Jake,' as he was called from the weapon which he bore, and the skill with which he used it, had killed two British soldiers, of a party who were hotly pursuing him, but from which he was so fortunate as to escape, by flying from one point of defence to another, and loading and firing with good effect from each."

When we reflect upon the calamitous events that in all probability would have resulted to the United States from the success of the deep and treasonable plot which those faithful men defeated, the mind shudders: for the stern integrity and love of country exhibited by them, they deserve to be held in everlasting and grateful remembrance by every true American — by every friend to the "asylum of the oppressed throughout the world."

11. OCCASION. — Victory at the Cow-Pens, North Carolina. Gold.

Device. — An Indian queen with a quiver on her back, in the act of crowning an officer with a laurel wreath: his hand resting on his sword: a cannon lying on the ground: various military weapons and implements in the back ground.

Legend. — DANIELI MORGAN DUCI EXERCITUS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. Device. — An officer mounted, at the head of his troops, charging a flying enemy. A battle in the back ground: in front, a personal combat between a dragoon unhorsed and a foot soldier.

Legend. — VICTORIA LIBERTATIS VINDEX.

Exergue. — FUGATIS, CAPTIS AUT CÆSIS AD COWPENS HOSTIBUS.
— XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI.

12. OCCASION. — Same as the last. Silver.

Device. — An officer mounted, with uplifted sword, pursuing an officer on foot, bearing a stand of colors: Victory descending in front over the former, holding a wreath in her right hand over his head: a palm branch in her left hand.

Legend. — JOH. EGAR HOWARD * LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRÆ-
FECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

* Mr. Howard's name was John Eager Howard.

Reverse. Inscription. — QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACIEM SUBITO IRRUENS, PRÆCLARUM BELLICÆ VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS, XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. (Within a laurel wreath.)

These medals were struck by a resolve of Congress of March 9, 1781, which stated that 80 cavalry and 237 infantry of the United States, and 553 southern militia, obtained a complete victory over a select and well appointed detachment of more than 1100 British, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. General Lee says, "The advance of McArthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward, and, outstretching our front, endangered Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire and General Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder: but as it drew near, Howard faced about and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. THIS DECISIVE STEP GAVE US THE DAY. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of our militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus by simultaneous efforts, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general." — *Lee's Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 258.

13. OCCASION. — Same as the two last. Silver.

Device. — An officer mounted, at the head of a body of cavalry, charging flying troops; Victory over the heads of the Americans, holding a laurel crown in her right hand, and a palm branch in her left.

Legend. — GULIELMO WASHINGTON LEGIONIS EQUIT. PRÆFECTO COMITIA AMERICAN.

Reverse. Inscription. — QUOD PARVA MILITUM MANU STRENUÉ PROSECUTUS HOSTES, VIRTUTIS INGENITÆ PRÆCLARUM SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS, XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. (Within a laurel crown.)

14. OCCASION. — Gallant conduct at the Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. Gold.

Face. — Head of General Greene, a profile.

Legend. — NATHANIEL GREEN EGREGIO DUCI COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Victory lighting on the earth, stepping on a broken shield: under her feet broken arms; colors; a shield.

Legend. — SALUS REGIONUM AUSTRALIUM.

Exergue. — HOSTIBUS AD EUTAW DEBELLATIS, DIE VIII. SEPT.
MDCCLXXXI.

15. OCCASION. — Alliance of the United States with France.
Silver.

Device. — A head of Liberty : a liberty-cap on a staff, resting on her right shoulder.

Legend — LIBERTAS AMERICANA 4 JUL. 1776.

Reverse. — Pallas holding a shield in her left hand, with three fleurs-de-lis on it, (the arms of France,) and opposing it to a leopard, which is springing against it : her right hand drawn back, and holding a barbed javelin, as if in the act of plunging it into the leopard : under the shield, an infant strangling a serpent in each hand, which he is holding up ; and, at the same time, stooping to pick up another at his feet.

Legend. — NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS.

Exergue — 17 1777

Oct.

19 1781.

Hercules, according to the ancient mythology, while in his cradle, was said to have strangled two serpents, which had assaulted him, having been assisted by the protection of the goddess Pallas. Infant America, like the Hercules in his cradle, had destroyed two British armies. The two epochs of those exploits are marked in the exergue 17 Oct. 1777, Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga ; and 19th October, 1781, Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. The motto is from Horace, Ode 4th, Book 3d, verse 20. The allusion is highly appropriate and classical. I cannot find any resolve of Congress for this medal. It was, probably, struck by the French government.

The above are all the medals struck in reference to public events, in North America, previously to the close of the war of Independence. Those for General Wayne, Colonel Fleury, and Captain Stewart, were executed under the direction of Dr. Franklin ; and those presented to Generals Washington, Gates, Greene, and Morgan, and Colonels Howard and Washington, were contracted for by the late Colonel Humphreys.* The dies were engraved by Dupré and Du Vivier.

16. OCCASION. — Capture of the French frigate *La Vengeance*, by Captain Thomas Truxtun, of the United States frigate *Constellation*. Decreed March 29, 1800.

Face. — A head of Captain Truxtun.

Legend. — PATRIÆ PATRIS FILIO DIGNO THOMÆ TRUXTUN.

Reverse. — Two ships of war, the French a two decker : both much shattered : the rigging of both much cut up.

* See his letter to Mr. Carey, "American Museum," Philadelphia, Vol. II.

Legend. — THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTELLATION, OF THIRTY-EIGHT GUNS, PURSUES, ATTACKS, AND VANQUISHES THE FRENCH SHIP LA VENGEANCE, OF FIFTY-FOUR GUNS; 1 FEB. 1800.

The war between the United States and France took place without a formal declaration, in the year 1798. The occasion was the repeated captures of our merchantmen by the cruisers, both public and private, of France, then governed by the Directory; the violation of treaties between the two countries; the refusal to listen to any demand of reparation for losses sustained from depredation on our commerce; refusal to negotiate on fair and honorable terms, or even to receive our messengers of peace (C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall, now chief justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry); and demanding a tribute, together with the most humiliating submissions, as the price of an interview! Peace was made after Bonaparte became First Consul, and preliminaries were signed Sept. 3d, 1800, by W. R. Davie of N. Carolina, Wm Vans Murray of Maryland, then the minister of the United States at the Hague, and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, on the part of the United States; and Joseph Bonaparte, Raederer, and Fleurieu, on the part of France.

An account of the action between the Constellation and the Vengeance may be seen in a biographical sketch of Capt. Truxtun in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vol. II, with an engraving of the medals, and in Clark's "Naval History of the United States."

17. OCCASION. — To Commodore Preble, for his good conduct in the attack on the Dey of Tripoli, in 1804. Decreed March 3d, 1805. Gold.

Face. — Head of Commodore Preble.

Legend. — EDUARDO PREBLE DUCI STRENUO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — The American fleet bombarding the town and forts of Tripoli.

Legend. — VINDICI COMMERCII AMERICANI.

Exergue. — ANTE TRIPOLI, MDCCCIV.

An account of the proceedings against Tripoli may be seen in the biography of Commodore Preble in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vols. III and IV.

The United States have set the first example in the world of obliging the Barbary powers to respect their flag, by the force of arms; instead of a disgraceful tribute, which some of the European powers still continue to pay. The history of our expeditions against those pests of society is well worth recording in a separate work. The facts that could be detailed would be highly honorable to our brave countrymen; to their spirit and decision as negotiators; to their extended humanity as regards the liberation of the captives of other nations; and as respects the influence which may be produced upon the happiness of mankind by their example of flogging those barbarians into peace.

TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the third volume of the New York Historical Society's "Collections," I have described seventeen Medals which had been struck at various times in Europe, and in Pennsylvania; some in reference to events in the American Colonies; others in honor of the military heroes of the American war;—of the captors of Major André; of Captain Truxtun for the capture of a French frigate in the year 1800; and of Commodore Preble for his attack on Tripoli with an American squadron in the year 1804. I have now the pleasure to send you a description of the Medals presented to the officers who distinguished themselves during the late war with England, by sea and land; of one awarded to Major (afterwards General) Henry Lee, in the year 1779; and of three, engraven and struck by the late Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia.

I am, very respectfully,

JAMES MEASE.

Philadelphia, December 1, 1832.

-
1. Isaac Hull, ... Constitution and Guerriere.
 2. Jacob Jones, ... Wasp and Frolic.
 3. Stephen Decatur, . . United States and Macedonian.
 4. William Bainbridge, . Constitution and Java.
 - 5, 6, 7. O. H. Perry, . Lake Erie.
 8. J. D. Elliott, ... do. do.
 9. William Burrows, . Enterprise and Boxer.
 10. Edward R. M'Call, . do. and do.
 11. James Lawrence, . Hornet and Peacock.
 12. Thomas Macdonough, Lake Champlain.
 13. Robert Henly, . . . do. do.
 14. Stephen Cassin, . . do. do.
 15. Lewis Warrington, . Peacock and Epervier.
 16. Johnston Blakeley, . Wasp and Reindeer.
 17. Charles Stewart, . . Constitution and Cyane and Levant.
 18. General Scott, . . . Battles of Chippewa and Niagara.
 19. General Miller, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
 20. General Gaines, . . Battle of Erie.
 21. General Porter, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
 22. General Brown, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
 23. General Ripley, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
 24. General Macomb, . Plattsburg.
 25. James Biddle, . . . Hornet and Penguin.

- 26. General Jackson, . New Orleans.
- 27. General Shelby, . . Battle of the Thames.
- 28. General Harrison, . Battle of the Thames.
- 29. Major Lee's Medal.
- 30. Franklin's Medal.
- 31, 32, 33. Medals of Franklin and Washington by Mr. Sansom.

1. OCCASION. — Capture of the British frigate *Guerriere*.

To Isaac Hull, commander of the frigate *Constitution*, for the capture of the English frigate *Guerriere*, Captain J. R. Dacres. Decreed January 29, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Hull.

Legend. — ISAACUS HULL PERITOS ARTE SUPERAT, JUL. MDCCCXII. ANG. CERTAMINE FORTES.

Reverse. — The battle between the *Constitution* and *Guerriere* is represented in that particular and interesting stage, when the boarders from the *Guerriere* were repulsed, and a raking fire from the *Constitution* had cut away the main and foremasts of the *Guerriere*, which are falling, leaving the American ship little injured.

Legend. — HORÆ MOMENTO VICTORIA.

Exergue. — INTER CONST. NAV. AMER. ET GUER. ANGL.

Silver Medals were also voted to the commissioned officers of the *Constitution*.

2. OCCASION. — Capture of the British sloop of war *Frolic*.

To Captain Jacob Jones of the State of Delaware, commander of the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, for the capture of the British sloop-of-war *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, October 18, 1812. Decreed January 29, 1813.

Face. — Bust of Captain Jones.

Legend. — JACOBUS JONES. VIRTUS IN ARDUA TENDIT.

Reverse. — Two ships closely engaged, the bowsprit of the *Wasp* between the masts of the *Frolic*; men engaged on the bow of the *Wasp* while in the act of boarding the *Frolic*; the main-topmast of the *Wasp* shot away.

Legend. — VICTORIAM HOSTI MAJORI CELERRIME RAPUIT.

Exergue. — INTER WASP NAV. AMERI. ET FROLIC NAV. ANG. DIE XVIII. OCT. MDCCCXII.

Silver medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the *Wasp*.

3. OCCASION. — Capture of the British frigate *Macedonian*.

To Captain Stephen Decatur of Philadelphia, commander of the frigate *United States*, for the capture of the British frigate *Macedonian*, Captain John Carden, October 25, 1812. Decreed March 3d, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Decatur.

Legend. — STEPHANUS DECATUR, NAVARCHUS PUGNIS PLURIBUS VICTOR.

Reverse. — Two ships engaged ; the topmasts of one shot away, — the other with a few shot only in her sails.

Legend. — OCCIDIT SIGNUM HOSTILE, SIDERA SURGUNT.

Exergue. — INTER STA. UNI. NAV. AMER. ET MACEDO. NAV. ANG. DIE XXV. OCTOBRIS MDCCCXII.

Silver medals were also voted to each of the commissioned officers of the frigate United States.

4. OCCASION. — Capture of the British frigate Java.

To Captain William Bainbridge of Philadelphia, commander of the frigate Constitution, for the capture of the British frigate Java, Captain Lambert, December 29, 1812. Decreed March 3d, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Bainbridge.

Legend. — GULIELMUS BAINBRIDGE PATRIA VICTISQUE LAUDATUS.

Reverse. — A ship with three stumps only of her masts standing ; the American ship with but a few shot-holes in her sails.

Legend. — PUGNANDO.

Exergue. — INTER CONST. NAV. AMERI. ET JAV. NAV. ANGL. DIE XXIX. DECEM. MDCCCXII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to each of the commissioned officers of the frigate Constitution.

5. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

To Captain Oliver Hazard Perry of Rhode Island, commander of the fleet on Lake Erie ; for the signal victory over a British squadron of superior force on that lake, September 10, 1813. Decreed January 6th, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend. — OLIVERUS H. PERRY, PRINCEPS STAGNO ERIENSI, CLASSIM TOTAM CONTUDIT.

Reverse. — A fleet closely engaged.

Legend. — VIAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT.

Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE X. SEPT. MDCCCXIII.

6. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

Another Gold Medal was presented by the State of Pennsylvania to Captain Perry, by a vote of January 31, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend. — OLIVERUS HAZARD PERRY PRO PATRIA VICIT. PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Reverse.—A fleet of small vessels engaged. Captain Perry standing up in a boat, while passing from the Lawrence (which was disabled) to the Niagara, to which vessel Captain Perry shifted his flag. An eagle perched on the truck of the Niagara.

Legend.—WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS.

Exergue.—BRITISH FLEET ON LAKE ERIE CAPTURED SEPT. 10, 1813.

7. OCCASION.—Victory on Lake Erie.

A third Medal was struck by the Government of Pennsylvania to be presented to those citizens of Pennsylvania who volunteered on board the American fleet, on Lake Erie, January 31, 1814.

Face.—A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend.—OLIVER HAZARD PERRY PRO PATRIA VICIT.
PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Reverse.—A laurel wreath surrounding a blank for the insertion of the name of the officer.

Legend.—WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS.

Exergue.—IN TESTIMONY OF HIS PATRIOTISM AND BRAVERY
IN THE NAVAL ACTION ON LAKE ERIE, SEPT. 10, 1813.

8. OCCASION.—Victory on Lake Erie.

To Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott, of Baltimore, second in command, for gallantry in the action on Lake Erie. Decreed January 6, 1814.

Face.—A bust of Captain Elliott.

Legend.—JESSE D. ELLIOTT. NIL ACTUM REPUTANS SI QUID
SUPERESSET AGENDUM.

Reverse.—A fleet engaged.

Legend.—VIAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT.

Exergue.—INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE X. SEPT.
MDCCCXIII.

Silver Medals, with suitable emblems and devices, were also decreed to each of the commissioned officers, whether of the navy or army, serving on board; and one to the nearest male relative of Lieutenant John Brooks of the marines,* who was killed in the action.

Gold Medals were also voted to Captain Elliott and Lieutenant John J. Yarnell, by the government of Pennsylvania, for their gallantry in the action on the Lake.

9. OCCASION.—Capture of the British sloop-of-war Boxer.

To the nearest male relative of Lieutenant William Burrows, of Philadelphia, commander of the brig Enterprise, and killed in action; for the capture of the British sloop of war Boxer, Captain Blythe, September 4, 1813.

* Son of the late Governor Brooks of Massachusetts.

Face. — An Urn with the inscription, W. BURROWS, on the pedestal; military emblems tastefully arranged on each side, — one is a coronal wreath hanging from a trident.

Legend. — VICTORIAM TIBI CLARAM, PATRIÆ MESTAM.

Reverse. — Two brigs engaged. The Boxer on the larboard side of the Enterprise. Main-topmast of the Boxer shot away.

Legend. — VIVERE SAT VINCERE.

Exergue. — INTER ENTERPRISE NAV. AMERI. ET BOXER NAV. BRIT. DIE IV. SEPT. MDCCXIII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Enterprise.

10. OCCASION. — Same as the preceding.

To Lieutenant Edward R. M'Call of South Carolina, second in command on board the Enterprise. Decreed January 6, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Lieutenant M'Call.

Legend. — EDWARD R. M'CALL NAVIS ENTERPRISE PRÆFECTUS.

Exergue. — SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

Reverse, and *inscription* on the *exergue*, the same as those on the Medal of Lieutenant Burrows.

11. OCCASION. — Capture of the British brig Peacock.

To the nearest male relative of Captain James Lawrence, of New Jersey, commander of the sloop-of-war Hornet, for the capture of the British brig Peacock, Captain William Peake. January 11, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Lawrence.

Legend. — JAC. LAWRENCE. DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI.

Reverse. — A vessel in the act of sinking, mizen mast shot away; — a boat rowing towards her from the American ship.

Legend. — MANSUETUD. MAJ. QUAM VICTORIA.

Exergue. — INTER HORNET NAV. AMERI. ET PEACOCK NAV. ANG. DIE XXIV. FEB. MDCCXIII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to each commissioned officer of the Hornet.

12. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Champlain.

To Captain Thomas Macdonough, of Delaware, commander of the fleet on Lake Champlain.

Face. — A bust of Captain Macdonough.

Legend. — THO. MACDONOUGH STAGNO CHAMPLAIN CLASS. REG. BRITAN. SUPERAVIT.

Reverse. — Fleet engaged; many boats on the lake; Plattsburg in sight.

Legend. — UNO LATERE PERCUSO ALTERUM IMPAVIDE VERTIT.

Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT.
MDCCCXIV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the fleet, and to the officers of the army on board of it, and to the nearest male relative of Lieutenant Peter Gamble, and of Lieutenant Stansbury, who were killed in the engagement.

13. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Champlain.

To Captain Robert Henley, second in command on Lake Champlain.

Face. — A bust of Captain Henley.

Legend. — ROB. HENLEY EAGLE PRÆFECT. PALMA VIRTU.
PER ÆTERNIT. FLOREBIT.

Reverse. — A fleet engaged before a town enveloped in smoke. Several boats on the lake filled with sailors rowing.

Legend. — UNO LATERE PERCUSO ALTERUM IMPAVIDE VERTIT.

Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT.
MDCCCXIV.

14. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Champlain.

To Lieutenant Stephen Cassin.

Face. — A bust of Lieutenant Cassin.

Legend. — STEP. CASSIN TICONDEROGA PRÆFECT. QUÆ REGIO
IN TERRIS NOS. NON PLENA LAB.

Reverse, and *inscription* on the *exergue*, the same as on Captain Henley's Medal.

15. OCCASION. — Capture of the British brig L'Epervier.

To Captain Lewis Warrington of Virginia, commander of the sloop-of-war Peacock, for the capture of the British brig L'Epervier, Captain Wales, April 29, 1814. Decreed October 21, 1814.

Face. — LUDOVICUS WARRINGTON DUX NAVALIS AMER.

Reverse. — Two ships engaged; the topmast of one shot off.

Legend. — PRO PATRIA PARATUS AUT VINCERE AUT MORI.

Exergue. — INTER PEACOCK NAV. AMERI. ET EPERVIER NAV.
ANG. DIE XXIX. MAR. MDCCCXIV.

16. OCCASION. — Capture of the British sloop-of-war Reindeer.

To Captain Johnston Blakeley, of North Carolina, commander of the sloop-of-war Wasp, for the capture of the British sloop-of-war Reindeer, Captain Manners, June 28, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Blakeley.

Legend. — JOHNSTON BLAKELEY REIP. FED. AM. NAV. WASP DUX.

Reverse. — Two ships engaged.

Legend. — EHEU! BIS VICTOR. PATRIA TUA TE LUGET PLAUDITQ.

Exergue. — INTER WASP NAV: AMERI. ET REINDEER NAV. ANG.
DIE XXVIII JUN. MDCCCXIV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Wasp.

17. OCCASION. — Capture of the Cyane and the Levant.

To Captain Charles Stewart, of Philadelphia, commander of the Frigate Constitution, for the capture of the Cyane, Captain Gordon Falcon, and of the Levant, Captain George Douglass, February 20, 1815.

Face. — A bust of Captain Stewart.

Legend. — CAROLUS STEWART NAVIS AMERI. CONSTITUTION DUX.

Reverse. — Two ships closely engaged ; a third at a little distance.

Legend. — UNA VICTORIAM ERIPUIT RATIBUS BINIS.

Exergue. — INTER CONSTITU. NAV. AMERI. ET LEVANT ET
CYANE NAV. ANG. DIE XX FEB. MDCCCXV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Constitution.

18. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa and Niagara.

To General Scott.

Face. — A bust of General Scott.

Legend. — MAJOR GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

Reverse. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 3, 1814.
BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814.
(Surrounded by a wreath of laurel and palm entwining a snake.)

19. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie.

To General Miller.

Face. — A bust of General Miller.

Legend. — BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MILLER.

Exergue. — I 'LL TRY.

Reverse. — Two armies engaged on a hill ; troops advancing at a distance.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA,
JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

20. OCCASION. — Battle of Fort Erie.

To General Gaines.

Face. — A bust of General Gaines.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL EDMUND P. GAINES.

Reverse. — Victory standing on a shield, under which are a stand of colors and a halbert, and holding a palm-branch in her left hand, as in the act of placing a laurel crown on the cascabel of a cannon marked R, which is fixed upright in the ground, and is surrounded

with a scroll inscribed ERIE. On one trunnion rests a stand of British colors, and from the other is suspended a broad-sword. By the side of the cannon are a howitzer, helmet, and several balls. Behind the cannon is a halbert.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLE OF ERIE, AUG. 15, 1814.

21. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie.
To General Porter.

Face. — A bust of General P. B. Porter.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL P. B. PORTER.

Reverse. — Victory standing, holding a palm-branch and wreath in her right hand; and three stands of colors, bearing the inscriptions "NIAGARA, ERIE, CHIPPEWA," in her left. The Muse of history is recording the above names.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

22. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
To Major General Brown.

Face. — A bust of General Brown.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN.

Reverse. — The Roman fasces, as indicative of the union and strength of the States; the top encircled with a laurel wreath, from which are suspended three tablets, bearing the inscriptions ERIE, NIAGARA, CHIPPEWA; and encircled by three stands of British colors and other military implements. In front and at the base of the fasces is an American eagle, standing on the British colors, its wings outspread.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

23. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
To General Ripley.

Face. — A bust of General Ripley.

Legend. — BRIG. GENERAL ELEAZER W. RIPLEY.

Reverse. — Victory holding up a tablet among the branches of a palm-tree, inscribed with NIAGARA, CHIPPEWA, ERIE. In her right hand, which gracefully hangs by her side, are a trumpet and laurel wreath.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

24. OCCASION. — Battle of Plattsburg.

To General Macomb.

Face. — A bust of General Macomb.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB.

Reverse. — A battle on land, Plattsburgh in sight; troops crossing a bridge, on the head of which the American standard is flying; vessels engaged on the Lake.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG, SEPT. 11, 1814.

25. OCCASION. — Capture of the sloop-of-war Penguin.

To Captain James Biddle, of Philadelphia, commander of the sloop-of-war Hornet, for the capture of the sloop-of-war Penguin, Captain Dickinson, in 22 minutes, March 23, 1815.

Face. — Bust of Captain Biddle.

Legend. — THE CONGRESS OF THE U. S. TO CAPT. JAMES BIDDLE FOR HIS GALLANTRY, GOOD CONDUCT, AND SERVICES.

Reverse. — Two ships engaged: the Peak of Tristan d' Acunha in sight.

Legend. — CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH SHIP PENGUIN BY THE U. S. SHIP HORNET.

Exergue. — OFF TRISTAN D' ACUNHA, MARCH XXIII. MDCCCXV.

Silver Medals were also presented to the commissioned officers of the Hornet.

26. OCCASION. — Victory at New-Orleans.

To General Jackson.

Face. — A bust of General Jackson.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON.

Reverse. — Victory seated, and supporting a tablet before her, with her left hand, which also holds a laurel wreath, has commenced the record of the glorious victory of the 8th of January, 1815, and headed the tablet with the word ORLEANS, but is interrupted by a female, personifying Peace, who holds an olive-branch in her right hand, and with her left points to the tablet, as if directing Victory to record the peace between the United States and England. Victory is in the act of turning round to listen to her instructress.

Exergue — BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, FEB. 27, 1815.

27. OCCASION. — Battle of the Thames.

To General Shelby.

Face. — A bust of General Shelby.

Legend. — GOVERNOR ISAAC SHELBY.

Reverse. — A representation of the battle of the Thames, in Canada; Governor Shelby charging the enemy with his mounted Rangers.

Legend. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES, OCT. 5, 1813.

Exergue. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, APRIL 4, 1818.

28. OCCASION. — Battle of the Thames.

To General Harrison.

Face. — A bust of General Harrison.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

Reverse. — A female placing a wreath round two bayonets fixed on muskets and a color-staff stacked, over a drum and a cannon, a bow and quiver; her right hand resting on a shield, bearing the stars and stripes of the United States, and holding a halbert. From the point of union of the stack, hangs a badge, with the inscription, FORT MEIGS, BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, APRIL 4, 1818.

Exergue. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES, OCT. 5, 1813.

29. OCCASION. — Attack, at Paulus Hook.

To Major Henry Lee, (afterwards General Lee,) for a successful attack on a British party at Paulus Hook, New Jersey, in the year 1779.

Face. — Bust of Major Lee.

Legend. — HENRICO LEE, EQUIT. PRÆFECTO.

Exergue. — COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — NON OBSTANTIB. FLUMINIBUS, VALLIS, ASTUTIA ET VIRTUTE BELLICA, PARVA MANU HOSTES VICIT VICTOSQ. ARMIS HUMANITATE DEVINXIT. IN MEM. PUGN. AD PAULUS HOOK, DIE XIX. AUG. 1779. *

30. Medal of Franklin.

Face. — A head of Franklin.

Legend. — BENJ'N FRANKLIN MINIST. PLEN. DES ETATS UNIS DE L'AMERIQ. SEPT. MDCCLXXXIII.

Reverse. — The temple of Independence; three of the Nine Sisters are engaged in working at the columns; four are chiseling a block of stone; two are conversing.

Legend. — DE LEURS TRAVAUX NAITRE LEUR GLOIRE.

In the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. This medal was evidently struck in Paris, and probably by the French government.

* The engraver has made a mistake in the year, and inserted MDCCLXXIX.

The resolution of Congress is in these words: "Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to Major Lee, for the remarkable prudence, address, and bravery displayed by him on the occasion, and that they approve the humanity shown in circumstances prompting to severity, honorable to the arms of the United States, and correspondent to the noble principles on which they are assumed.

"Resolved, That a Gold Medal, emblematical of this affair, be struck, under the direction of the Board of Treasury, and presented to Major Lee."

For the three following medals the world is indebted to the public spirit of the late worthy Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia, who had the dies engraved and the medals struck, at the United States' mint, upwards of thirty years since.

31. *Face*. — A bust of Dr. Franklin.

Legend. — LIGHTNING AVERTED, TYRANNY REPELLED.

Reverse. — An American beaver gnawing down the oak, — symbolical of British supremacy in the United States. Date, 1776.

32. *Face*. — Busts of Washington and Franklin side by side.

Reverse. — The American eagle with an olive-branch in its beak, and the lightning in its claws, descending upon the United States. Date, 1783.

33. *Face*. — A bust of Washington, (a good likeness.)

Legend. — G. WASHINGTON, PRES. U. STATES.

Reverse. — The ensigns of authority civil and military, surmounted with laurels, deposited upon the table of the Union.

Legend. — COMMISS. RESIGNED : PRESIDENCY RELINQ.

Exergue. — 1797.

The three following medals are in the Cabinet of Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia, who procured them recently in London.

1. OCCASION. — The acknowledgment of Mr. John Adams, as envoy of the United States to the Dutch Government, during the war of Independence.

Device. — Pallas shaking hands with an Indian queen (personifying the United States), over an altar on which incense is burning ; on the front of the altar is a caduceus between two cornucopiæ. A sun over their heads. Pallas holds her lance in her left hand, bearing on the top a hat of the Dutch fashion, viz. a low crown and broad brim, which she is placing on the head of the queen. One foot of the queen is pressing down the head of a prostrate lion.

Legend. — LIBERA SOROR.

Exergue. — SOLEMNI DECR. AGN. XIX. APRIL. MDCCLXXXII.

Reverse Device. The British Unicorn tumbling forward, with his head against the rock of Independence ; his horn is broken, and part of it lying on the ground.

Legend. — TYRANNIS VIRTUTE REPULSA.

Exergue. — SUB GALLIÆ AUSPICIIS.

By reference to Sparks's "Diplomatic Correspondence," Vol. VI. p. 308, I find that the resolution of the States General to receive Mr. Adams was passed on the 19th of April 1782 ; and as the medal is emblematic of the occasion, and of the two countries, I think there can be no question as to its having been struck in commemoration of that occurrence.

2. OCCASION. Treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and the Dutch Government.

Device. — Fame in a cloud proclaiming, by sound of trumpet, the treaty between the two governments, and holding in her right hand the shields of both nations ; under them is a lion and the club of Hercules.

Legend. — FAUSTISSIMO FÆDERE JUNCTÆ DIE VIII. OCT. MDCCCLXXXII.

Reverse. — Mercury with a caduceus in his hand is crowning a group composed of a shield and battle-axe, surmounted with a crown, and placed against a pyramid from the base of which hangs a scroll inscribed PRODROMUS ; ships in sight ; a cock standing on an anchor-stock.

Legend. — JUSTITIAM ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS.

Exergue. — S. P. Q. AMST. SACRUM.

3. OCCASION. — Battle of Germantown.

Device. — Artillery at a distance playing on a large house ; fields laid off on each side ; troops in the interval.

Reverse. — Inscription, GERMANTOWN, OCT. 4, 1777.

The device refers to the most prominent circumstance of the battle, viz. the taking possession of Mr. Chew's stone house, by Lieut. Colonel Musgrave, with a part of the 49th British regiment, while the American troops were driving the British army before them ; and during the unfortunate delay in attempting to dislodge Musgrave's detachment.

The following Abstracts of the Bills of Mortality for the City of Boston for the eight years 1825—1832, as prepared by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, have been obligingly communicated to the Publishing Committee by SAMUEL H. HEWES, Esq., Superintendent of the Burial Grounds.

For preceding years, see Historical Collections, Vol. I. Third Series, p. 286.

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1825, to 1 January, 1826.*

1825.	Under 1 year		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known.		Stillborn.	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	6	2	6	2	3	1	3	1	2	4	1	2	5	8	6	3	3	2	1	3	2	8	2	2	0	1	6	5	9	99
Feb.	4	4	3	3	4	3	1	1	2	2	2	12	8	3	6	4	3	9	5	3	3	6	3	4	0	3	3	4	11	119
Mar.	7	5	6	4	2	2	1	0	1	2	4	6	6	5	5	3	3	1	4	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	5	2	4	83
April.	8	4	13	6	6	6	1	1	0	2	6	6	3	7	8	7	1	3	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	7	5	5	111
May.	8	5	9	12	10	8	2	3	0	3	7	7	5	1	11	1	4	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	7	7	121
June	11	9	7	7	8	4	1	0	2	2	2	1	4	7	1	0	5	3	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	6	9	4	101
July.	22	20	7	11	1	4	3	2	1	5	10	8	12	8	9	7	3	7	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	9	9	5	170
Aug.	21	21	10	16	7	8	4	2	2	2	5	5	7	2	7	5	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	7	7	152
Sept.	13	11	15	10	5	5	0	3	4	3	7	5	12	8	4	1	4	0	1	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	6	7	12	145
Oct.	20	5	5	4	4	4	5	1	1	5	8	8	7	4	3	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	7	4	5	123	
Nov.	3	8	1	7	4	2	1	3	1	3	7	4	11	7	6	4	1	2	3	3	4	5	1	2	0	1	0	3	8	106
Dec.	12	6	3	3	3	1	5	2	3	2	6	7	4	7	5	7	5	9	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	4	11	120
	134	100	85	85	57	47	27	19	19	35	65	71	85	70	72	45	37	44	21	30	19	36	11	15	1	7	59	66	88	1450

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1825.

Fevers, Typhus . . .	54	Hydrocephalus . . .	38	Cholera infantum . . .	13
" Synocha . . .	12	Hydrothorax . . .	3	Dentitio . . .	15
" Intermittent . . .	1			Aphtha . . .	40
" Yellow (R. I) . . .	1	Rheumatismus . . .	6	Pertussis . . .	27
		Arthritis . . .	1	Rubeola . . .	77
Asthma . . .	2			Scarlatina . . .	1
Pleuritis . . .	6	Erysipelas . . .	1	Cynanche maligna . . .	6
Pneumonia . . .	67	Scrofula . . .	4	" trachealis . . .	24
Phthisis Pulmonalis . . .	220	Lepra . . .	1	" tonsillaris . . .	3
Influenza . . .	7	Variola (Rainsford Island) . . .	1	Vermes . . .	3
Phrenitis . . .	3	Heart, organic diseases of . . .	5	Accidental . . .	11
Diaphragmitis . . .	1	Carditis . . .	2	Drowned . . .	21
Enteritis . . .	15	Palpitatio . . .	1	Murder . . .	1
Cystitis . . .	1			Suicide . . .	4
Hepatitis . . .	16	Old age . . .	38	Suffocation . . .	1
Icterus . . .	9	Marasmus . . .	2	Poison . . .	1
Peritonitis Chronica . . .	3	Sphacelus . . .	8	Frozen . . .	1
				Cold water, drinking of . . .	3
Dysentery . . .	56	Abscessus . . .	2	Heat . . .	3
Colica Biliosa . . .	4	Tumor . . .	1	Sudden . . .	35
Diarrhoea . . .	4	White Swelling . . .	1	Bursting blood vessel . . .	2
Cholera Morbus . . .	11	Carcinoma . . .	7		
Dyspepsia . . .	7	Burns . . .	5	Lethargus . . .	1
Obstipatio . . .	3	Sciatica . . .	1	Spasmi . . .	48
		Calculus . . .	2	Apoplexia . . .	12
Intemperance . . .	23	Syphilis . . .	3	Paralysis . . .	14
Delirium Tremens . . .	7	Hernia . . .	2		
				Unknown . . .	227
Vesania . . .	10	Puerperal diseases . . .	17		
		Stillborn . . .	89	Total . . .	1450
Ascites or Anasarca . . .	28	Infantile diseases . . .	44		

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1826, to 1 January, 1827.*

1826.	Under 1 year.	1 to 2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	Unknown.	Still born.	TOTAL.
	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.		
Jan.	11 6	3 5	6 4	2 4	2 1	7 3	4 3	4 4	5 4	1 2	1 1	1 4	0 1	0 2	6	97
Feb.	7 8	2 4	2 1	0 1	0 4	6 2	5 3	4 3	1 5	4 5	1 5	0 1	0 0	6 0	7	88
Mar.	12 7	3 2	2 4	2 2	0 3	5 7	12 5	5 4	1 4	4 3	1 2	0 3	0 0	1 2	10	106
April,	6 8	8 5	1 6	4 2	1 1	6 2	7 9	4 4	0 4	4 2	1 4	1 1	0 0	1 3	6	101
May,	11 9	4 7	6 5	3 2	1 2	8 6	8 7	7 2	6 3	2 4	2 0	0 1	0 0	1 1	6	114
June,	14 3	5 1	5 2	2 3	4 4	3 5	10 5	6 5	3 1	2 2	2 0	1 0	0 0	1 0	10	99
July,	10 11	2 4	3 1	1 0	3 2	8 5	10 8	9 3	1 2	1 2	4 1	1 1	0 1	1 0	7	102
Aug.	16 13	13 12	2 3	3 3	2 2	8 10	7 0	10 3	3 4	0 4	1 3	1 2	0 0	4 0	4	133
Sept.	20 13	4 12	5 2	3 2	2 3	7 5	8 4	7 4	3 3	1 2	3 2	0 0	0 0	2 1	10	129
Oct.	11 6	4 5	2 1	5 1	0 3	5 14	7 5	6 7	4 2	7 4	1 5	0 0	1 0	1 2	9	118
Nov.	6 2	7 8	2 4	0 0	2 1	5 5	9 7	6 3	4 5	2 0	2 2	0 0	1 0	2 0	8	93
Dec.	9 5	1 2	3 3	0 0	3 3	2 3	9 6	3 4	4 1	0 3	1 0	1 2	0 0	1 2	4	75
	133 91	56 67	39 36	25 20	21 29	70 67	96 62	71 46	35 38	28 33	20 25	6 15	2 2	21 13	37	1254

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1826.

Accidental . . .	14	Fever, Bilious . . .	11	Mortification . . .	9
Abscess . . .	5	“ Typhus . . .	31	Measles . . .	10
Apoplexy . . .	10	“ Scarlet . . .	6	Old Age . . .	40
Asthma . . .	1	“ Putrid . . .	1	Palsy . . .	9
Abscess, lumbar . . .	1	“ Lung . . .	41	Poison . . .	1
Bleeding, lungs . . .	1	“ Slow . . .	2	Pleurisy . . .	7
Burns . . .	11	“ Brain . . .	13	Quinsy . . .	5
Bloody Flux . . .	1	“ unknown kind . . .	9	Rapture . . .	2
Consumption . . .	231	Frozen . . .	1	Rapture of blood-vessel . . .	2
Croup . . .	24	Fistula . . .	2	Rheumatism . . .	4
Canker . . .	25	Fits . . .	45	Scurvy . . .	1
Cancer . . .	5	Gravel . . .	4	Stillborn . . .	87
Colic . . .	4	Gout . . .	1	Spasm . . .	8
Cholera Morbus . . .	5	Heart, diseases of . . .	11	Suicide . . .	5
Canker Rash . . .	4	Hooping Cough . . .	23	Scirrhus of mesenteric glands . . .	1
Cholera Infantum . . .	12	Hip-joint Disease . . .	1	Scalded . . .	3
Child-bed Diseases . . .	12	Intemperance . . .	38	Scrofula . . .	1
Dysentery . . .	47	Inflammation of the bowels . . .	24	Teething . . .	8
Dropsical Diseases . . .	32	“ of the Chest . . .	1	Throat Distemper . . .	6
Dropsy, Brain . . .	29	“ of the Liver . . .	1	Tumor . . .	2
“ Heart . . .	1	“ of the Brain . . .	3	Venereal . . .	1
“ Chest . . .	9	“ of the Stomach . . .	1	Ulcer . . .	2
Delirium tremens . . .	5	Inflammatory diseases . . .	3	Worms . . .	4
Debility . . .	18	Infantile . . .	40	White Swelling . . .	1
Disorders of the head . . .	5	Insane . . .	1		
Drowned . . .	22	Jaundice . . .	5		
Dyspepsia . . .	1	Liver, diseases of . . .	11		
Diseases unknown . . .	161	Lock-jaw . . .	1		
Epilepsy . . .	1	Lethargy . . .	1		
Fever, inflammatory . . .	6				
	703		332	Total	1254

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1827, to 1 of January, 1828.*

1827.	Under 1 year		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known	Still born.	TOTAL.		
	M.	F.	M	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M	F	M	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.			
Jan.	9	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	4	16	5	3	5	2	3	5	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	7	80	
Feb.	6	2	0	1	2	3	0	0	1	5	1	4	4	2	4	8	4	1	0	1	6	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	5	67
Mar.	12	6	2	3	5	5	4	1	3	1	3	6	7	5	4	3	0	5	3	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	6	92	
April	9	9	2	0	4	4	2	0	1	0	1	3	10	4	2	3	6	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	0	1	0	8	83	
May	5	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	1	8	4	8	7	4	4	3	5	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	2	9	88	
June	7	1	5	2	0	3	1	1	1	1	5	6	7	3	4	2	8	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	7	69	
July	5	5	5	4	3	2	1	0	3	2	4	3	6	7	4	9	5	1	4	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	86	
Aug.	13	11	4	10	3	1	3	3	3	4	3	5	5	7	3	3	7	1	3	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	1	1	7	109	
Sept.	14	12	3	9	1	2	1	0	2	2	4	8	2	8	8	3	1	4	3	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	4	1	10	106	
Oct.	6	10	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	3	7	5	0	4	10	4	1	3	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	10	81	
Nov.	4	6	2	3	5	0	3	1	2	2	9	3	7	7	6	5	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	4	83	
Dec.	4	6	3	3	4	1	0	1	3	2	5	4	5	6	3	4	4	2	3	3	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	5	7	78	
	94	74	32	40	32	24	17	12	28	21	57	67	64	65	61	46	42	30	28	18	16	21	10	15	2	1	13	10	83	1022	

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1827.

Abscess 2	Erysipelas 8	Mortification in the
Accidental 13	Fistula 1	Bowels 2
Apoplexy 10	Fever, unknown kind 4	Old Age 37
Asthma 2	“ Nervous 1	Palpitation of the Heart 1
Bowel Complaint 19	“ Typhus 24	Palsy 6
Bloody Flux 1	“ Lung 36	Paralytic Affection 6
Brain, diseases of 3	“ Scarlet 1	Poison 1
Burns 8	“ Bilious 3	Prolapsus Uteri 1
Cancer 4	“ Inflammatory 2	Pleurisy 3
Canker 18	“ Putrid 2	Quinsy 2
Canker Rash 1	“ Brain 19	Rheumatism 4
Cholera Morbus 5	Gravel 2	Scrofula 2
Consumption 178	Hanged 1	Suicide 4
Cholera Infantum 3	Hooping Cough 6	Spasm 6
Child-bed diseases 11	Heart, diseases of 6	Small Pox 3
Convulsions 23	Hip disease 1	Syphilis 1
Colic, Bilious 2	Head, diseases of 2	Suffocation 1
Croup 25	Infantile diseases 35	Stillborn 83
Diseases unknown 152	Insanity 5	Sudden 3
Debility 6	Intemperance 25	Throat Distemper 6
Delirium tremens 1	Inflammation 4	Tumor 3
Diarrhœa 3	“ of the Heart 1	Teething 23
Dyspepsia 1	“ of the Bowels 12	Ulcer 1
Drowned 21	“ of the Brain 1	Worms 4
Dropsy 25	“ of the Lungs 2	Wounds 1
Dropsy in the chest 6	Jaundice 3	
Dysentery 23	Lethargy 1	
Dropsy of the brain 24	Liver complaint 7	
Diabetes 1	Mortification 9	
Epilepsy 3		
	224	Total 1022

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1828, to 1 January, 1829.*

1828.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	Un- known.	Suicid.	TOTAL													
	M.	F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.	M.F.															
Jan.	12	15	4	3	4	3	1	4	6	7	3	8	4	4	1	4	0	2	106											
Feb.	11	10	3	2	0	2	2	0	3	5	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	3	72											
Mar.	13	2	2	4	3	3	1	0	1	2	5	9	5	5	4	3	3	5	83											
April.	11	8	4	5	5	7	2	5	2	3	8	8	4	3	4	0	1	3	105											
May.	14	10	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	7	9	7	6	5	8	2	1	1	106											
June.	8	4	4	3	2	3	4	3	1	3	7	6	7	7	4	4	0	3	93											
July.	11	4	3	3	1	1	1	0	2	2	7	11	8	9	2	3	0	3	96											
Aug.	20	12	9	6	1	1	2	0	2	13	7	5	10	9	4	2	4	2	127											
Sept.	14	20	11	8	5	5	1	2	4	2	13	9	12	4	4	10	4	2	150											
Oct.	10	11	10	7	1	0	1	0	2	3	13	6	9	6	8	4	5	2	113											
Nov.	6	10	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	5	4	9	7	5	4	3	2	89											
Dec.	6	3	2	3	4	4	2	1	2	5	4	13	3	5	5	2	5	3	93											
	176	169	58	48	29	31	23	19	20	38	93	88	16	74	55	4	14	34	20	32	15	22	12	11	1	3	11	4	74	133

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1828.

Abscess	1	Drinking Cold water	2	Mortification, general	7
" lumbar	1	Erysipelas	3	" of the Bowels	4
Apoplexy	18	Fever, unknown kind	5	Matrix, diseases of	1
Accidental	14	" Typhus	31	Mesentery, diseases of	1
Asthma	1	" Bilious	16	Old Age	54
Burns	9	" Lung	81	Pleurisy	2
Bleeding at the Lungs	2	" Brain	12	Poison	2
" at the Stomach	1	" Hectic	3	Palsy	10
Bowel complaints	2	" Malignant	1	Piles	1
Consumption	217	" Inflammatory	2	Quinsy	1
Child-bed diseases	14	" Scarlet	2	Rupture	1
Croup	25	" Nervous	1	Rheumatism	2
Convulsions	31	" Intermittent	2	Scrofula	5
Canker	13	Fracture	2	Suicide	9
Cholera Infantum	19	Gravel	1	Spasm	1
" Morbus	7	Heart, diseases of	6	Small Pox	2
Chicken Pox	1	Hooping Cough	40	Sudden	2
Cancer	4	Inflammation, general	4	Scirrhus	1
Colic, Bilious	3	" of the Larynx	1	Sullborn	74
Dysentery	29	" of the Bowels	33	Throat Distemper	1
Dropsy	20	" of the Stomach	2	Ulcers	3
" of the Chest	1	" of the Brain	5	Venereal	3
" of the Brain	38	" of the Lungs	5	White Swelling	1
Diseases unknown	178	Infantile diseases	55	Worms	1
Delirium tremens	7	Intemperance	34		
Drowned	16	Jaundice	2		189
Debility	6	Insanity	1		363
Diabetes	1	Liver Complaint	10		681
Diarrhoea	2	Lock-jaw	1		
	681		363	Total	1233

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1829, to 1 January, 1830.*

1829.	<i>Under 1 year.</i>		1 to 2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	<i>Un- known.</i>	<i>Still born.</i>	TOTAL.
	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.		
Jan.	10	7	3	9	3	6	4	0	3	0	5	6	9	6	6	4	3
Feb.	10	8	5	3	7	5	0	2	1	1	7	3	5	4	9	2	2
Mar.	12	4	4	2	4	5	2	0	3	0	7	8	7	8	7	4	7
April	9	2	3	2	3	2	2	6	2	4	5	12	6	9	4	6	1
May,	8	7	1	6	4	1	0	1	3	2	5	11	14	4	6	9	2
June,	6	2	0	6	7	2	1	0	4	3	6	2	4	8	1	2	4
July,	6	5	10	7	2	4	5	0	3	3	12	8	11	3	3	6	2
Aug.	14	5	3	1	2	5	2	0	0	4	7	7	7	6	3	4	2
Sept.	22	13	13	15	5	5	2	3	2	7	6	4	5	4	3	3	2
Oct.	8	10	12	10	8	7	4	0	0	6	5	5	6	6	3	2	1
Nov.	5	11	6	6	11	8	2	2	4	1	6	4	2	9	4	5	1
Dec.	11	5	4	6	5	5	1	3	2	1	11	5	4	4	2	1	5
	121	79	64	82	61	55	25	17	27	32	82	75	80	71	61	49	42
	19	26	27	15	29	10	15	1	4	5	2	65	1221				

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1829.

Apoplexy	12	Fever, Bilious	6	Measles	72
Accidental	12	“ Putrid	1	Nervous Affection	1
Abscess	1	“ unknown kind	2	Old Age	65
“ of the Lungs	1	“ Intermittent	1	Palsy	11
“ of the Brain	2	“ Scarlet	1	Pleurisy	4
Burns	4	“ Inflammatory	1	Piles	1
Brain, disease of	2	“ Malignant	1	Poison	1
Consumption	203	“ Nervous	1	Quinsy	3
Convulsions	28	Fistula	1	Rheumatism	3
Croup	35	Fracture	1	Rupture	1
Child-bed, Diseases of	17	Gravel	2	“ of Blood Vessel	1
Canker	7	Gout	1	Sudden	7
Carcinoma Uteri	1	Hemorrhage of Lungs	1	Stillborn	65
Colic	3	“ of the Bowels	1	Suffocation	1
Cholera Morbus	1	Hooping Cough	11	Spleen, Disease of	1
Chlorosis	1	Hip Disease	3	Salt Rheum	1
Cancer	3	Heart, Diseases of	9	Scrofula	4
Diseases unknown	160	Infantile Diseases	55	Suicide	5
Dropsy	12	Inflammation	11	Scald	1
“ of the Brain	42	“ of the Bladder	1	Scurvy	1
“ of the Chest	4	“ of the Lungs	10	Spasm	2
Dysentery	20	“ of the Bowels	21	Spine, Disease of	1
Drowned	19	“ of the Brain	7	Stomach, Disease of	2
Debility	10	Insanity	3	Throat Distemper	3
Diarrhœa	1	Intemperance	30	Teething	13
Disease of the Bowels	10	Jaundice	1	Venereal	1
“ of the Chest	4	Lock-jaw	1	Worms	3
Epilepsy	2	Liver, Diseases of	14		
Fever, Typhus	28	Lethargy	1		
“ Lung	80	Mortification	8		
“ Brain	14	“ of the Bowels	1		
	739		208	Total	1221

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1830, to 1 January, 1831.*

1830.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known.	Still b rn	TOTAL.		
	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.			
Jan.	15	5	2	1.	2	7	3	2	1	4	3	10	8	11	7	4	5	1	2	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	117	
Feb.	9	9	2	6	7	1	3	0	3	1	4	9	6	5	5	3	3	1	2	1	4	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	7	100	
Mar.	9	5	3	4	4	5	1	2	2	3	4	8	6	4	3	7	5	0	2	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	8	92		
April,	9	5	4	3	4	4	4	0	1	1	6	6	7	3	6	3	5	5	4	3	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	1	12	104	
May,	8	1	1	5	3	2	1	3	2	4	7	6	7	4	2	7	2	1	3	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	81	
June,	6	5	0	6	1	0	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	3	0	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	56	
July,	11	3	2	4	2	4	1	2	4	2	4	5	8	6	7	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	7	87	
Aug.	12	11	2	6	2	4	2	2	3	1	5	8	7	1	3	1	4	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	22	104	
Sept.	17	5	6	7	6	6	1	1	1	1	9	5	5	7	7	4	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	106	
Oct.	10	9	8	9	7	4	1	0	2	2	7	12	10	6	7	5	3	1	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	114
Nov.	3	5	0	8	5	2	1	0	3	5	3	4	1	4	4	4	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	12	77	
Dec.	6	6	3	2	5	5	1	0	1	4	7	5	9	1	4	3	2	8	1	2	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	87	
	115	69	33	73	45	44	23	14	25	30	63	80	76	55	55	45	36	27	25	25	22	18	10	10	0	1	1	2	100	1125	

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1830.

Apoplexy	12	Delirium	2	Old Age	47
Asthma	1	Debility	8	Pleurisy	2
Abscess	3	Diabetes	1	Palsy	14
Accidental	8	Fever, unknown kind	10	Quinsy	4
Brain, diseases of . .	6	“ Intermittent . .	1	Rheumatism	2
Bowels, diseases of .	6	“ Lung	56	Rupture	1
Bleeding	7	“ Inflammatory .	1	Stillborn	100
Burn	7	“ Typhus	23	Strangury	1
Child bed Diseases .	13	“ Brain	9	Scald	3
Consumption	193	“ Child-bed . . .	3	Scrofula	5
Chicken Pox	1	“ Bilious	4	Sudden	8
Cholera Infantum . .	12	Frozen	2	Small Pox	5
Cholera Morbus . . .	8	Gravel	1	Sun-struck	1
Convulsions	27	Hooping Cough . .	16	Stomach, diseases of	2
Croup	42	Heart, diseases of .	11	Suicide	8
Canker	10	Hip Complaint . . .	4	Spasm	1
Cancer	6	Inflammation . . .	1	Syphilis	1
Colic	1	“ of the Lungs . .	12	Tumor	3
“ Bilious	1	“ of the Bowels .	14	Throat Distemper .	1
Dropsy	15	Infantile Diseases .	41	Teething	12
“ of the Heart . . .	2	Intemperance . . .	19	Ulcer	1
“ of the Brain . . .	48	Insanity	4	Worms	1
“ of the Chest . . .	3	Kidneys, disease of	1		
Diseases unknown . .	152	Liver Complaint . .	17		222
Dysentery	22	Measles	13		280
Diarrhœa	1	Mortification . . .	4		623
Drowned	15	Nervous Affection .	2		
	622		280	Total	1125

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1831, to 1 January, 1832.*

1831.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known		Stillborn		TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.			
Jan.	8	4	4	4	5	5	2	3	1	4	5	8	10	2	3	11	4	0	2	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	9	99	
Feb.	8	9	2	2	5	4	0	1	0	2	4	5	5	8	5	2	4	3	2	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	5	84	
Mar.	8	8	1	2	3	5	1	3	0	4	6	6	11	9	6	12	2	4	0	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	7	109	
April	8	9	4	4	1	4	1	2	2	4	9	11	4	3	3	5	4	3	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	7	97	
May.	5	6	2	2	5	1	0	1	1	4	1	5	5	6	5	5	2	3	2	3	5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	10	82	
June.	10	9	5	5	5	4	1	5	0	7	3	4	4	5	5	1	1	3	3	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	2	89	
July.	8	6	0	6	4	3	2	4	3	5	10	7	7	4	6	4	4	2	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	98	
Aug.	16	14	9	1	7	7	2	1	1	2	7	6	9	4	6	4	2	4	6	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	125	
Sept.	18	10	6	10	8	3	5	1	1	3	8	5	10	6	5	5	2	2	4	2	4	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	126	
Oct.	11	11	5	9	8	6	5	5	0	3	9	7	9	11	6	7	6	5	2	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	136	
Nov.	9	10	9	8	7	15	5	6	3	3	14	5	8	6	5	1	4	3	1	3	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	9	142		
Dec.	29	15	11	12	13	12	3	7	2	5	12	10	16	8	10	6	10	11	5	10	2	10	0	3	1	1	1	11	237		
	138	111	58	75	71	69	27	39	14	46	88	79	98	72	65	66	45	43	32	33	24	24	10	15	4	7	2	4	71	1424	

*The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office,
which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1831.*

Apoplexy	11	Debility	26	Pleurisy	4
Asthma	2	Erysipelas	2	Palsy	11
Abscess	4	Fever, unknown	11	Quinsy	5
Accidental	11	“ Intermittent	2	Rheumatism	4
Brain Diseases	11	“ Nervous	2	Rupture	1
Bowel Diseases	13	“ Lung	81	“ of Blood-vessel	2
Bleeding	5	“ Inflammatory	2	Stillborn	71
Burns	13	“ Typhus	21	Scald	3
Child-bed Diseases	14	“ Brain	18	Scrofula	2
Ca arrh	1	“ Scarlet	58	Sudden	5
Consumption	203	“ Bilious	4	Skin, Diseases of	1
Cholera Infantum	7	“ Spotted	1	Small Pox	4
Cholera Morbus	14	Frozen	1	Stomach, Diseases of	1
Convulsions	29	Fracture	1	Suicide	12
Croup	53	Hooping Cough	26	Spleen	1
Canker	14	Heart Diseases	8	Spasms	5
Carbuncle	1	Hip Complaint	2	Suffocation	2
Cancer	5	Inflammation	3	Tumor	5
Colic	1	“ of the Bowels	18	Tic Douloureux	1
“ Bilious	3	“ of the Lungs	16	Throat Distemper	26
Dropsy	28	Infantile Diseases	56	Teething	10
“ of the Brain	51	Intemperance	38	Ulcer	3
“ of the Chest	4	Insanity	1	Wounds	3
Diseases unknown	182	Influenza	22	Worms	3
Disease of the Spine	3	Jaundice	1		
Dysentery	28	Liver Complaint	11		
Drinking Cold Water	1	Measles	2		
Diarrhœa	1	Mortification	9		
Drowned	15	Old Age	67		
Delirium Tremens	6	Poison	1		
	734		505	Total	1424

*General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston,
from 1 January, 1832, to 1 January, 1833.*

1832.	Under 1 year		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Un- known	Stillborn	TOTAL	
	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	16	12	6	7	11	9	7	2	1	5	5	2	8	9	7	10	2	6	5	4	1	5	2	2	0	2	1	0	7	154
Feb.	11	8	5	7	11	9	4	3	2	3	7	6	5	4	4	5	3	6	1	2	4	4	0	2	0	0	0	6	122	
Mar.	6	17	7	13	11	7	6	4	1	5	8	10	5	5	7	3	8	2	4	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	143	
April,	14	7	9	11	15	17	7	5	4	2	5	12	12	9	9	4	1	2	0	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	165	
May,	12	13	15	19	17	10	4	5	3	5	5	3	11	8	7	2	3	2	2	4	4	1	0	1	0	0	1	8	166	
June,	6	6	6	13	11	20	8	4	3	2	3	5	10	3	5	6	4	2	5	2	0	4	1	1	0	0	1	7	137	
July,	7	6	5	8	8	7	1	4	4	4	6	8	10	8	2	11	3	5	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	120	
Aug.	1	3	3	4	7	8	6	1	3	6	2	15	7	8	4	4	1	2	3	4	2	4	0	1	0	0	1	8	108	
Sept.	17	10	9	10	8	5	1	4	6	9	13	12	6	9	6	3	1	3	7	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	156	
Oct.	14	14	10	11	8	8	2	1	4	6	13	5	19	9	4	6	5	3	3	4	3	2	1	4	0	1	0	9	180	
Nov.	16	7	6	2	8	12	8	2	4	5	10	13	10	5	7	7	10	5	6	5	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	9	164	
Dec.	17	12	10	6	9	4	0	4	1	2	7	15	9	4	3	4	8	4	3	6	6	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	146
	137	115	91	111	24	116	54	39	34	51	80	107	118	78	78	71	51	40	38	47	25	40	6	14	0	3	4	3	86	1761

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1832.

Apoplexy	15	Debility	15	Mortification	9
Abscess	8	Epilepsy	1	Old Age	2
Accidental	12	Erysipelas	4	Pleurisy	3
Brain, Diseases of	17	Fever, unknown	4	Palsy	19
Bowels, " "	27	" Intermittent	1	Quinsy	6
Bleeding	6	" Nervous	1	Rheumatism	1
Burns	8	" Lung	87	Stillborn	86
Chicken Pox	1	" Inflammatory	1	Scald	2
Child-bed, Diseases of	14	" Typhus	45	Scurvy	1
Catarrh	1	" Brain	13	Scrofula	3
Consumption	246	" Scarlet	149	Scirrhus	1
Cholera Infantum	7	" Bilious	1	Sudden	9
" Morbus	8	" Rheumatic	2	Small Pox	1
" Malignant	78	Gravel	1	Suicide	8
Convulsions	35	Glands, Diseases of	1	Spasms	6
Croup	40	Hooping Cough	22	Spine Disease of	1
Canker	8	Heart Diseases	7	Syphilis	4
" Rash	1	Hip, Disease of	3	Strangulation	1
Cancer	4	Inflammation	3	Suffocation	2
Colic	1	" of the Bowels	31	Throat Distemper	50
" Bilious	3	" of the Lungs	19	Teething	21
Dropsy	38	" of the Stomach	3	Tumor	2
" of the Brain	44	Infantile Diseases	70	Ulcer	2
" of the Chest	6	Intemperance	44	Uterus, Disease of	1
Diseases unknown	126	Influenza	24	Worms	7
Dysentery	21	Jaundice	3	Wounds	6
Diarrhœa	3	Lock-jaw	1		
Dyspepsia	1	Liver Complaint	9		
Drowned	22	Lethargy	1		
Delirium Tremens	10	Measles	70		
	811		636	Total	1761

*The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office,
which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1832.*

Apoplexy	15	Debility	15	Mortification	9
Abscess	8	Epilepsy	1	Old Age	12
Accidental	12	Erysipelas	4	Pleurisy	3
Brain, Diseases of . . .	17	Fever, unknown . . .	4	Palsy	19
Bowels, " "	27	" Intermittent . . .	1	Quinsy	6
Bleeding	6	" Nervous	1	Rheumatism	1
Burns	8	" Lung	87	Stillborn	86
Chicken Pox	1	" Inflammatory . . .	1	Scald	2
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LAWS AND REGULATIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
REVISED AND REPORTED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE,
PURSUANT TO A VOTE OF THE SOCIETY, APRIL 25, 1833.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1. Each resident member shall pay eight dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer thirty dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

ARTICLE 2. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, and have been demanded, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges, and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article. The Treasurer shall report from time to time those members, who neglect to pay their admission or annual assessments as above required.

ARTICLE 3. All elections shall be made by ballot. In balloting for members, and in taking any question by yeas and nays, the law and custom of our forefathers is adopted, — Indian corn and beans ; — The corn to express *yeas*, the beans *nays*. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society ; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting ; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be a stated meeting of the Society on the last Thursday of every month, except in Commencement week at Harvard University, when it shall be on the Tuesday next preceding ; and occasional meetings shall be convened, on due notification by the President, or, in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet-Keeper, and a Standing Committee of five.

ARTICLE 6. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for further consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

ARTICLE 7. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and the election of members.

ARTICLE 8. No alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society shall be made, unless there are eight members present ; and no member shall be chosen, unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

ARTICLE 9. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of this Commonwealth.

ARTICLE 10. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in one, at least, of the Boston newspapers; [and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member, whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.] *

ARTICLE 11. The Treasurer shall not pay any moneys, except in pursuance of a vote of the Society, or on the voucher of an officer or committee, under whose direction any expense may be incurred, conformably to the laws or orders of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

Laws regulating the Standing Committee.

ARTICLE 1. All nominations of resident members shall be made by the President and Standing Committee, at one meeting, at least, previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

ARTICLE 2. The Standing Committee shall regulate the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

ARTICLE 3. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the Cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

* The clause in brackets was repealed in September, 1833.

ARTICLE 4. They shall frequently inspect the records and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.

ARTICLE 5. It shall be the duty of every member of the Society, and especially of the Standing Committee, to inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

ARTICLE 6. They shall meet previous to each stated meeting of the Society and arrange and prepare such business as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The President shall notify to the Standing Committee their stated meetings.

CHAPTER III.

Laws regulating the Library and Museum.

ARTICLE 1. All books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

ARTICLE 2. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet.

ARTICLE 3. At every stated meeting, a catalogue of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet-Keeper.

ARTICLE 4. Once in every year, previous to the April meeting, the Standing Committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be two keys to the Society's Room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian, and

the other by the Cabinet-Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

ARTICLE 6. No book shall be taken from the library, but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. He shall not retain any volume longer than four weeks, but may renew the same once ; after which the same person shall not have the same books for three months, unless by especial leave of the Standing Committee. Members living more than ten miles from Boston may renew their books without personal application. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian, and with permission from the Standing Committee.

ARTICLE 7. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee, chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library, with the knowledge of the Librarian, as many books and papers as they may want.

ARTICLE 8. Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee and in the presence of the Librarian.

ARTICLE 9. Fines for a breach of the sixth article shall be at the weekly rate of 10 cents for every book less than an octavo, 20 for an octavo, 30 for a quarto, and 40 for a folio.

ARTICLE 10. An application in writing, left with the Librarian, shall secure any volume or set for a fortnight after it may be returned to the library ; and if more than one such application be made, they shall be answered in the order of their respective dates.

ARTICLE 11. If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of

some member who shall be responsible in a written obligation for the return of each article borrowed; within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months.

ARTICLE 12. All persons who take books from the library shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

ARTICLE 13. The privilege of using the library shall be suspended, as respects the person who neglects to pay any fines, or assessments, for damages, longer than one month after he shall have received notice from the Librarian.

ARTICLE 14. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of members; and it is understood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

ARTICLE 15. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

ARTICLE 16. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

ARTICLE 17. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE 18. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor; if it be a present.

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